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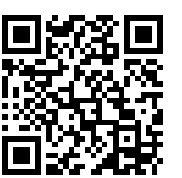

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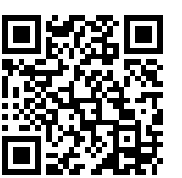

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NOTES AND STUDIES

ZECHARIAH xii–xiii 1.

THE book of Zechariah in its several parts, may be compared to a bunch of master keys, inasmuch as it opens the way to the elucidation of what is otherwise obscure not only in the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, but even in the New Testament itself. At first sight, indeed, it is not a particularly attractive book. It lacks the literary force which distinguishes many parts of the Old Testament. Its great value lies in the fact that in its component documents, which can be dated with tolerable certainty, we are shewn the contemporary thought, aspirations, and political outlook of men of Judaean birth. The book, which falls into three main divisions, chs. i–viii, ix–xi, xii–xiv, may be assigned with almost absolute certainty to two periods: the first division, chs. i–viii (though in i 2–6 and vii–viii the hand of a later editor is evident), deals with the course of events in Judaea in the reign of Darius Hystaspis, from the early part of the year 519 B.C. to about 514 B.C.: the second and third divisions are concerned with the Maccabean struggle for independence and the events leading up to it.[1]

The chapters xii–xiv may be classed with 'apocalyptic' literature in that, as in Daniel viii–xii the author (or authors) has adopted a *past* standpoint from which he ostensibly predicts events which as a matter of fact were past at the time of his writing. By this literary device he was able to bring his anticipations of future peace and happiness into close relation with the unhappy experiences of the past, and to suggest that in the Divine counsels the last mentioned would prove to be the preliminary of the former. At the time of the completion of these chapters not only had the deliverance of Judaea (i. e. the country districts of Judaea) been achieved, but also, though later, that of Jerusalem. This points to a date about 141 B.C.

[1] In justification of the assignment of any portion of the prophetical books to a date later than that of Ecclesiasticus, I would refer to what I have previously published in *The Composition of the Book of Isaiah* (Schweich Lectures, 1909) pp. 78–80; also to the notes on Zechariah in *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* p. 579.

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According to our author, Jehovah, the Creator[1] of the world, has ordained that Jerusalem should be a means of bringing sorrow upon the non-Jewish peoples of Palestine.[2] The thought seems to be that those who have opposed Jerusalem—the writer here thinks of Jerusalem as, rightfully, the place of Jehovah's habitation and the home of righteous Jews—as a punishment for their sins have been infatuated to meet their fate[3]; just as Ahab, according to Micaiah the son of Imlah, was infatuated to go to his death at Ramoth Gilead (1 Kings xxii). The result of this opposition to Jerusalem, which the non-Jewish Palestinian peoples, in conjunction with the Greeks, have madly attempted, is their discovery that they have undertaken an intolerable burden; so that they give way to uncontrolled lamentation, lacerating themselves in their grief in truly heathenish fashion (the practice is forbidden in connexion with the priests in Leviticus xxi 5). The military equipment ('horses') of the enemies of Israel avails them nothing; for at Jehovah's will the horses are blinded with fright, while the 'house of Judah is enabled to see clearly'.[4] The chieftains of Judah, i. e. the Hasmonaean leaders, are of opinion that in attacking Jerusalem, and consequently inflicting injury on the city, they are not guilty of any wrong against Jehovah, for Jerusalem, which ought to be Jehovah's holy city, has become the main seat of the Jewish Hellenizers, and the population still remaining there—the loyal adherents of the law having perished or fled from the city—have been rebels against Jehovah their God.[5] These Jewish chieftains have kindled a great conflagration among the Palestinian peoples, the outcome of which will be that heathenism will be banished, and Jerusalem will again be inhabited by a Jewish population worshipping Jehovah. It is something of a humiliation to Jerusalem—which in recent times has evidently looked down upon the country districts of

[1] The general resemblance which the language of this passage bears to the late insertions in the book of Amos (e. g. Amos iv 13) as well as to passages in the book of Isaiah (e. g. Isa. li 22 f) will be manifest to every one.

[2] N.B. עַמִּים in these chapters is apparently used of the more immediate neighbours of the Jews, such as the Philistines, Edomites, &c., גּוֹיִם of the Greeks and nations farther afield.

[3] The text of the last clause of *v.* 2 is corrupt, and emendation is precarious.

[4] Read וכל בית יהודה אפקח עיניו.

[5] For the impossible reading of the Massoretic Text אמצה לי ישבי I would suggest הלא מרו ישבי. The first stage in the corruption would seem to have been the accidental transposition of the הל of הלא, thus producing אמרה לו ישבי which a later scribe erroneously corrected into the present text. On this supposition the sentence will run as follows: 'And the chieftains of Judah will say in their heart, Have not the inhabitants of Jerusalem rebelled against Jehovah of Hosts their God.' This correction gives force to the otherwise pointless אלהיהם.

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Judaea—that deliverance should have come to Judaea first and to the capital city last; and this humiliation will be a salutary check to the arrogance of 'the house of David' and of the inhabitants of Jerusalem. But Jerusalem's dark days are over, and the city will in the future attain to the greatest power; so that those who are on the verge of ruin will become as great and powerful as David, and 'the house of David' will have an authority like that of 'the angel of Jehovah' in the heroic days of old. So entirely will the state of Gentile tyranny be reversed that a war of extermination is to be waged against the former oppressors.[1] And with the breaking of the Gentile power 'the house of David' will come to its own: this, however, cannot be effected till there has been a solemn expiation of the guilt in which both 'the House of David' and the inhabitants of Jerusalem are involved.

And here it becomes necessary to enquire what is to be understood by the expression 'the house of David'. According to Wellhausen (*Die Kleinen Propheten* p. 199) 'the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem' means simply the government and the people, like *senatus populusque Romanus*. This explanation might well be accepted if we had any reason to believe that the phrase had been current in the days of the Jewish Monarchy; for the late post-exilic writers love to borrow expressions from the older literature, even though they are not strictly accurate. But in the absence of any proof that the phrase was in common use in pre-exilic times, it is better to interpret it according to the natural sense of the words.[2]

The nature of the offence of 'the House of David in particular and of the inhabitants of Jerusalem' is now pretty clearly indicated by the author. They have been guilty not only of 'uncleanness' (i. e. heathen abominations, cf. Ezek. xxxvi 17, Ezra ix 11, 2 Chron. xxix 5) but even of murder; and it is this murder especially which must be expiated by solemn fasting and penitence. The guilty ones shall look to him[3] whom they have put to death. In the light of chapter xi (which is most naturally understood as referring to Oniah, the good shepherd, and Menelaus, the bad shepherd), the reference here is perhaps to the murder of Oniah at Antioch, which, according to 2 Macc. iv 32 ff, was

[1] Note the strangeness of the expression 'I will seek' (אבקש). To the writer the extermination of the hated armies of the Seleucid empire (an empire consisting, as the book of Daniel puts it, 'of all peoples, nations, and languages') seemed a task which would tax to the full the power of Jehovah Himself.

[2] The possibility of this is indeed recognized by Wellhausen *loc. cit.*, footnote.

[3] For the ungrammatical אלי את we should probably read simply אל though it is not impossible that some words have been omitted. It is probable that the reading of the Massoretic Text אלי 'unto me' gave rise to the supposition that Zechariah the son of Berechiah was murdered. See the Targum on Lam. ii 20 where he appears as 'the great priest and faithful prophet'; cf. also St Matt. xxiii 35.

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brought about by the machinations of Menelaus, who doubtless in this as in many of his other crimes had the support of other Hellenizing Jews. The expiatory act of penitence must be shared in by the whole population of the land; but four families who are evidently regarded as most deeply implicated are specially mentioned. These are 'the house of David', 'the house of Nathan', 'the house of the Shimeite', and 'the house of Levi'. It is evident that in the author's mind these four families are representative of the aristocracy of Judaea; the identification of them, therefore, if possible, will throw a considerable amount of light on the social and political condition of Judaea about 141 B.C. It is noteworthy that there is no mention of the sons of Tobias whose history is related by Josephus (Ant. xii 4; see also 2 Macc. iii 11) and whom we should suppose from his account to have been the chief people in Judaea. It is not impossible, however, that Tobias, whose genealogy is not given, although he was allied by marriage with a high priest, was a *parvenu*, and that his descendants, for all their wealth, were not accounted as blue-blooded aristocrats.

But if the family of Tobias, which in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes certainly included the wealthiest and, politically, the most powerful people in Judaea is ignored by our author, we may reasonably conclude that the families which he mentions are regarded by him as specially connected with the history or destiny of the Jewish nation. In regard to the house of David indeed this is obvious, and since the phrase is used without qualification we naturally understand it as denoting the lineal descendants of the kings of Judah, that is to say those who traced their genealogy back through Zerubbabel to Jehoiachin and his predecessors.

With whom then are we to identify the family of Nathan? Several people of this name are mentioned besides the prophet of David's time; e. g. in 2 Sam. xxiii 36, 1 Kings iv 5 (in each of these two places, however, it is a son of a Nathan who is the prominent person); 1 Chron. ii 36 (where Nathan occurs not as the founder of a family but simply as one in a genealogical chain); Ezra viii 16, x 39 (where the name only is given without any genealogy); and, lastly, in 2 Sam. v 14, 1 Chron. iii 5, 1 Chron. xiv 4, among the sons of David. Of all these the last is obviously the one with the best claim to be reckoned among the Judaean aristocracy. The list of David's sons, however, as given in 1 Chron. iii 1–8 is certainly incorrect; for since the words of the woman of Tekoa (2 Sam. xiv 5 ff) clearly imply that by the banishment of Absalom, David is left without a son, it follows that at this time Absalom was the sole surviving son, and that Adonijah was born after his death.[1] But though the Chronicler has wrongly excluded Adonijah

[1] There can be little doubt that the last clause of 1 Kings i 6 should run 'and he begat him after the death of Absalom'.

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from the list of David's sons who were born in Jerusalem, and it may be questioned whether he is right in assigning to the mother of Solomon *three* other sons (that is two besides the one whose death is related in 2 Sam. xii 15 ff), it is noteworthy that in enumerating David's younger sons he mentions a Nathan before Solomon. That Solomon was not the rightful heir was acknowledged even by himself (see 1 Kings ii 22: 'ask for him the kingdom also; *for he is mine elder* brother'), and he owed his advancement to the throne to the disgraceful intrigue of the prophet Nathan and Bathsheba who took advantage of David's senility.

It is, therefore, quite possible that Solomon had a brother Nathan older than himself but younger than Adonijah, who after the murder of Adonijah, according to the strict right of primogeniture, was the legitimate heir to David's throne. We read of no political activity in connexion with him; and after Solomon had shewn that he would stick at nothing to make good his usurpation, Nathan may have deemed it prudent to avoid any suspicion of seeking to supplant his brother. But royal genealogies are not readily forgotten, and the descendants of Nathan may well have cherished the memory of their royal descent even though they were politically unimportant.

The next family mentioned, that of Levi, obviously comprises the priests, of whom some at least had evidently held office under the usurping Menelaus (who was not of priestly lineage) and had acquiesced in the desecration of the Temple and in its dedication to the worship of Olympian Zeus. The statement of 1 Macc. iv 42 that Judas 'chose blameless priests, such as had pleasure in the law' is sufficient evidence that many priests were by no means blameless.

There remains one other family, that of the Shimeite (or according to the Septuagint, Simeon), and the identification of this family is more difficult. In 2 Sam. v 14, 1 Chron. xiv 4, we find among David's sons a Shammua (שַׁמּוּעַ) who in 1 Chron. iii 5 appears as Shimea (שִׁמְעָא). It is *possible*, therefore, that by 'the family of the Shimeite' we should understand yet another family claiming descent from David. The mention of this family however *after* that of Levi makes this improbable, and it is better to seek an explanation elsewhere. In Numbers iii 21 indeed we read of 'the family of the Shimeite' (the expression being identical with that in Zech. xii 13), who were Levites (as distinct from the priests who claimed descent from Aaron), and who regarded as their spiritual if not their physical ancestor the Shimei mentioned in Num. iii 18.[1] If this identification be adopted the

[1] The possibility of another though less probable identification of 'the family of the Shimeite' cannot altogether be ruled out. According to 1 Chron. viii 33 ff the line of Saul continued for several generations; and the fact that Saul's residence is still called Gibeah of Saul as late as the time of Isaiah makes it probable that Saul's

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writer of Zechariah xii mentions two lay and two clerical families as prominent in Judah: of the latter the one belonging to the priesthood proper, the other to the non-priestly *personnel* of the Temple: the two former claiming descent from David, one through the whole line of Jewish kings and Zerubbabel, the other from Nathan who had at least as good a claim as Solomon to be regarded as heir of David. But whether we conclude that about 141 B.C. there were in or near Jerusalem two prominent families claiming descent from David or only one, it is at any rate clear that there were at this time descendants of David, recognized as such, with whom hopes for the restoration of the line of David would naturally be connected. It is true that we look in vain in the books of Maccabees for any hint of their existence; but since these books are the work of partisans of the Hasmonaean high-priestly kings this omission is not surprising. In the Old Testament, however, if once a date in the Maccabean period be conceded for portions of the prophetical books and for the Psalms as we now have them,[1] the situation in Judaea at the time when Jewish independence seemed to be in sight is perfectly clear. Those who were familiar with the Law could not forget that it had been predicted that the sceptre should not depart from Judah (Gen. xlix 10); and to people whose history contained no tradition of national independence except under a king, the restoration of a monarchy would naturally be hoped for. Probably there were some who looked for a Jewish king who should be of the line of David. Thus the author of Psalm lxxii prays for and expects the restoration of *an hereditary Jewish monarchy*, but does not state that this monarchy must belong to the Davidic line. Similarly Zech. ix 9 f expresses the hope that the king who is expected—the author has no definite person in view—will come from the ranks of the *lowly* or *poor*,[2] and gives no hint that he is likely to be of royal descent.[3]

Inasmuch, however, as the dynasty of David had held the throne of Judah till the exile, and after its downfall Jeremiah had expressed the hope that a scion of the Davidic tree might again flourish, it was inevitable that the thought of national independence should at once suggest to many in Judah the expectation of the revival of the Davidic

descendants held land at Gibeah in the latter part of the eighth century B.C. We read of a Shimei 'of the family of the house of Saul' in 2 Sam. xvi 5 ff, and 'the family of the Shimeites' *may* denote his descendants.

[1] For this view of the date of the Psalter see *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 11th ed., art. Psalms.—R.H.K.

[2] עני as in Ps. x 2, 9, xiv 6, &c.

[3] It is noteworthy that the author has in mind the blessing of Judah in Gen. xlix. The apparently unnecessary elaboration in the description of the beast of burden—for was there ever an ass which was not the offspring of a she-ass?—is due to the author's quotation of Gen. xlix 11. The author means that at last the description of Gen. xlix is to be realized.

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monarchy. In 519 B. C. indeed it had seemed likely that Zerubbabel would realize the hope expressed in Jeremiah xxiii 5 ff (cf. Zech. iii 8, vi 10 ff *corrected text*); but Zerubbabel probably roused the suspicions of the Persian government, and in Nehemiah's age the political situation was such that it would doubtless have been dangerous to suggest for Judah a native king. But three centuries later those who had groaned under the tyranny of Antiochus Epiphanes, and had turned to the writings of the prophets for comfort in their tribulation, must have found in Jeremiah xxiii 5 ff an anchor of their soul in the sea of affliction which threatened to sweep them away. In the past Jehovah had shewn His 'sure mercies' to David, in that, whereas in the Kingdom of Israel there was no lasting dynasty, in Judah the throne was occupied to the end by a member of the house of David. The Divine favour to the house of David, it seemed, was too definitely marked[1] (in spite of the unworthiness of some of those who had sat on David's throne), ever to be withdrawn. Had not the prophet Haggai expected that what had been foretold of Jehoiakim (Jer. xxii 24) would be reversed in Zerubbabel (Hag. ii 23)? and though the fulfilment of Haggai's vision had tarried, its delay could not be for ever. If we can put ourselves in the place of those who had suffered for conscience' sake, and had fought for freedom to worship God; if we can imagine—and the recollection of the time of distress 1914–1918 ought to help our imagination—in what frame of mind the scriptures were ransacked for messages of comfort, we shall understand how many of those who found themselves being emancipated from the heavy yoke of a heathen king and from the persecution and exactions of apostates among their own countrymen believed that at last there would be revealed the shoot from the stump of the cut down tree of David and that under his beneficent rule peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, would be established among the Jews for all generations. That Jer. xxiii 5 f was a favourite passage of scripture is shewn by the *imitation* of it in Isaiah xi 1 ff. It is remarkable that in Psalm cxxii which seems to express the thoughts of those who went up to the great feasts at Jerusalem after the rededication of the Temple, the glory of Jerusalem consists as much in its being the seat of the house of David as in its possession of the Temple. In Ps. lxxxix (which with the five preceding Psalms forms an appendix to the second collection of Psalms contained in the Psalter, and of which the latter part, *vv.* 38 ff is perhaps a slightly later addition) the author shews clearly that in his opinion the house of David has deeply sinned, but, like the author of Zech. xiii 1, he believes that this sin can be expiated. Clearly when Ps. lxxxix 38–51 was written there seemed no immediate prospect of

[1] Cf. Isa. lv 3 f.

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the family of David coming to their own; moreover it is noteworthy that the Lord's anointed one is the object of bitter reproaches.

Psalm cxxxii, which is perhaps a little earlier than the latter part of Ps. lxxxix, expresses a similar hope for the house of David—a hope indeed not yet realized, though not as yet disappointed—and it is noteworthy that the psalmist mentions as equal sharers in the coming victory and peace, the family of David, the priests and the Ḥasidim ('saints' v. 16). This aspiration was natural enough to one who was a student of Ezekiel (see for example Ezek. xxxiv 22 ff, xxxvii 24, xliv–xlvi); but it ignored the ambition of the Hasmonaeans, who having been recognized by the Greek kings of Syria as military governors had induced the same authorities to recognize them as high priests also. There was not room in Jerusalem for a King of the house of David and such a high priest as Simon aspired to be; and the partisans of Simon in support of his claims appealed to the precedent of Melchizedek, who, being priest of the Most High God, had also been king of Jerusalem (Ps. cx). It is not difficult to imagine on what grounds the claims of the house of David were brushed aside when independence had been won. Both Ps. lxxxix and Zech. xii–xiii 1 make clear the guilt of the house of David and more than hint that this guilt is apostasy. Doubtless the partisans of the Hasmonaeans exploited this guilt to the uttermost, so that, although descendants of David still remained and were recognized as such, thereafter they were reduced to poverty and insignificance.

We have seen that about 141 B.C. there were probably two families deriving their descent from David, the one through Solomon, the other through Nathan. It is not impossible, though here we can only conjecture, that when the claims of the descendants of Solomon were set aside by the Hasmonaeans, the party—chiefly the Ḥasidim—who expected the restoration of the Davidic monarchy tried to put forward the claims of the family of Nathan. If so, the argument which could be used against the one could doubtless be used against the other: so that the family of Nathan sank into an obscurity like that of the descendants of Solomon. But a family which had once been 'in the running' for the kingship would not readily forget its pedigree, and both branches of the Davidic family, viz. that which traced its descent through Solomon and that which carried its genealogy through Nathan, would proudly remember that they had David to their father. Certainly during the high-priesthood of Hyrcanus 63–40 B.C. (to which period the so-called Psalms of Solomon may be assigned) the hope of the restoration of the line of David was revived; and we may certainly suppose that those who then looked for a Son of David were well aware that there were descendants of David to fulfil the hope.

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It is not improbable that the branch of the family which traced descent through Zerubbabel and the long line of kings of Judah was more exposed to the jealousy of the Hasmonaeans than the family of Nathan; and it may well be that they deemed it politic to settle outside Judaea. We have no certain *data* to go upon, and can only consider what would be likely to happen, the political circumstances being as they were. If, however, we may suppose—and there is no great improbability in the supposition—that in the first century after Christ there were living in Palestine *two* families claiming descent from David through Solomon and Nathan respectively, we have ready to hand a simple explanation of the discrepancy between the first and third Gospels in the lineage of Joseph. The first evangelist, or the source which he followed, assumed that Joseph was the heir of David through the Solomonic line; the third evangelist, who may be supposed to have had access to a genealogy of the descendants of David through Nathan, assumed, or was informed, that it was to this branch that Joseph belonged. This indeed is mere conjecture, but conjecture which takes account of whatever *data* are available need not be lightly set aside. Certainly in the Apostolic age more was known about the descendants of David than a casual reading of the Old Testament would lead us to expect. If 'the family of Nathan' remained in Judaea, it may perhaps have perished in the troubles of the siege of Jerusalem; and after A. D. 70 'the family of David' who traced descent through Solomon may well have been the sole surviving hope of those who still looked for the restoration of David's rule.

R. H. KENNETT.

MARCAN USAGE: NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL, ON THE SECOND GOSPEL

VII. *Particles (continued)*

(2) Ὅτι *recitative (after* λέγειν *or similar verbs)*.

MUCH more common in St Mark than the odd use of ὅτι interrogative, discussed in the number of this JOURNAL for October 1925 (xxvii 58–62), is the idiom of a superfluous ὅτι after the verb 'to say' or the like, introducing not the *oratio obliqua*, as we should expect, but the *oratio recta*. In the large majority of cases, as will be seen, Matthew and (where a parallel is extant) Luke, drop the particle.

I proceed to catalogue some forty instances.

1. i 14, 15 κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ [καὶ] λέγων ὅτι Πεπλήρωται

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ὁ καιρὸς . . . μετανοεῖτε καὶ πιστεύετε . . . Ὅτι is undisputed in Mark, and disappears in Matthew: there is no Lucan parallel. What is doubtful in Mark is λέγων which is omitted by Tischendorf and by W-H margin. But the authorities for omission are quite inadequate (ℵ* Origen c syr-sin), and the constant use of λέγων in the passages to be cited in this list is practically decisive of Marcan usage.

2. i 37 καὶ εὗρον αὐτὸν καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ ὅτι Πάντες ζητοῦσίν σε. No parallel in Matthew or Luke.

3. i 40 λέγων αὐτῷ ὅτι Ἐὰν θέλῃς, δύνασαί με καθαρίσαι. Ὅτι is dropped by both the other Synoptists. Their influence has caused it to disappear from many authorities in Mark, including C D L W Θ 28 and most Latins: but it has rightly survived in ℵ A B Δ a.

4. ii 12 ὥστε ἐξίστασθαι πάντας καὶ δοξάζειν τὸν θεὸν λέγοντας ὅτι Οὕτως οὐδέποτε εἴδαμεν. Matthew alters the last half of the clause and omits ὅτι: Luke retains. In Mark λέγοντας is omitted by B W b: but the combined evidence of Luke and of Marcan usage is too strong to be overthrown even by B.

5. ii 17 λέγει αὐτοῖς ὅτι Οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἰσχύοντες ἰατροῦ . . . οὐκ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους. Both Matthew and Luke omit ὅτι: and in this familiar saying of our Lord their texts have exercised even more than their usual disintegrating influence on the authorities for Mark: but ὅτι is rightly retained by B Δ Θ 565.

6. iii 11 τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἀκάθαρτα . . . ἔκραζον λέγοντες ὅτι Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. No parallel in Matthew: Luke, as in **4**, retains λέγοντα ὅτι (iv 41), though λέγοντες, not λέγοντα, must I think be right in Mark. There is the same mixture of masculine and neuter in the story of the demoniac in Mark v 10–13: and the change by scribes of λέγοντες to λέγοντα is far more probable than the converse one. λέγοντες is read only by ℵ D W 69 and a very few others, followed by Tischendorf and W-H margin.

***7.** iii 21 ἔλεγον γὰρ ὅτι Ἐξέστη. There is no parallel in the other Synoptists. But for Marcan usage, we could of course treat ἐξέστη as *oratio obliqua*. [I mark with an asterisk this single instance of past tense after λέγειν ὅτι].

8. iii 22 ἔλεγον ὅτι Βεελζεβοὺλ ἔχει, καὶ ὅτι Ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια. Both Matthew and Luke have εἶπον without ὅτι: in Mark only D omits.

[**9.** iii 28 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι Πάντα ἀφεθήσεται τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . Matthew omits ὅτι: Luke has no parallel. No authorities omit in Mark. I place within square brackets those instances where ὅτι follows ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, since Matthew towards the end of his Gospel not infrequently retains ὅτι in this connexion, see on **34**: so too Luke in **32, 34**.]

10. iv 21 καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι Μήτι ἔρχεται ὁ λύχνος ἵνα ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον

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τεθῇ; No parallel in Matthew: and the introductory words as far as ὅτι are dropped in Luke. Most authorities in Mark omit ὅτι: the Ferrar group substitutes ἴδετε: for ὅτι we have B L 892 sah and Marcan usage.

11. v 23 καὶ παρακαλεῖ αὐτὸν πολλά, λέγων ὅτι Τὸ θυγάτριόν μου ἐσχάτως ἔχει. Matthew omits ὅτι: Luke changes the construction. In Mark some Westerns—D and the Ferrar group: so too the best Old Latins, but in such cases versions must be cited with caution, or perhaps not at all, because the earliest translators rendered with some regard to the genius of their own language—wrongly omit ὅτι.

12. v 28 ἔλεγεν γὰρ ὅτι Ἐὰν ἅψωμαι κἂν τῶν ἱματίων αὐτοῦ, σωθήσομαι. Matthew omits ὅτι: Luke is not strictly parallel. In Mark only 28 and 33 of Greek MSS omit.

13. v 35 ἔρχονται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχισυναγώγου λέγοντες ὅτι Ἡ θυγάτηρ σου ἀπέθανεν. Matthew has no parallel: Luke retains the ὅτι, as do all our authorities in Mark.

14. vi 4 καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι Οὐκ ἔστιν προφήτης ἄτιμος εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ. Matthew again omits: no Lucan parallel. In Mark only Δ and the Ferrar group, with a few others, omit.

15. vi 14, 15 ἔλεγον ὅτι Ἰωάνης ὁ βαπτίζων ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν . . . ἄλλοι δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι Ἠλείας ἐστίν· ἄλλοι δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι Προφήτης . . . Matthew has no parallel to verses 14 and 15: Luke, as in **13**, retains ὅτι, but in each case he has aorist tenses after ὅτι, so that *oratio obliqua* is more easily suggested than by the present tenses of Mark. There is no variation in Mark.

16. vi 18 ἔλεγεν γὰρ ὁ Ἰωάνης τῷ Ἡρώδῃ ὅτι Οὐκ ἔξεστίν σοι ἔχειν τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου. Once more Matthew drops, and there is no Lucan parallel. Omission in Mark is supported only by D 28 and a very few others.

17. vi 23 καὶ ὤμοσεν αὐτῇ ὅτι Ὅ ἐάν με αἰτήσῃς δώσω σοι. No Lucan parallel, and in Matthew a change of construction. In Mark we have dissident witnesses in B Δ ὅτι ἐάν, and D εἴ τι ἄν.

18. vi 35 προσελθόντες [αὐτῷ] οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἔλεγον ὅτι Ἔρημός ἐστιν ὁ τόπος . . . ἀπόλυσον αὐτούς. Both Matthew and Luke omit the ὅτι: but the authorities in Mark are unanimous for it.

19. vii 6 *a* εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι Καλῶς ἐπροφήτευσεν περὶ ὑμῶν . . . The construction is changed, and ὅτι omitted, in Matt. In Mark the authorities are divided: those who retain ὅτι here omit it later in the sentence (see no. **20**), and *vice versa*, save that Δ Θ 33 omit in both places. No witness gives it in both places: yet Marcan usage suggests that it is right in both. A D W etc. give it here.

20. vii 6 *b* Καλῶς ἐπροφήτευσεν Ἡσαΐας περὶ ὑμῶν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, ὡς γέγραπται ὅτι Οὗτος ὁ λαὸς τοῖς χείλεσίν με τιμᾷ . . . Matthew drops ὅτι:

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Luke ceases to offer any parallels till no. **23**. In Mark only three witnesses support ὅτι, ℵ B L (syr-sin) : but Marcan usage puts aside any doubt of their being right.

21. vii 20 ἔλεγεν δὲ ὅτι Τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκπορευόμενον, ἐκεῖνο κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Matthew drops the introductory words ἔλεγεν δὲ ὅτι altogether, so offers no real parallel. No variant in Mark.

22. viii 4 καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι Πόθεν τούτους δυνήσεταί τις ὧδε χορτάσαι ἄρτων ἐπ' ἐρημίας; Matthew, as we should guess he would, omits the ὅτι : even in Mark it is found in only three authorities B L Δ, but Marcan usage of course proves it right, and both Tischendorf and W-H accept it.

23. viii 28 οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτῷ λέγοντες ὅτι Ἰωάνην τὸν βαπτιστήν . . . ἄλλοι δὲ ὅτι εἷς τῶν προφητῶν. Small wonder that this strange phrase with its tautology εἶπαν λέγοντες is not reproduced by either Matthew or Luke—both drop ὅτι, Matthew drops λέγοντες, and Luke changes it to ἀποκριθέντες. In Mark ℵ*B (syr-sin) are the only witnesses to give ὅτι, of course rightly.[1]

24. ix 31 καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων. Matthew omits ὅτι : Luke changes the construction, and so gets rid of it. All authorities retain it in Mark.

[**25.** ix 41 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι Οὐ μὴ ἀπολέσῃ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ. There are no parallels in the other Synoptists : in the text of Mark ὅτι is supported by ℵ B C* D L W Δ Θ syr-sin and, exceptionally, by several Latins including k.]

26. x 32, 33 ἤρξατο αὐτοῖς λέγειν τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῷ συμβαίνειν, ὅτι Ἰδοὺ ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα . . . Both Matthew and Luke omit ὅτι : but there is no variant in Mark.

27. xi 17 Οὐ γέγραπται ὅτι Ὁ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν; Both Matthew and Luke turn the question into a statement of fact, and both omit the ὅτι. Omission of ὅτι in Mark is confined to a small group including C D 69.

28. xii 7 ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οἱ γεωργοὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς εἶπαν ὅτι Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ κληρονόμος· δεῦτε ἀποκτείνωμεν αὐτόν. Again both the other Synoptists drop the ὅτι : and again the omitting group in Mark is small, D Θ 1 28 565 being the only Greek authorities on that side.

29. xii 19 Διδάσκαλε, Μωυσῆς ἔγραψεν ἡμῖν ὅτι Ἐάν τινος ἀδελφὸς ἀποθάνῃ . . . Once more ὅτι disappears in Matthew and Luke : but in Mark it is only absent from D 69 108 of Greek MSS.

30. xii 28, 29 Ποία ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη πάντων; ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι Πρώτη ἐστίν Ἄκουε Ἰσραήλ . . . Matthew and Luke both abbreviate here, and both drop not only ὅτι but the words that immediately follow.

[1] It may be noted here that k faithfully reproduces εἶπαν λέγοντες by *dixerunt dicentes* : for *dicentes* and not *omnes* is the true reading of the MS.

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The omitting group in Mark tends to be stereotyped: here it is D W Θ 1 28 565 with three other cursives.

31. xii 32 Καλῶς, διδάσκαλε· ἐπ' ἀληθείας εἶπες ὅτι Εἷς ἐστὶν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος πλὴν αὐτοῦ. There are no parallels in Matthew or Luke: and no dissentient voices in Mark.

[32. xii 43 Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι Ἡ χήρα αὕτη ἡ πτωχὴ πλεῖον πάντων ἔβαλεν. Ὅτι is retained by Luke (there is no Matthaean parallel) and is found without variant in Mark. As often, the phrase λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι passes unchallenged.]

33. xiii 6 πολλοὶ ἐλεύσονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου λέγοντες ὅτι Ἐγώ εἰμι. A striking instance, where the agreement of Matthew and Luke against Mark in the omission of ὅτι well reflects the 'usage' of the three writers. In Mark D Θ 33 omit.

[34. xiii 30 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι Οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη... Ὅτι is read by all authorities in Mark and almost all in Luke: in Matt. xxiv 34 the reading is doubtful, but B D L Θ *fam.* 1 *fam.* 13 give ὅτι, and they outweigh ℵ. The phrase λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι is not so unusual or so repellent to the sense of style as the ordinary Marcan λέγει ὅτι in narrative: and towards the end of the Gospel, as will be seen, Matthew who consistently rejects the latter, not infrequently accepts the former, see nos. 36, 37, 39.]

35. xiv 14 εἴπατε τῷ οἰκοδεσπότῃ ὅτι Ὁ διδάσκαλος λέγει· ποῦ ἐστιν τὸ κατάλυμά μου; In Mark some twenty MSS (but none of importance) omit, influenced no doubt by omission in both Matthew and Luke.

[36. xiv 18 Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι Εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει με. ὅτι is without variant in Mark and Matthew, cf. no. 34: in Luke there is no parallel.]

[37. xiv 25 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι Οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ πίω ἐκ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου... Again no parallel in Luke: again no variant in Mark, but as in 34 authorities are divided over ὅτι in Matt. xxvi 29. For omission are ℵ D Z Θ 1 33 and half a dozen others: for insertion A B C L Δ W and the rest. It is rather surprising that W-H omit without even a marginal variant.]

38. xiv 27 καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι Πάντες σκανδαλισθήσεσθε. Ὅτι is without variant in Mark, and omission is without variant in Matthew: no parallel in Luke.

[39. xiv 30 Ἀμὴν λέγω σοι ὅτι Σὺ σήμερον ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ... τρίς με ἀπαρνήσῃ. Ὅτι is without variant in Mark and Matthew: but omission is without variant in Luke.]

40. xiv 57, 58 ἐψευδομαρτύρουν κατ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντες ὅτι Ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ... Ὅτι without variant in Mark: omission without variant in Matthew: no Lucan parallel.

41. xiv 58 ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι Ἐγὼ καταλύσω τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον

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τὸν χειροποίητον . . . The details are the same exactly as in the last case, Matthew omitting ὅτι.

42. xiv 69 ἰδοῦσα αὐτὸν ἤρξατο πάλιν λέγειν τοῖς παρεστῶσιν ὅτι Οὗτος ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐστίν. Ὅτι is omitted by both Matthew and Luke, but is without variant in Mark.

43. xiv 71 ὁ δὲ ἤρξατο . . . ὀμνύναι ὅτι Οὐκ οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Transferred without change by Matthew to his own Gospel. Luke, not liking to say that Peter 'cursed and swore', abbreviates the sentence, and in the process drops ὅτι.

44. xiv 72 καὶ ἀνεμνήσθη ὁ Πέτρος τὸ ῥῆμα ὡς εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι Πρὶν . . . τρίς με ἀπαρνήσῃ. Ὅτι is given by all three Synoptists on the practically unanimous testimony of all Greek MSS other than D.

45. xvi 7 εἴπατε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ ὅτι Προάγει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν. Ὅτι is retained by Matthew, but the whole sentence undergoes drastic rearrangement in Luke and ὅτι disappears in the process. Did Matthew, towards the end of the Gospel, tire of making as many changes as in the earlier part in the process of making the Marcan material his own? He retains ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι first in **34** (Matt. xxiv 34), and ὅτι in other connexions only in **43, 44, 45** (Matt. xxvi 74, 75, xxviii 7).

What are the results to be gathered from this long enumeration?

In the first place, that in all these forty-five instances not more than four verbs are employed in introducing the ὅτι clause. Three times γράφειν γράφεσθαι (of Scripture), **20, 27, 29**: twice ὀμνύναι, **17, 43**: twice ἀποκρίνεσθαι, **22, 30**: but thirty-eight times λέγειν (εἰπεῖν). The mere statement of 'Marcan usage' is enough to prove that in the one case where our authorities differ, **1**, λέγων must be right. Nothing emerges, I think, more decisively from the whole series of notes on 'Marcan usage' than the immense superiority in Mark of the text of B to the text of ℵ. The edition of Tischendorf (and to a less extent that of W-H) is vitiated by the too great deference shewn to the latter MS.

In the second place, if we classify our forty-five instances according to the type of the ὅτι clause, we find

(*a*) that seven times it occurs not in narrative but in direct statements of our Lord, **9, 25, 32, 34, 36, 37, 39**, ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι . . ., and that the other two Synoptists retain ὅτι in these cases much oftener than in the rest: Matthew accepts it in **34** (probably), **36, 37** (probably), **39**—he has no parallel to **25** and **32**; Luke has no parallel to **9, 25, 36, 37**, but retains ὅτι in **32** and **34**. That is to say, Matthew only drops ὅτι once, in **9**, Luke only once, in **39**. Clearly, then, in dealing with ὅτι *recitativum*, we must isolate these cases from the rest: and indeed they are not strictly 'recitative' at all.

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(*b*) that, of the remaining thirty-eight cases, (i) three introduce quotations from Scripture, **20, 27, 29**; (ii) two introduce questions, **10** and **22**; (iii) ten[1] introduce statements in the third person which, if they stood alone, might be treated as *oratio obliqua*, **7, 8, 14, 15, 19, 21, 24, 30, 31, 42**; (iv) in the other twenty-three cases ὅτι is followed by a first or second person, so that these are necessarily in *oratio recta*. Now of all these cases, Luke omits ὅτι in all but five (**4, 6, 13, 15, 44**), Matthew in all but three (**43, 44, 45**), sometimes of course by changing the construction, more often by simply dropping the particle. As there are many more parallels in Matthew (thirty-one) than in Luke (twenty-two), the proportion varies as between the two, Luke retaining ὅτι five times out of twenty-two, or nearly one in four, Matthew only three times out of thirty-one, or one in ten.

On twelve occasions Matthew and Luke agree in simply dropping the ὅτι of Mark, **3, 5, 8, 18, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 33, 35, 42**. Twelve agreements, then, of the two later Synoptists against Mark are cleared off the ground on examination of 'Marcan usage'.

(3) *Asyndeta or absence of particles in Mark.*

The following rough list is probably not at all exhaustive,[2] but it is sufficient to illustrate my point, and it is reinforced (see § 4 below) by the special cases of *ναί*, *οὖν*, and *ἰδού*.

1. i 8 *ἐγὼ ἐβάπτισα ὑμᾶς ὕδατι.* So ℵ B L Θ 33 69 Origen b c Aug: the rest add *μέν* with Matthew and Luke.

2. i 22 *ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, οὐχ ὡς οἱ γραμματεῖς.* So D Θ b c d e: the rest read *καὶ οὐχ* with Matthew: Luke omits the last half of the phrase.

3. i 27 *τί ἐστιν τοῦτο; διδαχὴ καινή.* So ℵ B L 33 (*fam.* 1). Not in Matthew: Luke *τίς ὁ λόγος οὗτος, ὅτι ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ . . .* The remaining authorities in Mark prefix *τίς ἡ*.

4. ii 8, 9 *τί ταῦτα διαλογίζεσθε . . . ; τί ἐστιν εὐκοπώτερον . . . ;* So Luke: Matthew *τί γάρ ἐστιν εὐκοπώτερον . . . ;*

5. ii 17 *οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἰσχύοντες ἰατροῦ . . . οὐκ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους . . .* As in the last case Luke follows Mark, and Matthew inserts *γάρ, οὐ γὰρ ἦλθον καλέσαι . . .*

6. ii 21 *οὐδεὶς ἐπίβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου ἐπιράπτει. οὐδεὶς δέ* Matthew (followed by D and a few Latins in Mark): *ὅτι οὐδείς* Luke.

7. ii 25, 26 *οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε τί ἐποίησεν Δαυεὶδ . . . ; εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ . . .* So B D (and a 'et'): the remainder *πῶς εἰσῆλθεν* with Matt.: *ὡς εἰσῆλθεν* Luke, though B D omit as in Mark, perhaps rightly.

[1] But in only one of these, **7**, is the statement in the past tense.

[2] I have omitted all instances where there is no parallel in Matthew or Luke.

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8. iii 27 *οὐ δύναται οὐδεὶς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ εἰσελθὼν . . .* So A D W and most Greek MSS, e and most Latins, and syr-sin: ℵ B and a few other good authorities prefix *ἀλλά*, but *ἀλλά* at the beginning of a sentence is extraordinarily rare in Mark, xiii 24 being the only other example. Luke is not strictly parallel: Matthew has *ἢ πῶς . . .*

9. iii 34, 35 *ἴδε ἡ μήτηρ μου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί μου. ὃς ἂν ποιήσῃ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ . . .* So B b e (and 'et' a c Aug): the rest read *ὃς γὰρ ἂν ποιήσῃ*. Matthew *ὅστις γὰρ ἂν ποιήσῃ*: Luke again has no exact parallel.

10. iv 24 *βλέπετε τί ἀκούετε· ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.* In what are practically the parallels, Matt. vii 2, Luke vi 38, *γάρ* is added by both the other Synoptists.

11. viii 15 *ὁρᾶτε βλέπετε ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης τῶν Φαρισαίων . . .* Matthew *ὁρᾶτε καὶ προσέχετε ἀπό*, Luke *προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς ἀπό*: *βλέπειν ἀπό* in the sense 'to beware of' is a Marcan vulgarism (cf. xii 38), which the other Synoptists instinctively avoid. In Mark the reading is not doubtful: but three separate attempts are made in different authorities to emend the text and get rid of the asyndeton or of the double verb: D Θ *fam.* 1 565 omit *ὁρᾶτε*, Δ omits *βλέπετε*, C *fam.* 13 insert *καί* between the verbs.

12. ix 38 *ἔφη αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰωάνης.* No parallel in Matthew: Luke *ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰωάνης εἶπεν.* In Mark all authorities but ℵ B D Δ Θ sah and a few of the best Old Latins including k, with syr-sin, avoid the asyndeton, either by adding *δέ* or by prefixing *καί*.

13. x 9 *ὃ ὁ θεὸς συνέζευξεν, ἄνθρωπος μὴ χωριζέτω.* No parallel in Luke: Matthew *ὃ οὖν ὁ θεὸς . . .*, and from Matthew most MSS of Mark. The true reading without *οὖν* is preserved only in D and k.

14. x 14 *ἄφετε τὰ παιδία ἔρχεσθαι πρός με, μὴ κωλύετε αὐτά.* Both Matthew and Luke alter to *καὶ μὴ κωλύετε αὐτά*, and they have drawn after them a large majority of the MSS of Mark. But the shorter reading has for it B W Δ, a dozen more uncials and some eighty cursives.

15. x 24, 25 *πῶς δύσκολόν ἐστιν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν· εὐκοπώτερόν ἐστιν κάμηλον. . .* Matthew *ὅτι εὐκοπώτερον*, Luke *εὐκοπώτερον γάρ*. Evidence for the asyndeton in Mark is only qualified by *δέ* in A, and *γάρ* in a few others.

16. x 27 *ἐμβλέψας αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῖς . . . ἐμβλέψας δέ* Matthew, *ὁ δὲ εἶπεν* Luke. Most MSS of Mark follow Matthew: the true reading survives in ℵ B C* Δ 1 syr-sin.

17. x 28 *ἤρξατο λέγειν ὁ Πέτρος αὐτῷ. τότε ἤρξατο* Matthew, *εἶπεν δέ* Luke. In Mark we find *καὶ ἤρξατο, ἤρξατο δέ, τότε ἤρξατο, ἤρξατο οὖν*: but *ἤρξατο* without connecting particle in ℵ A B C W Δ Θ syr-sin, and a good many others.

18. x 29 (the fourth asyndeton in five verses) *ἔφη ὁ Ἰησοῦς.* Matthew *ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς*: Luke *ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς.* In Mark only ℵ B Δ

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give ἔφη alone, and it is possible that with the rest we ought to prefix ἀποκριθείς: but even so most of them retain the asyndeton.

19. xii 9 *τί ποιήσει ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος; τί οὖν ποιήσει* Luke, and similarly Matthew *ὅταν οὖν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος, τί ποιήσει . . .* In Mark only B L (syr-sin sah) give the shorter reading without *οὖν*: but they are certainly right.

20. xii 17 *ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· Τὰ Καίσαρος ἀπόδοτε* (al. *Ἀπόδοτε τὰ Καίσαρος*) *Καίσαρι.* Matthew *ἀπόδοτε οὖν τὰ Καίσαρος*, Luke *τοίνυν ἀπόδοτε τὰ Καίσαρος.* This time only a few authorities in Mark insert *οὖν.*

21. xii 20 *ἑπτὰ ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν.* Luke *ἑπτὰ οὖν ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν*, Matthew *ἦσαν δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν ἑπτὰ ἀδελφοί.* In Mark ℵ A B C* L W Δ Θ, the great majority of Greek MSS, syr-sin and k, read as above.

22. xii 23 *ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει . . . τίνος αὐτῶν ἔσται γυνή;* Both Matthew and Luke insert *οὖν*: omitted in Mark by ℵ B C* L Δ, many other Greek MSS, and **k.**

23. xii 24 *ἔφη αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς.* So in Mark ℵ B C L Δ 33 k, much as in **21** and **22**, but without support from later MSS: *καὶ εἶπεν* Luke, *ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ . . . εἶπεν* Matthew.

24. xii 36 *αὐτὸς Δαυεὶδ εἶπεν.* So without particle ℵ B L W Δ *fam.* 13 28 565 a k sah: the other MSS mostly *αὐτὸς γάρ* with Luke. Matthew *πῶς οὖν . . .*

24 bis. xii 37 *αὐτὸς Δαυεὶδ λέγει αὐτὸν κύριον.* So in Mark ℵ B D L W Δ Θ 28 565 a i k sah (syr-sin). The rest add *οὖν* after *αὐτὸς* with Luke *Δαυεὶδ οὖν*: Matthew *εἰ οὖν Δαυεὶδ καλεῖ . . .*

25. xiii 5, 6 *βλέπετε μή τις ὑμᾶς πλανήσῃ· πολλοὶ ἐλεύσονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου . . .* So ℵ B L W: the rest add *γάρ* with Matt. and Luke.

26. xiii 7 *μὴ θροεῖσθε· δεῖ γενέσθαι.* So only ℵ B W and the Egyptian versions: the rest have *δεῖ γάρ* after Matthew and Luke.

27. xiii 8 *ἐγερθήσεται γὰρ ἔθνος ἐπ' ἔθνος καὶ βασιλεία ἐπὶ βασιλείαν· ἔσονται σεισμοὶ κατὰ τόπους, ἔσονται λιμοί.* The first *ἔσονται* with ℵ B D L W 28 124 and the Egyptian versions, the second *ἔσονται* with ℵ^{c} B L (W) 28 sah: the rest in each case prefix *καί.* Matthew and Luke combine the two *ἔσονται* clauses into one, Matthew connecting with the *ἐγερθήσεται* clause by *καί*, Luke by *τε.*

28. xiii 8 *ὁ ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων ταῦτα.* So without connecting particle Mark: but Matt. *πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων*: no parallel in Luke.

29. xiii 23 *ὑμεῖς δὲ βλέπετε· προείρηκα ὑμῖν πάντα.* So B L W 28 a: the rest follow Matthew's *ἰδοὺ προείρηκα . . .* No parallel in Luke.

30. xiii 34 *ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἀπόδημος ἀφεὶς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ δοὺς τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐξουσίαν . . .* So all the best authorities in Mark: but many MSS borrow *γάρ* from Matthew *ὥσπερ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἀποδημῶν . . .* No parallel again in Luke.

31. xiv 3 *ἦλθεν γυνὴ ἔχουσα ἀλάβαστρον μύρου νάρδου πιστικῆς πολυ-*

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τελοῦς· συντρίψασα τὴν ἀλάβαστρον κατέχεεν αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς. So only ℵ B L: the rest prefix καί to συντρίψασα. Matthew, omitting συντρίψασα τὴν ἀ., gives καὶ κατέχεεν. Luke omits the whole incident, having related a parallel story in vii 36–50: this covers also **32**, **33**.

32. xiv 6 τί αὐτῇ κόπους παρέχετε; καλὸν ἔργον ἠργάσατο ἐν ἐμοί. So all but a few MSS of Mark: ℵ W *fam.* 13 28 have καλὸν γὰρ ἔργον with Matthew's ἔργον γὰρ καλὸν . . .

33. xiv 8 ὃ ἔσχεν ἐποίησεν· προέλαβεν μυρίσαι μου τὸ σῶμα εἰς τὸν ἐνταφιασμόν. The asyndeton is without variant in Mark: Matthew adds γάρ, βαλοῦσα γὰρ αὕτη τὸ μύρον τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματός μου.

34. xiv 19 ἤρξαντο λυπεῖσθαι καὶ λέγειν αὐτῷ εἷς κατὰ εἷς· Μήτι ἐγώ; So ℵ B L Origen in Mark: nearly all the rest avoid the asyndeton by οἱ δὲ ἤρξαντο . . ., not on this occasion following Matthew's καὶ λυπούμενοι σφόδρα ἤρξαντο λέγειν . . . There is therefore somewhat less certainty in this case: yet Marcan usage, combined with the excellent record of B in the whole series of passages here enumerated, is I think decisive. Luke, as so often in the Passion narrative (cf. **35**), has no parallel.

35. xiv 41 καθεύδετε τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθε· ἀπέχει· ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα, ἰδοὺ παραδίδοται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου . . . So with few exceptions (D W and Old Latins) the texts of Mark: Matthew omits the difficult ἀπέχει, and substitutes ἰδοὺ ἤγγικεν ἡ ὥρα καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται . . .

36. xiv 63, 64 τί ἔτι χρείαν ἔχομεν μαρτύρων; ἠκούσατε τῆς βλασφημίας.[1] No important witness differs in Mark save ℵ, which follows Matthew ἴδε νῦν ἠκούσατε . . . Luke αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἠκούσαμεν . . .

37. xvi 6 μὴ ἐκθαμβεῖσθε· Ἰησοῦν ζητεῖτε τὸν Ναζαρηνὸν τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον. Mark leaves us in doubt whether the second clause is a statement or a question: Matthew with οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι . . . ζητεῖτε interprets in the former sense, Luke with τί ζητεῖτε in the latter.

38. xvi 6 ὁ ἠγέρθη, οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε. So Mark without variant: Matthew οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε, ἠγέρθη γάρ. Luke οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε, ἀλλὰ ἠγέρθη.

These passages are enough to prove to demonstration, in the first place, Mark's fondness for asyndeta—it corresponds to his rough unliterary style—and, in the second place, the constant tendency in Matthew and Luke to remove the asyndeta by providing particles to supply some sort of connexion with what precedes. Sometimes, as we should expect, they provide the same particles, sometimes different ones. Out of some twenty-five cases where both Matthew and Luke have parallels to the Marcan text, Luke retains the asyndeton twice (**4** and **5**),[2] Matthew never: in twelve cases they give different supple-

[1] I think 'Marcan usage' is decisive against W-H's punctuation ἠκούσατε τῆς βλασφημίας; Compare e. g. ii 7, the statement βλασφημεῖ between two questions.

[2] Possibly also in **7**.

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ments, in ten cases the same, namely 1 *μέν*, 10 *γάρ*, 14 *καί*, 16 *δέ*, 18 *δέ*, 19 *οὖν*, 22 *οὖν*, 24 *bis οὖν*, 25 *γάρ*, 26 *γάρ*. Ten cases may seem a large proportion: but the supplements are always natural ones, or indeed the most natural ones, and the agreements against Mark—side by side with a rather larger number of divergent supplements—mean no more than that the two later Synoptists, editing the text of the earlier Gospel, often hit independently on the same obvious improvements.

But further we learn of course something of the relative value of our authorities for the text of St Mark. In this particular section of our enquiry, the excellence of B stands out unchallenged: in eight instances the asyndeton is practically without variant, at any rate in all the older authorities, but in the remaining thirty-one B is right—on the assumption that an 'asyndeton' reading is to be preferred—in no less than twenty-eight, the exceptions being **2**, **8**, and **13**. ℵ is right in twenty-one cases; the exceptions (besides the three just mentioned, which it shares with B) are **7**, **9**, **14**, **19**, **29**, **32**, **36**. D is right in only nine cases, though it should be noted that in **2**, **7**, **12**, **13**, **28**, it gives the shorter reading with only a few companions. But k, for the part of the Gospel for which it is extant (from **12** onwards), has a better record than D of asyndeta: **12**, **13**, **21**, **22**, **23**, **24**, **24** bis, four times against D. In **13**, a quite certain case, D k stand alone with the right reading.

(4). *Particles absent from Mark.*

i. *ναί*.

ναί is found eight times in Matthew, v 37, ix 28, xi 9, xi 26, xiii 51, xv 27, xvii 25, xxi 16: four times in Luke, vii 26, x 21, xi 51, xii 5. On two occasions the passages in Matthew and Luke are parallel, Matt. xi 9 = Luke vii 26 *ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν περισσότερον προφήτου*, Matt. xi 26 = Luke x 21 *ναὶ ὁ πατήρ, ὅτι οὕτως εὐδοκία ἔμπροσθέν σου*: both passages presumably come from Q. But further the two other occasions where *ναί* is found in Luke belong also it would seem to Q sections: Luke xi 51 *ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν* (Matthew *ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν*), xii 5 *ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν* (omitted by Matthew). It is possible therefore that Luke never uses *ναί* except where he is following Q.

Of the other six instances in Matthew, five occur in matter not found in Mark: the sixth, Matt. xv 27, is parallel to Mark vii 28. The printed texts give *ναί* in both Gospels as introducing the answer of the Syrophenician woman to our Lord's objection about throwing the children's bread to dogs. There is no other case of the use of *ναί* in St Mark: and 'Marcan usage' is reinforced by the testimony of witnesses who omit it even here.

These witnesses are D W Θ *fam.*13 565 b c ff i syr-sin: all 'Western'

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indeed, but Western of very varied types. It is noteworthy that W-H gave the omission of *ναί* a place in the margin of their edition before the evidence of either W or Θ or the Sinai Syriac was available: and obviously, whatever was to be said on internal grounds before the new witnesses were known, the external evidence is now very strongly reinforced. The ℵ B group, in fact, have suffered assimilation to Matthew: and the solitary instance of *ναί* in St Mark disappears.[1]

ii. οὖν.

οὖν is found in Matthew nearly sixty times, in Luke some thirty times—i. e. in proportion to the length of his Gospel about half as often as in Matthew—in Mark at the outside seven times: but on three of these seven W-H omit *οὖν* entirely, and on a fourth they bracket it. The weight of 'Marcan usage' is so strong that omission is presumably right where there is even a small body of good witnesses in support of it; and possibly right, where a parallel in Matthew will account for its insertion, without any external evidence at all.

1. x 9 *ὃ οὖν ὁ θεὸς συνέζευξεν ἄνθρωπος μὴ χωριζέτω.* So word for word Matthew, and so the critical editions of Mark with the vast majority of MSS. But D k omit *οὖν*: and omission is so like Mark's style, while the correction from Matthew would be so easily and so obviously made, in a terse familiar saying, that I accept the shorter reading without hesitation. See Asyndeta 13.

2. xi 31 *ἐὰν εἴπωμεν· Ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, ἐρεῖ· Διὰ τί οὖν οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε αὐτῷ;* Here Matthew has *οὖν*, but it is important to note that it is absent from Luke: and omission in Mark has for it A C* L W a b c d ff i k syr-sin. W-H give omission a place in the margin; but where Marcan usage, Lucan parallel, and good Greek and Latin evidence, all coincide, omission is, I think, incontestably right.

3. xii 8, 9 *καὶ λαβόντες ἀπέκτειναν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος. τί οὖν ποιήσει ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος;* So all MSS of Mark, except B L (syr-sin) sah. But both Luke and Matthew have *οὖν*, Luke following Mark closely *τί οὖν ποιήσει . . .*, Matthew inserting it into an introductory clause *ὅταν οὖν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος, τί ποιήσει . .* We shall have therefore no hesitation in accepting, with Tischendorf and W-H, the evidence of B, and in ejecting once more the particle *οὖν* from the text of Mark.

4. xii 23 *ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει οὖν . . .* So (or *ἐν τῇ οὖν ἀναστάσει*) many MSS of Mark, including A D W Θ 1 28 565 and most Latins, with Matthew *ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει οὖν . . .* and Luke *ἡ γυνὴ οὖν ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει . . .*

[1] I have dealt with this reading, more briefly, in my *Study of the New Testament* (ed. 2, 1924) p. 70.

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Omit οὖν in Mark with ℵ B C* L Δ, very many Greek MSS, and k: so also Tischendorf and W-H. See under Asyndeta **22.**

5. xii 37 αὐτὸς οὖν Δαυεὶδ λέγει αὐτὸν κύριον. So in Mark A and the great majority of Greek MSS, compare Luke Δαυεὶδ οὖν κύριον αὐτὸν καλεῖ, and Matthew εἰ οὖν Δαυεὶδ καλεῖ αὐτὸν κύριον . . . Again omit οὖν in Mark with ℵ B D L W Δ Θ 28 565 a i k, the Egyptian versions (syr-sin), and the critical editions. See Asyndeta **24** bis.

6. xiii 35 γρηγορεῖτε οὖν· οὐκ οἴδατε γὰρ πότε ὁ κύριος τῆς οἰκίας ἔρχεται. No variant in Mark: and though οὖν may conceivably have been borrowed by the scribes of Mark from Matt. xxiv 42 (there is no parallel in Luke), it would be hazardous to question it without any MS support, the more so that there is another instance to follow where our authorities are unanimous for the word.

7. xv 12 ὁ δὲ Πειλᾶτος πάλιν ἀποκριθεὶς ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· Τί οὖν θέλετε[1] ποιήσω ὃν λέγετε τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων; Again no variant in Mark, τί οὖν in Matthew, and no parallel in Luke. The same considerations apply as in the last case: I am not sure that οὖν in Mark is right, but I should not venture to remove it from the text.

Thus out of seven instances οὖν should be banished from Mark in five. In three of these both Matthew and Luke have the particle: that is to say, three instances of agreement between the two other Synoptists against Mark are seen to be meaningless, because we have once more the key to the solution in 'Marcan usage'.

iii. ἰδού *in narrative.*

Neither Mark nor John ever uses ἰδού in narrative: Luke employs it fairly often (sixteen times), Matthew twice as often (thirty-two times) as Luke. In Luke it is regularly in the form καὶ ἰδού: that is also the predominant form in Matthew, but ἰδού is also found in this Gospel with a genitive absolute preceding it as often as nine times. In both Matthew and Luke the usage is found alike in portions that are parallel to Mark and portions that are not—about three-quarters of the instances in Matthew and something over half of the instances in Luke belonging to the 'triple tradition'.

There are in fact some twenty-five passages where one or other of the later Synoptists grafts ἰδού on to the Marcan stock, three of these being peculiar to Luke, sixteen peculiar to Matthew, and six common to both. Again it may be asked, Is not this a high percentage of agreement?

[1] W-H omit θέλετε with ℵ B C Δ *fam.* 1 *fam.* 13 33 and the Egyptian versions: but the omission I believe to be due either to assimilation to Matt. xxvii 22 or to a desire to get rid of the construction θέλετε ποίησω. Tischendorf retains θέλετε.

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In two out of every three cases where Luke uses it Matthew has it too, and can this be due to chance? The answer is twofold.

In the first place Matthew uses the phrase so commonly, when a new character or new element in the story is introduced, that it is not wonderful that Luke, using it much more sparingly, should be found to coincide with Matthew in a high proportion of his relatively few cases. If ἰδού were to be introduced at all, certain occasions would stand out as specially calling for it. The six occasions common to Matthew and Luke are in fact (*a*) the commencement of three stories of miracles, Mark i 40, ii 3, v 22: (*b*) the appearance of Moses and Elias at the Transfiguration, Mark ix 4: (*c*) the appearance of Judas in the Garden, Mark xiv 43: (*d*) the appearance of the angel or angels who announced the Resurrection, Mark xvi 5.

In the second place, as Mark is *never* found to use the phrase in narrative, we can hardly explain any coincidences of Matthew and Luke against Mark as pointing back to a more original text of Mark. It was not Mark, but much more probably the Old Testament, that taught Matthew, and to a less degree Luke, the value of the employment of ἰδού to give vigour and movement to the narrative.[1]

VIII. 'The disciples' *and* 'the Twelve'.[2]

Eduard Meyer, in his important work *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* (3 vols., Stuttgart and Berlin, 1921–3), attempts to analyse the sources of St Mark and assumes a distinction between a 'disciples' source and a 'Twelve' source according as οἱ μαθηταί or οἱ δώδεκα is the phrase employed (i 133–147).

These 'Notes on Marcan usage' are being put together primarily as a contribution to the examination of the history of the text and of the Synoptic problem. But it is also part of their purpose to test, and if the evidence tends that way to establish the truth of, my own working hypothesis that the authority of St Peter stands, as tradition has always indicated, very closely behind the authority of the Evangelist.

Of course it goes without saying that that hypothesis applies especially

[1] It is worth noting that in several of the cases where Matthew and Luke have ἰδού, it replaces an ἔρχεται of St Mark: Mark i 40, ii 3, v 22.

[2] The following pages were originally written as an appendix to 'Marcan usage: V. 'The movements of Jesus and his disciples and the crowd' (*J. T. S.* April 1925, xxvi 225–240), where I tried to emphasize the indications in Mark, as contrasted with Matthew and Luke, of the evidence of an eye-witness, indications which appear to be spread over practically the whole story of the Ministry. It seems simpler now to print this examination of a rival theory as an independent section of my Notes.

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to the period between St Peter's call (i 16) and the flight of the disciples (xiv 50). For the story of the Baptism[1] and Temptation the ultimate authority must be that of Jesus himself, though it must have reached the Evangelist through the medium of some personal disciple to whom Jesus had confided it—naturally, in this case, St Peter. For the story of the Crucifixion and (so far as the extant part of the Gospel extends) the Resurrection one primary authority is presumably that of the holy women or one of them—if one must select, that one whose name is otherwise unknown to us, Mary the mother of James and Joses.

But it does not follow that, even if the authority of St Peter stands in the main behind the narrative i 16–xiv 50, it stands in equal degree behind every part of it. Distinction must be made in the first place between that part of the story where we may presume that he was spectator or auditor, and those exceptional passages where the contrary was certainly or probably the case. There is the story of Herod and John the Baptist, vi 14–29: there is perhaps the journey of our Lord to Tyre and back, vii 24–37, where from the absence of any allusion to disciples it may not improbably be deduced that the journey was undertaken without companions.

Even in these passages the information may still have reached the Evangelist by way of St Peter. But I should not want to exclude the possibility that there may be episodes which the Evangelist derived from other sources and has interwoven into the Petrine tradition. Such in particular might be the second account of miraculous feeding, viii 1–9, of which the most probable explanation seems to me to be that it is a variant, derived by Mark from another source, of the first (Petrine) account in vi 34–44.[2]

But returning, with the reserves indicated, to the working hypothesis that the account of the Ministry is a homogeneous whole depending on the Petrine tradition, let us see whether the actual use or interchange of the phrases 'the disciples' and 'the Twelve' suggests an actual inter-

[1] Note that in St Mark's Gospel, and in his Gospel only, the Baptism is related throughout as our Lord's experience: i 10 *ἀναβαίνων . . . εἶδεν*, i 11 *σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός*. Matthew changes the latter part, and, as in the Transfiguration where the Voice from heaven is addressed to the three apostles (Mk. ix 7 = Matt. xvii 5 = Lk. ix 35), writes *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου . . .*, while Luke changes the former part into a historical statement, *ἐγένετο . . . ἀνεῳχθῆναι τὸν οὐρανὸν . . . καὶ φωνὴν . . . γενέσθαι*: Matt. iii 17, Lk. iii 21, 22.

[2] See Dr Headlam's *Jesus the Christ* (1923), p. 14. As Dr Headlam points out, the second distinguishes itself from the first by the absence of those vivid details which we are accustomed to call 'Marcan touches'. But if these details are found in the Petrine, and are absent from the non-Petrine account, the important conclusion results that the vivid touches of the Evangelist go back in the main to the apostle. It does not follow, of course, that the disciple and 'interpreter' has not caught something of the style and spirit of his master.

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change of sources or whether it grows naturally out of the situation in the process of developement described in St Mark's Gospel. That is the first test of all theories of partition of sources, whether in this or any other document.

Μαθηταί are first mentioned in ii 15, when we are told that they were now 'many' and were beginning to collect round him and 'follow' him: before that we have only (1) the call of four disciples who came 'after him' (*ὀπίσω*, i 17, 20)—these form at once a group of four (i 29): it may be only these four, it may already be others, who are included in the 'Simon and his companions' of i 36—and (2) the call of a fifth personally named disciple,[1] with the summons 'Follow me', in ii 14. Then we hear (in the next verse) of the 'many disciples' who were 'following' Jesus. From this point onwards begins the regular usage of the word, perhaps 'thy disciples'[2] ii 18, at any rate 'his disciples' in ii 23, iii 7, 9.

Obviously the term 'the Twelve' cannot be used till the formal separation of an inner group among the disciples, iii 13 ff, and obviously at that point the use of some such phrase was imperative to express what was happening, and all three Synoptists agree so far. Luke (vi 13–17), unlike Matthew, keeps close to the order of Mark, but inverts the call of the twelve apostles and the notice of the wide districts from which hearers were now being attracted. In Mark it may be supposed that it was just the extension of the work which caused our Lord to create the first rudiments of organization in selecting the Twelve to be his

[1] Levi, son of Alpheus, who is not identified either by Mark, or by Luke who follows Mark (Luke v 27–29), with Matthew. On the other hand we should naturally suppose that one whose call is thus given in detail was in fact one of the Twelve, as his brother 'James son of Alpheus' (Mark iii 18) certainly was. The Western text solves the difficulty by reading 'James [not Levi] son of Alpheus' in Mark ii 14; but St Luke's support of 'Levi' seems to disprove this otherwise attractive solution. We may perhaps either suppose that *Λεββαῖον* of the Western text is right in the list of the Apostles iii 18—*Θαδδαῖον* would then have come in from Matt. x 3—and that *Λεββαῖος* is a variant form of *Λευείν* (Origen has *ὁ Λεβὴς τελώνης*); or alternatively that we should read in iii 18 *Ἰάκωβον* [*καὶ Λευείν*] *τὸν Ἁλφαίου*. If the mention of Levi had accidently dropped out from a very early copy, we could understand both the presence of the variants *Θαδδαῖος* and *Λεββαῖος* in Mark and Matthew and the appearance in Luke of a new name *Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου*. The number of the Twelve had somehow to be filled up. [I think I owe this suggestion to the Rev. A. E. J. Rawlinson].

[2] Probably B is right in omitting *μαθηταί*, and reading *οἱ δὲ σοὶ οὐ νηστεύουσιν*: for (1) Luke has not got the word, which a little suggests that he did not find it in Mark, (2) the MSS which give it differ among themselves as to the place where they put it. I think it has come in from Matt. ix 14; and, if so, the reason of Mark's phrase may be that Jews hardly recognized the new Teacher's followers yet as organized 'disciples' in the same sense as those of the Baptist and of the Pharisees—it is something like 'Your people'.

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companions and his delegates. Of the actual call Luke's account is limpid in its clearness, 'He called his disciples, and chose out of them twelve, whom he named "apostles", Simon, whom he named Peter, and . . .' Doubtless Luke understands himself to be giving the sum of Mark's rather involved account, 'He called whom he would and they came to him and he appointed twelve to be' his companions and apostolic delegates; 'and he appointed the Twelve and gave Simon the name Peter, and James . . .': and it is just this involved character of Mark's account which prompts Meyer to see in it, quite unnecessarily as I think, a conflation of two separate strata of tradition.

In the first place, then, when Mark says 'he called whom he would and they came to him and he appointed twelve', I do not think he means to describe two acts, as Luke thought, but one. 'He summoned whom he would' is in fact the selection of the Twelve: and so Matthew appears to understand him when writing 'He summoned his twelve disciples' Matt. x 1—odd as is the phrase *τοὺς δώδεκα μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ*, when we have so far heard nothing about the disciples being twelve. Mark's *καὶ ἐποίησεν δώδεκα* is a characteristic piece of redundancy, due to his desire to emphasize the formal nature of the act, and should not be separated from the preceding verse by more than a comma.

So far any difficulty has been removed by exegesis and punctuation: for the next problems textual evidence must be called in to assist. Modern critics seem fairly unanimous in following Tischendorf, as against Westcott and Hort, and ejecting the words *οὓς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὠνόμασεν* from verse 14 as a plain contamination from Luke vi 13. Decision is not quite so simple as to the opening words of verse 16, *καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς δώδεκα*: but the omitting and inserting groups are so nearly the same as in the last case that, if there is anything in the principle *noscitur a sociis*, this phrase is naturally treated as a companion interpolation and should also disappear.[1] The names in the accusative, verses 17–19, will then depend directly on *ἐποίησεν* of verse 14, an awkwardness which Matthew removes by commencing a new sentence, 'Now the names of the Twelve Apostles were these'. Meyer's mountain has by now crumbled down to the rather ungrammatical parenthesis 'and he gave Simon the name Peter'.[2]

[1] *οὓς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὠνόμασεν* absent from A C² D L W all Latins syr-sin and Armenian: found in ℵ B C* (*ut vid*) Δ Θ Ferrar group 28 sah. *καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς δώδεκα*, absent from A C² D L W Θ *fam.* 1 *fam.* 13 all Latins syr-sin sah and Armenian: found in ℵ B C* Δ 565 700. The latter insertion may have been a marginal gloss to *καὶ ἐποίησεν δώδεκα* of verse 14: the glossator wanted to substitute 'the Twelve' for 'twelve', and fearing that a mere *τούς* would not make his meaning clear, wrote the phrase in full.

[2] If with the Ferrar group and sah we could for *ἐποίησεν τοὺς δώδεκα* read *πρῶτον Σίμωνα*, the last difficulty would go. But the evidence is far too slight, I am afraid.

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Our Lord had thus formed an inner circle, for intimate companionship and for missionary work, out of the whole number of his disciples. That is exactly the situation reflected in the two next mentions of the Twelve. In iv 10 'those who were round him with the Twelve' *οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς δώδεκα*, ask of him the meaning of the parables. In vi 7 he summons the Twelve, and sends them out in pairs on a missionary tour, *προσκαλεῖται τοὺς δώδεκα καὶ ἤρξατο αὐτοὺς ἀποστέλλειν δύο δύο*: in vi 30 the 'apostles' or 'missionaries' return and report to him the results, and he retires with them privately to the wilder country across the lake.

That is to say, he is from now onwards more and more concentrating himself on the training of a select few, more and more withdrawing himself from his public ministry in Galilee. It was not done at any definite moment. There is a transition period, during which he reappears from time to time in Capernaum and its neighbourhood. 'His disciples' is a general term describing those who were associated with him at any particular moment. It becomes therefore a synonym for the Twelve, just in proportion as he journeys about more and more exclusively with them. Only the Twelve were with him in the desert place to which he retired for privacy, so that *οἱ μαθηταί αὐτοῦ* in the episode of the feeding of the multitudes who had followed him there (vi 35–41) are naturally the Twelve. On the other hand when he returned to the west of the lake and the neighbourhood of Capernaum, 'his disciples' (vii 2) may reassume the larger meaning, though it should be noted that 'his disciples' who enter the house with him (vii 17) cannot have been an indefinitely large company.

From vii 24 to vii 37 there is no mention either of the Twelve or of the disciples: Jesus was, it would seem, alone. The succeeding verses, viii 1–10 are probably a variant tradition of vi 35–45. In the continuous narrative 'his disciples' first therefore reappear at viii 27 on the road to Caesarea Philippi, on the occasion of the great confession of faith which forms the climax of the earlier part of the Ministry. If I read the Gospel rightly, the 'disciples' are from this point onwards practically identical with the Twelve, and I do not think that the Evangelist or his authority intended to make distinction between them. Perhaps the summoning of 'the crowd with his disciples', viii 34, may denote the older and larger body of followers. But the interval, if it was an interval, was a brief one, for less than a week (ix 2) separates the Confession from the Transfiguration, and the disciples of viii 27 are presumably also the disciples of ix 14. From Caesarea Philippi to Jerusalem the record is one of almost continuous movement. Once indeed Jesus revisited the scene of his earlier preaching, but it was, if one may use the phrase, incognito: 'they passed along through

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Galilee, and he would not that any should know,' for the subject-matter of his teaching was appropriate to a narrower circle only, ix 30, 31. Three times the Evangelist reiterates the prophecy of the Passion, viii 31, ix 31, x 33. On the first occasion the recipients were apparently the group of disciples who accompanied Jesus on the way to Caesarea Philippi, since when Peter was shocked by what was told him and burst into vehement protest, Jesus 'turned round and saw his disciples', viii 32, 33. On the second occasion the teaching was again addressed to 'his disciples', ix 31; on the third to the Twelve, x 32–34. There is an increasing definiteness of detail in the prophecy, but there seems to be no suggestion that those to whom it is addressed are other than before.

No other interpretation of the later chapters of the Gospel, viii 27 onwards (with the possible exception of viii 34), is so simple and so satisfactory as that which treats the phrases 'the disciples' and 'the Twelve', *οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ* and *οἱ δώδεκα*, as practically synonyms.

'He was teaching his disciples . . . and they came to Capernaum, and after going indoors he asked them what they had been talking about . . . and he called the Twelve . . . and set a child in the middle of them,' ix 31–35. Is it reasonable to think that one set of persons had been discussing who was greatest, and that the moral was pointed to a different set?

The next two examples of the use of 'the disciples' tell us just the same tale. 'And when he was in the house the disciples again put questions to him about' the teaching he had been giving on divorce, x 10. Again we remind ourselves that those 'in the house' must have been a limited number, as in vii 17 and ix 33. And when 'the disciples' rebuked the forwardness of the mothers who brought children for his blessing, our Lord expressed his indignation in similar words and with the same action, *ἐναγκαλισάμενος*, as he had employed on the last occasion of the mention of the Twelve, x 13–16, cf ix 36, 37.[1]

After the episode of the rich young man, 'Jesus looked round on his disciples' with the saying 'How hard it will be for those with possessions to enter into the Kingdom of God', x 23. But immediately after, x 24, the disciples are addressed as *τέκνα*—here only in the Gospels, save for

[1] If these two episodes stood alone, there would no doubt be something to be said for Meyer's hypothesis: the 'Twelve' source and the 'disciples' source had each, it might be suggested with some reason, an episode which emphasized by an appropriate action the necessity of the childlike spirit, the two stories being really variant accounts of the same thing. But they do not stand alone. We have in fact abundant evidence for the repetition by Jesus of the same teaching on different occasions, and also for the indifferent use by Mark. in the later chapters of his Gospel (ix 31, 35; xi 11, 14; xiv 12, 17), of the two phrases 'his disciples' and 'the Twelve' in reference to the same occasions.

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Jo. xiii 33, *τεκνία, ἔτι μικρὸν μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμί*—a term indicative of affection and intimacy such as could not be applied outside a very narrow circle. Those to whom he spoke had given up home and everything to follow him (x 28). That need not mean the Twelve only: but it must mean a very few.

'And they were on the road going up to Jerusalem: and Jesus went on ahead . . . and they followed him in fear. And he took the Twelve again into his company', and repeated to them the prophecy of the Passion, connecting it now definitely with the very journey on which they had set out, x 32–34. It is an unnatural exegesis to distinguish between those from whom Jesus for the moment separated himself, and those whom he took 'again' into his company.

Precisely the same conclusion is suggested by the request of the brothers James and John, x 35 ff. It created grave indignation—among whom? among 'the disciples'? No, but among the remaining members of the Twelve, *οἱ δέκα*, x 41. There may have been some few others with him: but it is the Twelve who fill the foreground throughout the journey.

Once more 'his disciples' leave Jericho with Jesus and the crowd, x 46: 'they draw near Jerusalem', and at the Mount of Olives he sends on 'two of his disciples' to prepare for the triumphal entry, xi 1: he entered the city, went into the Temple, swept his glance round over everything, but it was late and he did no more that night, but went out to Bethany—with the Twelve, *μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα*, xi 11. Next day on his return he pronounced the doom of the barren fig-tree 'and his disciples heard it' xi 14. Were the Twelve, then, who went out with him to Bethany in the evening, different from the 'disciples' who came back with him in the morning?

From xi 27 to xii 34 the narrative is occupied by the public debates, if we may so put it, with the authorities at large, with the different parties separately, and with an individual scribe. The crisis is approaching: the breach is complete: for the last time Jesus teaches the crowd, and forces the situation by direct denunciation of the religious leaders of the people. If they give largely to the treasury, their income is extracted from helpless widows: and one such widow, he tells 'his disciples', had given more than any of them, xii 35–44.

As he left the Temple, 'one of his disciples' called his attention to its magnificence: he answered with a prophecy of its destruction. They ascended the Mount of Olives: and the four leading apostles—the only apostles, unless Levi was one, who are mentioned by name (apart from Judas Iscariot) in the Gospel—asked him to explain himself further. It was apparently in answer to their request, and to them only, that he imparted his teaching about the End, xiii 5–37.

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So far then in these chapters there seems no valid reason for distinguishing between 'the disciples' and 'the Twelve': and now we come immediately[1] to a very clear case for identification in xiv 12–17, where 'his disciples say to him Where do you want us to go and prepare for your passover? and he sends two of his disciples [Peter and John, according to Luke xxii 8] . . . and the disciples went out and . . . found just what he told them and prepared the passover: and in the evening he came with the Twelve'. Once more we ask, were the disciples who spoke about the passover in the morning a separate set from the Twelve who kept it with Jesus in the evening?

After this the phrase *οἱ δώδεκα* is not used again, save as a definition of Judas Iscariot, xiv 10,[2] 20, 43: nor *οἱ μαθηταί*, save in the Garden of Gethsemane, xiv 32, where it must mean those who were at the Last Supper, and in the angelic message, xvi 7, where it is in close connexion with Peter, *εἴπατε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ*. 'His disciples' are a group of which Peter is head. It is impossible not to be reminded of the apostolic Creed-form in 1 Cor. xv 3–5 *παρέλαβον . . . ὅτι ὤφθη Κηφᾷ, εἶτα τοῖς δώδεκα*.

The argument here developed does not imply an absolute identification of the phrases 'the disciples' 'the Twelve' in the latter part of St Mark's Gospel. There may have been a few in the band that accompanied Jesus on his last journey who were on the fringe of the Twelve but not actually belonging to it. What is asserted is that for practical purposes the phrases come to the same thing, and that the Evangelist neither meant a sharp distinction himself between the two nor composed his narrative out of two sources each of which used one, and one only, of them. The discrimination of sources in the case of secondary documents like Matthew and Luke is of course one of the principal tasks of the critic. That every document is constructed on the basis of different literary sources is an assumption and an unjustifiable one. That Mark in particular used a 'disciple' source and a 'Twelve' source is in my judgement pure fantasy—or rather it could only be due to fantasy if it were not in fact due rather to *Tendenz*.

Meyer has made up his mind that Jesus cannot have foreseen the continuity of the movement which he called into being so far as to have equipped it with the rudiments of authority, and in that sense of organization, in the persons of the Twelve. That conclusion can only be established by a ruthless undermining of the evidence of St Mark's

[1] The reading of D and some Latins (not k) in xiv 4 *οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ* is a mere assimilation to Matt. xxvi 8.

[2] xiv 10 *ὁ εἷς τῶν δώδεκα* ℵ B C* L. The reading is too strange to be an invention. I take it to mean 'the Judas who was one of the Twelve' as opposed to the Judas who was, according to St Mark's list, not of the Twelve.

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Gospel as it stands: and Meyer does not shrink from this. I have tried to shew on the other hand, firstly, that this Gospel represents a natural developement in the Ministry of Jesus by which he gradually restricted his teaching, as it became more advanced and faced more and more clearly the apparent failure of the movement, to a limited number of his followers; and secondly, that the 'disciples' who receive this later teaching being in effect the 'Twelve', the Evangelist uses one or other phrase indifferently to describe them, and that any analysis which attempts to separate the two uses as indicating two rival sources raises so many difficulties that it can only be called, even on literary grounds, a failure.

C. H. TURNER.

THE MEMORIA APOSTOLORUM ON THE VIA APPIA.

THE excavations which have taken place in recent years beneath the Church of S. Sebastiano have awakened great interest on account of the light thrown by them on the cult of the Apostles Peter and Paul on the site now occupied by that church, which in its present form is a building of the sixteenth century. They have been officially described in the *Notizie degli Scavi*, series v, vol. xx (1923), by G. Mancini and O. Marucchi, and have been the subject of a large literature, to which the most important of recent contributions is the posthumous article of Mgr Duchesne in the *Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di Archeologia*, series iii, *Memorie* vol. i. Since the work of excavation has, at any rate for the time being, ceased, the time seems opportune for a provisional interpretation of the results obtained in the light of the traditions connected with the site.

The existence of a liturgical cult of the Apostles in this region as early as the fourth century is established by a comparison of the *Depositio martyrum*, a document incorporated in the Calendar of Philocalus (A. D. 354) and the fuller versions of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, which may be presumed to go back to the fifth-century original. In the *Depositio* we have the entry (under June 29) *Petri in Catacumbas et Pauli Ostense, Tusco et Basso Consulibus*; while the fullest form of the entry in the *Martyrologium* reads thus:—*Romae Via Aurelia, natale Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Petri in Vaticano, Pauli vero in via Ostensi, utrumque in Catacumbas, passi sub Nerone, Basso et Tusco consulibus.* The consular date is A. D. 258, and its presence in the entry can only be explained by some connexion with the celebration *in Catacumbas*, which took place in addition to those

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held at the tombs of the Apostles on the Aurelian and Ostian roads. There is, in fact, a hymn (wrongly ascribed to St Ambrose) which belongs to the fifth century, and plainly speaks of a threefold commemoration on June 29:

Tantae per urbis ambitum
Stipata tendunt agmina:
Trinis celebratur uiis
Festum Sanctorum martyrum.

Other documents leave no doubt as to the region in which the memorial on the Appian Way is to be sought. The life of St Damasus in the *Liber Pontificalis* is preserved in a longer and a shorter recension. The latter, which is the earlier, exists in the form of two abridgements, the 'Felician' (F) and the 'Cononian' (C). The F-text has: *fecit basilicas II, una ad via Ardiatina ubi requiescit*, while in C we read *hic dedicavit platomum in Catacumbas ubi corpora Petri et Pauli apostolorum iacuerunt, quam et versibus ornavit.* In the fuller and later version we find: *hic fecit basilicas duas, una beato Laurentio iuxta theatrum et alia via Ardeatine, ubi requiescit; et in Catacumbas, ubi iacuerunt corpora sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, in quo loco platomam* (v.l. *platoniam*) *ipsam, ubi iacuerunt corpora sancta, uersibus exornavit.* Whether or no we are to infer that St Damasus erected a third basilica *ad Catacumbas* —and Duchesne gives good reasons for thinking that this was not so— we can have no doubt that he set up there a *platoma*, i. e. an inscribed marble slab, on the spot where their bodies were believed to have lain. Fortunately we possess the text of this inscription, which was copied by the Monk of Einsiedeln in the Church of St Sebastian, and ran as follows:—

Hic habitasse prius sanctos cognoscere debes,
Nomina quisque Petri pariter Paulique requiris;
Discipulos Oriens misit, quod sponte fatemur.
Sanguinis ob meritum Christumque per astra secuti
Aetherios petiere sinus regnaque piorum;
Roma suos potius meruit defendere cives.
Haec Damasus vestras referat, nova sidera, laudes.[1]

The meaning of *habitasse* in the first line has been disputed; but there is no doubt that the word was used by St Damasus of the resting-place of saints, for in his epitaph on the martyr Gorgonius, formerly in S. Martino ai Monti and now lost, we read:—

hic quicumque uenit, sanctorum limina quaerat,
inveniet uicina in sede habitare beatos.[2]

A more important question arises with regard to the third and sixth

[1] Ihm *Damasi Epigrammata* no. 26. [2] *Ibid.* no. 31.

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lines, which, in the somewhat obscure language of St Damasus, mean 'The East sent forth the Disciples [i.e. Peter and Paul]; we freely admit it . . . but Rome earned the right to claim them (*defendere* = establish a title to land, &c.) as her citizens'. It is, however, impossible to dissociate the lines from the well-known legend that a band of Eastern Christians endeavoured to remove the bodies of the Apostles from Rome, but were frustrated in the act, partly through a convulsion of nature. The version given in the *Passio sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli* runs as follows:—

§ 63. Statim apparuerunt uiri sancti quos unquam nemo viderat ante nec postea uidere potuerunt. Isti dicebant se propter ipsum de Hierosolymis advenisse, et ipsi una cum Marcello illustri viro qui crediderat et relinquens Simonem Petrum secutus fuerat abstulerant corpus eius occulte et posuerunt sub terebinthum iuxta Naumachiam in locum qui appellatur Vaticanus . . .

§ 66. Sanctorum autem apostolorum dum a Graecis [in the Greek version ἄνδρες τῶν τῆς Ἀνατολῆς μερῶν] corpora tollerentur ad Orientem ferenda extitit terrae motus invisus, et occurrit populus Romanus et comprehenderunt eos in loco qui dicitur Catacumba Via Appia miliario tertio et ibi custodita sunt Anno I et mensibus VII quousque fabricarentur loci in quibus fuerant posita corpora eorum. Et illic revocata sunt cum gloria hymnorum et posita Sancti Petri in Vaticano Naumachiae et Sancti Pauli in via Ostensi miliario secundo.

The story is also told in a letter of St Gregory the Great (*Epist.* iv 30) to the Empress Constantina in the following words:—

De corporibus uero beatorum Apostolorum quid ego dicturus sum, dum constat quia eo tempore quo passi sunt ex Oriente fideles venerunt, qui eorum corpora sicut civium suorum repeterent? Quae ducta usque ad secundum urbis miliarium in loco qui dicitur Catacumbas collocata sunt. Sed dum ea exinde levare omnis eorum multitudo conveniens niteretur, ita eos vis tonitrui et fulguris nimio metu terruit atque dispersit, ut talia denuo nullatenus attentare praesumerent. Tunc autem exeuntes Romani eorum corpora, qui haec ex Domini pietate meruerunt, levaverunt, et in locis quibus nunc sunt condita posuerunt.

It must surely be plain that this legend arose from a misunderstanding of the lines of St Damasus and that no account need be taken of it in considering the probable date, real or supposed, of the event commemorated *ad Catacumbas* on June 29.

Towards the close of the fourth century A. D. the remains of St Quirinus, bishop of Siscia, were brought to Rome when Pannonia was overrun by the barbarians, and buried in the immediate neighbourhood of the Apostolic memorial. The fuller version of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* has the entry: *In Sabaria civitate Pannoniae Quirini:*

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Romae in cimiterio Catacumbas Via appia miliario III[1]; while the *Passio S. Sebastiani*, a document of the fifth century, relates the legend that St Sebastian appeared in a dream to Lucina and said: *perduces ad catacumbas et sepelies in initio cryptae iuxta vestigia apostolorum.*

The basilica, which was destroyed when the present church was built, bore the name of *ecclesia apostolorum* as late as the Pontificate of Hadrian I (A. D. 772–795), as we see from the note in the *Liber Pontificalis*: *ecclesiam apostolorum foris porta Appia mil. III in loco qui appellatur Catacumbas, ubi corpus beati Sebastiani martyris cum aliis quiescit, in ruinis praeventam noviter restauravit.*[2]

The pilgrim's guide, known as the *Itinerarium Salisburgense*, which dates from the seventh century, gives the following direction:—

postea pervenies Via Appia ad sanctum Sebastianum martyrem, cuius corpus iacet in inferiore loco, et ibi sunt sepulcra apostolorum Petri et Pauli in quibus XL annorum requiescebant. Et in occidentali parte ecclesiae per gradus descendis ubi S. Cyrinus papa et martyr pausat.

In the ninth century the relics of St Sebastian were translated to St Peter's by Gregory IV (A. D. 827–844) and only restored to the church in the thirteenth century, while the remains of St Quirinus were removed to S. Maria in Trastevere by Innocent II (A. D. 1130–1143). In the Dark Ages, however, a new-comer was established in the Church in the person of St Fabianus,[3] whose altar, in the central aisle of the basilica, became the principal centre of devotion. From the descriptions written in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it seems that this altar rested on two sarcophagi believed to contain relics of the saint, and that on either side were indicated the traditional sites of the temporary burial of the Apostles Peter and Paul, one of them being marked by a copy of the inscription of St Damasus. From the fourteenth century onwards, moreover, we have evidence of a new legend, according to which the bodies of the Apostles were hidden in a well (*puteus*) for 252 years: and the site of this 'well' was shewn to pilgrims in a roughly semicircular crypt approached by a staircase from the apse of the basilica.

[1] The Passio St Quirini (*Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana*, Jan. 20, p. 383) states that the Pannonians buried St Quirinus *in basilica apostolorum Petri et Pauli... aedificantes nomini eius dignam ecclesiam.*

[2] Cf. the note in the life of Leo III (A. D. 795–816) *fecit et super sepulcrum beati Sebastiani martyris via Appia ad Catacumbas vestes maiores* III *... et inibi super tumbas Apostolorum Petri et Pauli fecit vestes* II.

[3] St Fabianus (Pope A. D. 236–250) was buried in the papal crypt in the Catacomb of Callistus, where the inscription ΦABIANOC · ЄΠΙ(σκοπος) · Μ(άρτυρ) may be seen. The date of his festival (Jan. 29) is the same as that of St Sebastian. The subject is discussed by Grossi-Gondi *S. Fabiano papa e martire*, Rome 1916.

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To this crypt has been given in modern times the name *Platonia*, derived from the variant for *platoma* found in MSS of the *Liber Pontificalis* in the Life of St Damasus quoted above.

It has been necessary to set out at some length the documentary history of the church in order to shew what were the problems presented to the excavators. The first attempt to determine the site of the *Memoria Apostolorum* was made when, in 1893, the so-called *Platonia* was excavated under the direction of Mgr de Waal. The results were remarkable. Beneath the altar, lighted by a *fenestella*, is a chamber about eight feet square with a barrel roof, the crown of which is nine feet high. It has the form of a *bisomus* or double tomb lined with marble slabs, and the walls and roof are decorated with paintings, six apostles being represented on either side below the springing of the vault. Only one of the lunettes has a fresco, which represents the *traditio legis* according to the usual scheme, except that the recipient of the roll is beardless. The crypt is surrounded by a series of niches, originally twelve in number, with decorations in stucco of good style. What was of greater importance, however, was the discovery of the remains of an inscription in large lettering, later than the time of St Damasus, and probably of the early fifth century, in honour of St Quirinus[1] The crypt, then, was decorated in his honour, and it is reasonable to suppose that he was buried there. If the tomb beneath the altar is really a *bisomus*, the second space may have been occupied by the remains of one of St Quirinus's companions in martyrdom: Duchesne has suggested the name of Policamus. It will be noted that the position of the crypt corresponds precisely with that assigned to the sepulchre of St Quirinus in the *Itinerarium Salisburgense*.

Hitherto the results of excavation, so far as the site of the Apostolic memorial was concerned, were negative. The next step was obviously to explore the area covered by the basilica itself; and this was done, partly by the Pontifical Commission of Sacred Archaeology, represented at first by Dr Paul Styger and afterwards by Prof. Orazio Marucchi, and partly by the Italian Government, in 1915 and the succeeding years.

It was found that beneath the marble pavement of the earlier basilica the whole available space was packed with tombs, of which about two hundred have been excavated. The earliest date from the fourth century, and a slab with the epitaph of a child named Panegyrius, dated A.D. 356 or 357, formed part of the pavement, which seems to shew (though the proof is not absolutely conclusive) that the basilica is earlier than that date and was, therefore, not built by St Damasus.

[1] The text will be found in Ihm *Damasi Epigrammata* no. 76a, where it is shewn that the composer imitated the style of St Damasus.

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Evidently the privilege of burial within the church had been much sought after, and this is to be explained by the presence of the Apostolic memorial. The search for this was continued and the results were remarkable. In the first place it appeared that in the first century A. D. the site now occupied by the church consisted in a roughly semicircular depression bordered by a tufa cliff, along the edge of which ran a row of *columbaria* opening on to a side road which diverged from the Via Appia. In one of these was found the inscription *Callistus Vespasiani servus*, which dates the *columbaria* to the last quarter of the first century. To the South of the *columbaria* were the remains of a private villa of about A.D. 120. At the foot of the cliff, and therefore in the hollow which evidently gave its name to the site (*Catacumba* = κατὰ κύμβας) a series of tombs were excavated in the rock. The most important of these are indicated in Mancini's report by the letters X, Y, and Z. X, which dates from the beginning of the second century, was originally intended to be a *columbàrium* for urn-burials, but apparently changed hands in the latter part of the century and was adapted for a burial-vault. The name of the last proprietor, M. Clodius Hermes, is inscribed over the entrance. Y seems to have passed through the same phases, but in its second period it was considerably enlarged, and in the third century it was the burial-place of a group of persons bearing the common designation of *Innocentii*. This is found in three inscriptions in the genitive plural, written in Greek characters ΙΝΝΟΚΕΝΤΙΩΡΟΜ and in each case it is preceded by the name of an Emperor or Emperors in the dative, ΔΩΒΟΥC ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΙC (= *duobus Gordianis*), ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΩ (*Gordiano*), and ΠΟΠΗΝΙΩ ΒΑΛΒΕΙΝΩ (= *Pupenio*[1] *Balbino*). It is hard to believe (with Mancini) that these are the names of the persons buried in the vault, or to subscribe to his explanation of the *signum*. He writes[2] 'Ben si addice, trattandosi di giovinetti, la denominazione *Innocentiorium*. Ritengo aver appartenuto i defunti ad un *collegium*, forse d'indole educativa, degli *Innocentiores* o *Innocentii* che aveva anche uno scopo funeraticio'. He also says (p. 69) 'nel titolo stesso de *Collegium Innocentiorum* vi ha qualche cosa di indefinitamente cristiano'; and Marucchi (op. cit. p. 96) writes 'quelle iscrizioni definite nello stesso sepolcro Y, che ricordano un collegio di *Innocentiores*, possono con molta probabilità riferirsi ad una associazione cristiana'. As a matter of fact, the *signum Innocentius* is found in an inscription from Mediolanum (Dessau 6730) which begins *Innocenti cum Encratio vivas*, *Innocentius* and *Encratius* being the

[1] *Pupienus* is the form usually found, but *Pupienius* is written in inscriptions (e. g. Dessau 496), and the form *Pupenius* occurs not only in the 'Chronographer of 354' but on coins (see Pauly-Wissowa, iv 92).

[2] *Not. Scav.*, 1923, p. 69.

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signa of one Statorius Marsianus and his wife. It was usual for such groups to possess common burial-places, and we have an instance in the immediate neighbourhood of S. Sebastiano, where the *Urantii* had such a vault in the Catacomb. There is, however, better evidence for the religion of the persons buried in tomb Y than the name *Innocentii*, and it is afforded by the Christian *graffito* ΙΤΧΘΥC, where the Τ represents the Cross. Another inscription ΕΝΘΑ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC has also been thought to be Christian, but this is less certain. In any case, the burial-vault was not used exclusively by Christians, since the funeral tablet of a certain *Elpisius Aug(usti)* (*servus*) has a pagan formula. The third tomb (Z) contains no inscriptions. Its roof has a beautiful stucco decoration of the second century. There were, however, other tombs cut in the face of the cliff, the exploration of which is rendered difficult by the foundation-wall of the basilica which cuts through them; some of the inscriptions, however, shew them to be the burial-places of Christians—the names Theonoe and Irene and the epithets φιλόθεος, φιλοχήρα, θεοφιλεστάτη, may be mentioned. We see, then, that at any rate in the second quarter of the third century, Christians were being buried 'in the hollow'.

Some time afterwards (but still in the third century) the aspect of this region was completely changed. The depression was filled up with earth, the adjacent villa was pulled down, and on the levelled space in the rear of the *columbaria* were built an open court or *atrium* with a colonnade, and adjoining it a chamber of irregular shape partly roofed over, with a seat running round three of its sides and a fountain. The walls were decorated in fresco with a garden-scene, and upon them were scratched a number of inscriptions (some two hundred or more have been deciphered), both Latin and Greek, containing invocations of the Apostles and allusions to the rite of *refrigerium*. The invocations are of the usual type—*Paule ed Petre petite pro Victore* is a good example, which illustrates the fact that the name of Peter is by no means given general precedence over that of Paul. The *graffiti* which refer to *refrigeria* take such forms as *Petro et Paulo Tomius refrigerium feci* or *At Paulo et Pet[ro] refrigeravi*. The rite to which they allude has been discussed by Grossi-Gondi in *Röm. Quartalschrift* xxix (1915), pp. 221 sqq. He shews that this 'partaking of refreshment' took place as an act of charity especially at the tombs of martyrs with the object of securing their intercessions,[1] and that it led to grave abuses.

[1] An inscription from Thugga (*Année Epigraphique*, 1908, no. 17) affords a good illustration, though the word *refrigerium* does not occur in it. It runs as follows: *Sancti et beatissimi martyres petimus in mente habeatis ut donentur vobis ||||| symposium Mammari Granius Elpidoforum ||||| qui haec cib.* IIII *ad c p m suis sumptibus et suis operibus perfecerunt.* The letters *c p m* have been explained either as *convivia pro martyribus* or as *corpora martyrum*.

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St Augustine (*Ep.* 22) speaks of *in coemeteriis ebrietates et luxuriosa convivia*, and asks (*Contr. Faust.* 20), *qui autem se in memoriis martyrum inebriant, quomodo a nobis approbari possunt?*[1] This was a case in which the Christian church permitted the faithful to continue the observance of practices firmly rooted in the pagan society of the time. Thus in an inscription of Palestrina (Dessau 8090) tells us of a *memoria* or funeral chapel built by one Aurelius Vitalis, a member of the group known as Syncratii, and ends with the words:—*et hoc peto aego Syncratius a bobis uniuersis sodalibus ut sene bile refrigeretis. Syncratiorum.* Various names are given in inscriptions to the chambers annexed to burial-places where these *refrigeria* took place, but the commonest is that which appears in various forms such as *triclia* (Dessau 7926 (from Portus), 8063*c* (from the Via Appia)), *trichlia* (Dessau 8118 (from Cherchell)), and *tricla* in the earliest example (Dessau 1732), in which a freedman of Claudius states that he dedicated to the memory of the Empress of Livia (in the *columbarium* of her slaves and freedmen) *triclam cum columnis et mensis et maceria.*[2] Dr. Styger, therefore, had good reason for assigning the name *triclia* to the chamber of the *graffiti*. These appear to belong to the latter part of the third century or the beginning of the fourth, and as they are not exceptionally crowded or superposed, they probably were scratched within no very long period of time. It is clear that they imply the existence, in the immediate neighbourhood, of a *memoria* of the Apostles, and one would be inclined to go further and to posit the actual presence of the bodies during the period to which the *graffiti* belong. It is, therefore, natural to connect the *memoria* with the date of A.D. 258 which, as we saw, was that of the event celebrated on June 29. The translation of the bodies from their original resting-places would then be a measure of precaution taken in view of the repressive edicts of Valerian, which brought the Christian community face to face with the possibility that the veneration of the Apostolic *tropaea*, as they were called, would be prohibited.

The important question remains, where was the actual site of the temporary resting-place of the Apostles' bodies. Adjoining the *triclia* on the N.E. is a chamber in which were found three sarcophagi, one of which had an inscription (probably of the eleventh century A.D.)

[1] Many other references will be found in Grossi-Gondi's article. A poem of St Paulinus of Nola (xxvii *de S. Felice*) condemns the superstitions attaching to the practice; see especially *vv.* 566 ff.

[2] *Trichilium* is also found (Orelli-Henzen 7372), and in the *Copa* of the Appendix Vergiliana we have *trichila* applied to one of the arbours similar to those which may be seen in the *osterie* outside the gates of modern Rome (the parallel has been drawn by Lanciani).

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describing it as the tomb of St Fabianus, which of course was a mediaeval fiction. There is no means of knowing when the three sarcophagi were placed in this chamber, and it has been suggested that this was the actual *memoria*, the site of which had been forgotten in the Dark Ages. Mancini, however, points out (pp. 45, 78) that there exist in proximity to it the remains of a stairway leading from the *triclia* (and possibly contemporary with it) to a lower level, as well as those of a second flight of steps leading down from the floor of the *basilica*, which suggests that a species of *confessio* was erected on this spot. It is most desirable that further exploration should clear up this question finally, especially as the problem of the *memoria* has been complicated by the discovery of a staircase, probably at one time in communication with the *atrium* and *triclia*, which leads in a southerly direction to a subterranean gallery below the level of the tombs X, Y, and Z, and originally ended in a niche plastered with stucco, on which *graffiti* similar to those of the *triclia* were scratched; they seem, however, to belong to a rather later date.[1] Thus the monogram ☧ accompanies the inscription *Petre et Paule in mentem habete Primum et Primam iugale(m) eius et Saturninam conjugem fili Primi et Victorinum patrem in semper in aeterno et* . . . It would seem as though access to this gallery remained open after the *triclia* had ceased to be in use, and we may explain this by the supposition that when the bodies of the Apostles had been removed to the *basilicae* built for them after the Peace of the Church, the *refrigeria* were discouraged, if not suppressed, with the result that they were, so to speak, driven underground. Marucchi, however, contends that the niche marks the actual site where the bodies of the Apostles were temporarily concealed. This hypothesis has been rejected—rightly, no doubt—by Duchesne.

If the bodies of the Apostles remained in their temporary resting-place until the Peace of the Church, we might reasonably expect that some record of their retranslation would survive; and although the *Liber Pontificalis* is silent—or rather, it speaks of a retranslation which took place in the papacy of Cornelius (A. D. 251–253)!—the *martyrologium Hieronymianum* has the entry '*Romae translatio Pauli Apostoli*' under Jan. 25, the date afterwards celebrated as that of the Apostle's conversion, which gave a new character to the festival.

There seems, therefore, to be no valid objection to the interpretation of the documentary and archaeological evidence given above. The explanation of St Damasus's poem by reference to a supposed *residence* of the Apostles in the house of a Christian *ad Catacumbas* has nothing

[1] The niche was afterwards (we do not know when) broken through, and the gallery tunnelled as far as a deep well, sunk from a spot not far from the 'Platonia'.

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to commend it unless it be the discovery in 1912 of the inscription DOMVS PETRI (probably of the fifth century at earliest) in an apsidal chamber near the 'Platonia': but it has been pointed out that this may be paralleled by the expression *domus martyris Hippolyti* in a sixth-century inscription from the crypt of St Hippolytus.[1] Both Dr La Piana (*Harvard Theological Review*, 1921, p. 53) and Mgr Barnes (*The Platonia, a lost Apostolic Sanctuary*, 1924, p. 19) suggest that St Peter may have taken refuge in a private villa on the spot: but St Damasus's lines clearly indicate the presence of *both* Apostles, whether in life or death; and *prius* would (as Duchesne remarks) be very inappropriately used of so brief a residence in life as compared with their existing place of permanent burial.[2]

Mgr Barnes would explain the 'Platonia' as the *memoria beati Petri* set up by St Anacletus, according to the notice of the Liber Pontificalis, *ubi episcopi reconderentur, ubi tamen et ipse sepultus est*: the words which follow, *iuxta corpus beati Petri*, are, it is true, absent in the earlier recensions of the notice, but we can hardly believe that they do not represent the tradition. On Mgr Barnes's theory the beardless figure of the fresco in the lunette would of course be St Anacletus. There is, however, no trace of any tradition connecting St Anacletus with this site at the period to which the decoration of the 'Platonia' belongs; St Damasus would not, we may be sure, have failed to raise a suitable memorial to the Saint, of which we should certainly have heard.

H. STUART JONES.

BIBLE TRANSLATION—OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL.

A STUDY OF PSALM IV IN ENGLISH.

AN official translation of the Bible suffers from the conditions of its making. It is the work of many minds; it is (and must be) the result of a compromise or rather of many separate compromises. It must show the scars of a struggle between a 'Liberal' and a 'Conservative' tendency in scholarship. It must sometimes evade points of difficulty which an unofficial translator would grasp; sometimes again, it must be colourless, though the original appears singularly vivid to the solitary scholar.

[1] Ihm *Damasi Epigrammata* no. 82.

[2] No connexion can be proved between the 'Platonia' and the second-century villa mentioned above (p. 35), though there is little difference of level, and the structures there found *might* have been raised on the court-yard of such a house.

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This fate which befell King James's version of 1611 also overtook the Revision of 1885. In some ways the so-called Revised Version suffered worse than its predecessor. The 'Authorized' Version had a prescriptive right of 270 years on its side, and those who undertook to revise it worked in handcuffs. Familiar turns of the English might be misleading, but because they were familiar the revisers felt an unseen pressure which forbade them to do their duty in full.

If such was the case with the Old Testament as a whole, it was particularly so with the Psalter. Ps. iv affords several examples of the faults of an official translation. On the one hand the rendering is cold, colourless, and indefinite; on the other it has taken over some of the familiar mistakes of the Authorized Version (following the earlier Versions) and has given them a new lease of life. So it reads

PSALM iv (Revised Version).

For the Chief Musician; on stringed instruments.
A Psalm of David.

1. Answer me when I call, O God of my righteousness;
   Thou hast set me at large *when I was* in distress:
   Have mercy upon me, and hear my prayer.
2. O ye sons of men, how long shall my glory be turned into dishonour?
   How long will ye love vanity, and seek after falsehood? [Selah.
3. But know that the LORD hath set apart him that is godly for himself:
   The LORD will hear when I call unto him.
4. Stand in awe, and sin not:
   Commune with your own heart upon your bed, and be still. [Selah.
5. Offer the sacrifices of righteousness,
   And put your trust in the LORD.
6. Many there be that say, Who will shew us *any* good?
   LORD, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us.
7. Thou hast put gladness in my heart,
   More than *they have* when their corn and their wine are increased.
8. In peace will I both lay me down and sleep:
   For thou, LORD, alone makest me dwell in safety.

The meaning of the Psalm in this official version is none too clear. The Psalmist says (ver. 1), 'hear my prayer', but what his prayer is and what it is about does not appear except in the generalized petition of ver. 6, 'LORD, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us'.

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Yet it is natural to suppose from the urgent tone of the Psalmist that some special calamity has befallen or is threatening to befall his country. It can hardly be foreign invasion or oppression, for there is no mention of an enemy. There remain the two calamities of dearth and pestilence, and of these two the reference to 'corn and wine' in ver. 7 makes the former the more probable. Ver. 7 means that the Psalmist's sense of JEHOVAH'S favour gives him more gladness than any abundant harvest ever gave him. Further it is possible that in ver. 5 also there is an allusion to scarcity. 'Offer the sacrifices that are due', the Psalmist says, possibly because he saw that his fellow-countrymen fearing heavy losses among their flocks and herds were beginning to grudge the offerings that were due to JEHOVAH'S service. 'Put your trust in JEHOVAH', he adds, as if he meant to assure them that their God would not allow them to lose in His service in the long run. If in addition to their losses by the drought they were making offerings to 'new gods', to the Baals of the soil of Canaan, the Psalmist's warning in ver. 6 is seen to be still more appropriate.

It is true that the Psalmist does not expressly mention drought in his prayer, but it should be noted that his prayer is interrupted. In fact something besides a prayer was required of him. In ver. 2 he turns to vehement expostulation. Why? Because in times of calamity, and perhaps specially in days of dearth, Israel was wont to turn to other gods than JEHOVAH to supply the special help that was needed. 'Were not the Baalim', so Israel would ask, 'the true gods and lords of the soil of Canaan? Were not the Baalim the givers of water?' If in Jer. xiv 22 the prophet asks, 'Are there any among the vanities (false gods) of the Gentiles than can cause rain', no doubt many of his hearers would have asserted that which Jeremiah wished to deny. In time of dearth many would shout, like the prophets on Mount Carmel, 'O Baal, answer us'.

So in Ps. iv the Psalmist, feeling himself, like Elijah, to be JEHOVAH'S only prophet and champion, remonstrates with the leaders of his people for dishonouring JEHOVAH by turning aside after other gods when faced by calamity. In ver. 3 he testifies to his hearers his own experience of the willingness of JEHOVAH to hear prayer: there is no reason (he would teach them) for turning to other gods, idols of the heathen, 'vanity' and 'falsehood', as he calls them. So in ver. 4 he bids his countrymen ponder his words in the quiet hours of rest. From pondering go on (he says in ver. 5) to confession of JEHOVAH as your God: pay the sacrifices ye owe to Him and put your trust in these sad days in no other deity. In ver. 6 the Psalmist turns again to the communion with his God, which was interrupted at ver. 2. 'Many are saying' (so he tells his Lord), '*Who* (among the gods) *will shew us*

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good?' but he himself turns at once in hope to prayer: 'JEHOVAH, lift thou up an ensign over us, even the light of thy countenance'.

The Psalmist's prayer is finished, and peace descends into his soul. JEHOVAH has granted him a gladness which is independent of the harvest of corn or wine (ver. 7). And so he falls asleep, calm in the conviction that JEHOVAH who is the Only God will keep him in the days of dearth.

B. Duhm (*Psalmen*, 2te Aufl., 1922) has seen that a time of scarcity forms the background to this Psalm, but in other respects his view seems to be faulty. He supposes that the persons addressed in ver. 2 are malcontents, who charge the Psalmist who is head of the nation (High Priest?) with responsibility for the dearth. It has come upon them (they believe) because of some sin which he has committed. So Duhm takes the Psalmist's answer in ver. 4*a* to mean, 'Be angry, if you must be, but do not utter your complaints aloud, for that would be to sin against JEHOVAH whose favourite I am'. This is a possible interpretation, but Duhm is not happy with the second half of the verse, *Commune with your heart upon your bed and be still.* Surely the words mean 'Meditate in the time of stillness, when ye rest upon your beds: consider JEHOVAH'S dealings with you in the past, and when ye have acknowledged His goodness in the past, then trust Him for the future'. The *bed* and the thoughts of the *heart* must surely be original touches in the text, but in an unhappy hour Duhm thinks of metre and makes jettison of them. The stichos, he says, is overburdened, so he rewrites it:

> Be angry, but do not do amiss:
> Be bitter (הָמֵרוּ), but keep silence.

This emendation preserves what Dr Duhm believes to be the metre, but it impoverishes the sense.

Looking back over the Psalm I should describe the contents in general as three pictures of Contrast: (1) Scarcity *versus* Corn and Wine; (2) the Psalmist's Trust in JEHOVAH, his glorious God *versus* the Quest of others after Lies, i.e. false gods: (3) the 'Good' of corn and wine *versus* the 'Good' of JEHOVAH'S gift of inward peace.

If this be truly the sense of the Psalm the official version has done very little towards making it plain. Familiar phrases, though they have little meaning, have been left standing through nearly four centuries through five successive English versions, namely, the Great Bible (1539), Genevan (1560), Bishops' (1568), A. V. (1611), and R. V. (1885).

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1. *when I call*, a colourless rendering. It might be left out without affecting the sense. To the English reader it means no more than *when I cry*. The Hebrew word, however, suggests a direct appeal to JEHOVAH by name: the sense is, *when I invoke Thee*. The Psalmist is a second Elijah who calls on JEHOVAH, while others in their distress are invoking Baal or looking round to find new gods. Indeed the colour of the Psalm comes from its defiant iteration of the name JEHOVAH. If in ver. 1 the Psalmist withholds for a moment the Name of his God, it is only that he may dwell on it the more in ver. 3: 'JEHOVAH hath set apart . . . JEHOVAH will hear'—in ver. 5, 'put your trust in JEHOVAH—in ver. 6, 'JEHOVAH, lift thou up'—and finally in ver. 8, 'Thou, JEHOVAH, alone'. This short Psalm is in fact from one point of view just 'an exaltation of the Name'. The Psalmist testifies to his people, lest they forsake their God and turn aside after 'Falsehood', i. e. false gods.

The various forms of the official translation fail here. The Prayer Book version gives 'the Lord' with only a capital 'L' to emphasize it. The Bishops' Bible of 1568 prints 'God' simply in this Psalm and generally throughout the Psalter, as though there had never been a thought of other gods in Israel. King James's version of 1611, ashamed yet unable to free itself from the κύριος of LXX and the *Dominus* of the Vulgate, returns to 'the Lord' of the Prayer Book Version (1539), but endeavours to make it impressive by printing it in capitals. The Revised Version of 1885 leaves the matter where it was left in 1611. It held its hand even in Ps. xxxiii 12, where its rendering 'Blessed is the nation whose God is the LORD' comes perilously near to nonsense for the English reader; and this though the Prayer Book version had given 'Blessed are the people, whose God is the Lord JEHOVAH'.

1. *Thou hast set me at large*, wrong tense (the present perfect). The Psalmist is thinking not of a present deliverance, but of one belonging definitely to the past. On the remembrance of a great past experience he appeals for present help.

2. *O ye sons of men*, a quite unsuitable rendering of the (comparatively) rare Hebrew phrase. On the analogy of Ps. lxii 9 it might be rendered, 'O ye men of high degree'. Cf. note on בני איש *infra*.

4. *be still*, an insufficient rendering. The meaning is, 'Wait in silent patience for JEHOVAH your God to act'.

6. *Who will shew us* any *good*? The indefinite rendering 'any' is misleading. The questioners are seeking not 'any good you please', but a particular good, namely, a harvest which will save them from the fear of famine. The Psalmist proceeds in the next verse to say that

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JEHOVAH has given him a greater 'good' even than this, namely, a gift of inward peace.

LORD, lift Thou up &c. Rather, *Lift Thou up Thy ensign over us, even the light of Thy countenance, O JEHOVAH.* The suitability of the metaphor is manifest. To the Israelite it would recall the Exodus when the LORD went before the people in the pillar of the cloud and in particular guided them by its light to the further shore of the Red Sea. The ensign was no doubt a pole of shining metal and not a broad piece of coloured stuff. The Roman *signum*, writes E. H. Alton in the *Companion to Latin Studies* (§ 750) 'was a silver-plated pole adorned chiefly with metal discs, sometimes also with crowns'. The ancient Assyrian armies (as the bas-reliefs suggest) carried similar *signa*. Such ensigns flashing in the sun might seem to the Psalmist emblems of the burning glory of JEHOVAH'S countenance.

8. *in safety*, an erroneous rendering. The meaning of the Hebrew is 'in security', i. e. in freedom from anxiety. The rendering 'in safety' has come down through five English revisions.

SOME NOTES ON THE HEBREW TEXT.

1 (Heb. 2). בקראי 'when I call'; rather, 'when I invoke thy name'; Jerome, *invocante me*. Cf. Gen. iv 26; xii 8; xiii 4 (קרא in each passage). ענני is pointed as imperative: so E. V. ('Answer me'), but LXX (*εἰσήκουσέν μου*), Vg. (*exaudivit me*) read the perfect.

אלהי צדקי; cf. אלהי ישעי, Ps. xviii 47; xxv 5; xxvii 9. The two titles approach one another in meaning from different directions. The God of 'my righteousness' is the God who (on appeal) does me 'right'; the God of 'my salvation' is he who saves me because salvation is my right. Of course this is a conception which belongs to O. T., not to N. T.

2 (Heb. 3). בני איש is not 'sons of men'; cf. xlix 3; lxii 10, where ב׳ איש 'men of high degree' are contrasted with ב׳ אדם 'men of low degree'. 'Sons of men' (ב׳ אדם) is a title of men which suggests weakness or inferiority, whereas ב׳ איש 'Sirs' is a mode of honourable address used by one who desires to be courteous in his remonstrance; it corresponds closely in fact with the *Ἄνδρες* which St Paul used on two occasions (Acts xiv 15; xxvii 21) in addressing unbelievers whom he sought to turn to the living God.

עד מה כבודי לכלמה תאהבון ריק '*How long* shall my glory be turned to shame (how long) will ye love vanity?' The construction is harsh, but it would be easier if we might assume that the particle למה 'wherefore' has fallen out of the text just after לכלמה. The Septuagint

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apparently read : עַד מָה כְּבוּדִי לֵב לָמָּה 'How long, O ye heavy of heart (slow of understanding) . . . wherefore . . .', ἕως πότε βαρυκάρδιοι, ἱνατί. . . . But again the construction is harsh.

תִּבְקְשׁוּ כָזָב 'will ye seek after falsehood?' means 'will ye seek after false gods'. בקש is used of seeking God in Ps. xxiv 6; xxvii 8; xl 17; and כזב of idols (false gods) in Ps. xl 5; Amos ii 4.

4. הִפְלָה is not 'hath set apart'; cf. Ps. xvii 7, הַפְלֵה חֲסָדֶיךָ 'Shew thy marvellous loving kindness' (imperative). also the cognate root in xxxi 22, הִפְלִיא חַסְדּוֹ לִי 'he hath shewed me his marvellous loving kindness'. So here חָסִיד לוֹ . . . הִפְלָה 'he hath dealt wondrously with his favoured one': LXX ἐθαυμάστωσεν . . . τὸν ὅσιον αὐτοῦ. רִגְזוּ is not 'be angry', LXX ὀργίζεσθε (cf. Ephes. iv 26), but 'stand in awe', i.e. of JEHOVAH of whose work the Psalmist has just spoken. The verb is used in Ps. xcix 1, 'let the peoples tremble'; also Isa. lxiv 1 [2], 'that the nations may tremble at thy presence'.

דֹּמּוּ 'be still', i.e. wait without complaining for God to act; cf. Ps. xxxvii 7, דּוֹם לַיהוָה 'rest in JEHOVAH'; lxii 6, 'wait thou upon JEHOVAH'.

6 (Heb. 7). נְסָה is clearly connected with נֵס 'banner, ensign'; Num. xxi 8; Isa. xi 10. The נֵס is an ensign ('sign') of a general or king round which troops rally. The punctators probably intended נִסָּה for 2 s.m. imper. with ה֫ added, so Rashi explains the word and translates 'Lift up over us for an ensign the light of thy countenance'.

The alternative view that נִסָּה is an mis-spelling of נְשָׂא, itself a mis-spelling of שָׂא imperative of נשא, though apparently accepted in R. V. is improbable. As, however, the root is נסס we should expect נְסָה or נִסָּה rather than the נְסָה of M. T. Finally, it should be noted that the reading with ס is confirmed by LXX ἐσημειώθη.

8 (Heb. 9). לְבַדּוֹ is inadequately rendered by 'only' (P.-B.V.). Following as it does the Name JEHOVAH it serves as an epithet to it, 'Thou O JEHOVAH, the Sole God (among many false gods), makest me dwell free from care': cf. Deut. xxxii 12, 'JEHOVAH the Sole God, did lead him'. So also in Ps. li 4 (Heb. 6) לְךָ לְבַדְּךָ חָטָאתִי 'Against thee, Who art Sole God, have I sinned'. The Psalmist here is conscious of having sinned against One who is no mere tribal god, but the Only One, the Supreme God of the Universe. So again when בָּדָד is used in reference to Israel, it is to be taken as an epithet: Num. xxiii 9, 'Behold a people which dwelleth as the Unique people, and is not reckoned among the nations'; Deut. xxxiii 28, בָּדָד עֵין יַעֲקֹב 'the fountain of Jacob is Unique'; cf. Mic. vii 14. The word בָּדָד is used to designate JEHOVAH as Sole God, and Israel His people as a Unique people.

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A non-official translation of Psalm iv.

DROUGHT: THREATENED APOSTASY: A NEW ELIJAH.

1. *The Psalmist Prophet intercedes.*

1. When I invoke Thy name, answer me, O God who upholdest my right;
   Thou didst enlarge me once, when I was in distress;
   Be gracious unto me now and hear my prayer.

2–5. *He remonstrates with the Wavcrers.*

2. Ye leaders of the people, how long shall my Glory be dishonoured,
   While ye love that which is vain, and seek after false gods?
3. But know that JEHOVAH dealeth wondrously with His holy one;
   JEHOVAH heareth when I invoke His name.
4. Tremble at His presence, and go not after false gods:
   Commune with your heart upon your bed, and wait for Him.
5. Offer the sacrifices that are His by right,
   And put your trust in JEHOVAH.

6. *He prays again.*

6. Many are saying, Who (of the gods) will shew us good?
   Lift Thou up Thy ensign over us, even the light of Thy countenance, O JEHOVAH.

7, 8. *Peace after Prayer.*

7. Thou hast given me gladness within
   Greater than they had when their corn and wine increased.
8. Utterly at peace I lay me down to sleep,
   For Thou, O JEHOVAH, Thou Only One,
   Dost set me free from care.

A word must be added on the vigorous rendering of this Psalm which Dr James Moffatt gives in his *Old Testament*, A New Translation (1924). His version, however, misses the key which ver. 7 offers. Ver. 7 tells us that there was a time when their corn (the corn of the men addressed in ver. 2) was plentiful. But the Psalmist looks back to that time as past. It follows that the present day is a day of dearth, present or threatened. The prayer of the Psalmist in ver. 1 is surely for rain, and for the harvest that will follow rain.

But while the Psalmist is addressing his prayer for rain to JEHOVAH he perceives that some of the leaders of his people are addressing their petitions elsewhere. The approach of disaster has shaken their faith in JEHOVAH, at least as the giver of harvests. So the Psalmist breaks off

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to remonstrate with them, like Elijah on Mount Carmel. But he does not denounce them as enemies, but appeals to them as friends, 'Sirs' or 'Ye Leaders of the people'. I cannot think that Dr Moffatt is right in his translation of ver. 2, 'Proud men, how long will ye be so misguided, loving to deal in libels, eager on vain intrigues?'

This rendering means, I suppose, that the Psalmist has private enemies who bring false charges against him and hope to get him tried and condemned. But I do not find anything elsewhere in the Psalm to carry on this thought. If Dr Moffatt were right, should we not find later in the Psalm some such an appeal as that in Ps. xxvi 1, 'Be thou my judge, O JEHOVAH, for I have walked innocently'? And 'Proud men' can hardly be a correct translation of בני איש, for there is no parallel phrase to suggest pride. In itself the expression is morally colourless.

A third interpretation of the meaning of the Psalm has been offered with some confidence by a Norwegian scholar (who writes in German), Sigmund Mowinckel, in his *Psalmenstudien* (Kristiania, 1921), i 45, 48, 156 *al.* He holds that 'vanity' (ריק) and 'falsehood' (כזב) in ver. 2 (also in many other passages of the Psalter) denote the work of the wizard. The Psalmist has enemies who are wizards. But when a spell is cast upon a man he becomes sick. Suspecting that his sickness is due to the black art the sick man desires to be taken to a temple (e. g. to one of the shrines of Asclepius) and to sleep there, that he may have a vision of his god and receive a reassuring oracle promising recovery. This Mowinckel believes is the situation represented in this Psalm. The meaning of ver. 8 is (so Mowinckel suggests):

In Frieden werde ich mich jetzt zur Inkubation niederlegen—Ich bin eines 'guten Zeichens' gewiss.

Of Mowinckel's interpretation it is perhaps enough to say that it is not sufficiently supported by the language of the Psalm as a whole. In the first place there is nothing to suggest that the Psalmist is (or has been) sick. Nor again does ver. 5 look as though it belonged to an answer to wizard-enemies. Finally be it said that ver. 2 *b* and ver. 8 even when read together are expressed in terms too general to make it even probable that the Psalmist is replying to the special menace of the Black Art.

The language of Ps. iv is, as we have seen, for the most part general[1] in character. But the urgent tone of it suggests the possibility that it once contained some more definite indication of the nature of the distress to which the Psalmist alludes. A clause containing such an

[1] Less so in the Hebrew than in the official English, however.

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indication may have been removed as of too special a character, when the Psalm was taken into the public collection of the Praises of Israel (תהלים, ψαλμοί). But however this may be, I submit that the clearest suggestion that the present text makes as to the occasion of the composition of Ps. iv is that it was written in view of a drought which had succeeded in shaking the friends and acquaintances of the Psalmist in their faith in JEHOVAH.

W. EMERY BARNES.

ST LUKE IX 54–56 AND THE WESTERN 'DIATESSARON'.

THE story of James and John wishing fire from heaven to come down and consume the Samaritan village that would not receive our Lord is found in a longer and a shorter form. The text has been often discussed in works on textual criticism; my object in once more examining some details of the evidence is connected with the text of the 'Diatessaron' as preserved in Codex Fuldensis and the Dutch Harmonies. For this purpose it is needful to get as clear an idea as possible of the true text of the Latin Vulgate, quite apart from the question of the original text of St Luke's Gospel. The plan of this Note is (i) to give reasons why I think the Vulgate as issued by St Jerome had the shortest text, and (ii) to discuss in the light of this conclusion the affiliation of our authorities for the Western text of the 'Diatessaron'. First, then, as to the text of the Vulgate.

I. The Vulgate Text.

The longest text, Greek and Latin, runs thus:

54 . . . James and John said: Lord, wilt thou that we bid fire to come down from heaven and consume them,
even as Elias did. (a)

55 And he turned and rebuked them
and said: Ye know not what spirit ye are of; (b)

56 *the Son of Man came not to destroy souls but to save.* (c)
And they went away to another village.

A glance at Tischendorf or von Soden tells us that **b** and **c** go together: all texts that attest **b** also attest **c**, except Codex Bezae which alone omits **c**. As it is not in any way supported in this, it seems best to treat the Bezan reading as the result of some accident of transcription and to regard **b** + **c** as a single variant, to be inserted or omitted. Several authorities, on the other hand, omit **a** while retaining **b** + **c**, or

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vice versa. Among these is the Vulgate: **a** is omitted but **b** + **c** retained both in 'Wordsworth and White' and in the Clementine text.

If we examine the Oxford apparatus it will be found that the MSS fall into three groups:

(1) *om.* **a b** and **c**: D 𝔓 F G Q Y *gat* '*Mediol.* I. 61 *inf.**'

(2) *habent* **a b** and **c**: Θ M O^{gl} *cor.vat.**

(3) *habent* **b** and **c** only: all other Vulgate MSS, including A.

No. (2) is a curious group: Θ is the leading MS of the Theodulfian edition, while M (Ambrosianus) is the oldest known MS of the Vulgate Gospels (sixth century) and one of the most correct. O is the Bodleian 'Gospels of S. Augustine': Mr Lobel, Sub-librarian of the Bodleian, has kindly informed me that O^{gl} is 'a hand of the 10th or even 11th century', which reads *al'. sicut elias fecit. h' addit'*. It would be interesting to know how the glossator knew this! *Cor.vat* is the Vatican Correctorium of the thirteenth century, which often preserves interesting readings. That the agreement of Θ, M, and *cor.vat** is not fortuitous appears from the fact that in *ver.* 58 the same authorities (with H and R) add *hominum* to *animas*, as also do the Old Latin *a b f q* and *r*. No doubt, therefore, the ultimate source of the text of Θ + M + *cor.vat** in this passage is the Old Latin, and (I should say) the special cause of the addition was that the text seemed defective, i.e. that the Vulgate base of Θ + M lacked **b** and **c** as well as **a**. It may be noted in passing that the source whence Θ + M derived the longer text was not the Gothic, as that version does not add 'of men' to 'souls' in *ver.* 56.

Group (1) seems to me a very strong combination: it only lacks A to be decisive. D (Armagh) and Q (Kells) are Irish, and 𝔓 (Echternach) has an Irish element, but the Irish element of 𝔓 is mostly seen in orthography; in fact 𝔓 might be not unfairly described as a copy of the Northumbrian text made by a scribe who was Irish in culture. Readers of Dom Chapman's writings will remember that there is in 𝔓 an element derived from the codex of Eugipius, copied (it is said) from St Jerome's autograph: in any case 𝔓 contains many readings of special excellence. Of F (Fuldensis) nothing need be said at present, except that there is nothing Irish in its composition. G (Sangermanensis) is a Gallican text: it often agrees with the Irish family, but probably rather because the Irish Vulgate text seems to have come from Gaul, than by later contamination: on the other hand *gat* (S. Gatien) has some 'Irish' readings, so that its presence in this group may be only due to the D Q element. Y (Lindisfarne) is the twin-brother of cod. Amiatinus; the two differ very rarely, and where they do so it is not always A that preserves the better reading. '*Mediol.* I. 61 *inf.*'[1] is the famous

[1] Read '*Ambrosianae Mediol.* J. 61 *sup.*': see Streitberg p. xxvi; Berger p. 58.

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palimpsest in the Ambrosiana at Milan, the lower writing of which contains fragments of St Matthew in Gothic. The upper writing (eighth century) is a Gospel-book from Bobbio, so that it may have been written by an Irish monk, but its text appears to be as much influenced by the Old Latin directly as by the Irish Vulgate text, to judge from the readings excerpted by Berger (*Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 58).

Disregarding for the moment the evidence of F, it seems to me that the combination ℙ G Y, with M attesting an aberrant text, suggests that A has here adopted a widely-spread non-Northumbrian reading, and that the true Cassiodorian-Eugipian text omitted the doubtful clauses in *vv.* 55 and 56 as well as the doubtful clause in *ver.* 54.

Again, from another line of argument altogether, it seems to me easier to understand the existence of group (1) which supports the shortest text on the view that it preserves the true Vulgate, than on any other view. It is not here a question of the probability or improbability of the shorter reading being 'genuine'. Both the longer and the shorter readings existed before St Jerome's day: if the shorter reading be found in any Vulgate MS it is there because of the real or imaginary authority for the shorter reading, not by an accident of transcription. The longest reading is found in the 'European' Old-Latin (i. e. in *a b c f q r*); it is highly edifying; to omit it is a work of criticism. Who was more likely to cut it out, an unknown editor of the Dark Ages, or the scholarly St Jerome, who certainly did sometimes follow MSS which agree with B and Dr Hort?

For these reasons I regard the shortest text as being the reading accepted by Jerome, and consequently I believe that the Northumbrian-Eugipian text was in this case more faithfully preserved by the Lindisfarne Gospels (Y) than by the Amiatinus (A).

II. The text of the Latin *Diatessaron*.

Let us turn now to the Latin 'Diatessaron', preserved in Codex Fuldensis (F), and in the Dutch Harmonies L (Liége) and S (Stuttgart). F dates from 546, while L and S are of the early fourteenth century. All three present a text which has been almost entirely assimilated to the Vulgate, and they agree so much together that it is plausible to argue that F itself is the ultimate source of the late Dutch texts. If therefore these are to be regarded as serious helps towards the reconstruction of the original Harmony the first thing is to prove their independence of Victor of Capua and his work (F).

It will be well to begin by considering what kind of differences between F and L S are possible, on the assumption that the Dutch Harmonies are, after all, direct descendants of F. We might find

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considerable changes in the harmonistic mosaic and even in the order of the incidents; such changes might be introduced at any time on the plea that the new order was more in keeping with the evidence of the Gospels. In the case of a fresh translation, again, such as that from Latin into Dutch, a more paraphrastic style might be felt to be suitable and explanatory glosses or notes might be added here and there. On the other hand, if the actual text of the exemplar was discovered to be defective, changes might be made or words be added to make the text more correct. But when we consider that F was written in 546, only about half a century before the death of Gregory the Great, there is one new feature that we must not expect. There will be no fresh Old-Latin readings introduced. The textual changes will all be in the direction of the common mediaeval Vulgate, a text not indeed scientifically fixed, but nevertheless only variable between narrow limits. In concrete terms, where L and S differ textually from F we must always expect to find their reading to be that of the great majority of the MSS cited in 'Wordsworth and White'. Conversely, if we find L or S differing from F to agree with some of the ancient Old-Latin texts, and supported by no Vulgate MSS or very few, then we must reject our initial hypothesis, and believe that the parent of the Dutch Harmonies was not a descendant of F at all, but was derived from a source independent of the revised text of the Harmony made by Victor of Capua.

It may be remarked here how difficult it often is to ascertain the Latin words which the Dutch texts really attest. Thus it is impossible to tell whether the Dutch *Beelsebuc* corresponds to the Vulgate *Beelzebub* or the Old-Latin *Beelzebul*. Or again, as I pointed out in my former article on these Harmonies (*J. T. S.* xxv 124), we cannot safely infer that 'I am the true Vineyard (*wyngart*)' in L 214 implies anything different from *ego sum uitis uera*, seeing that in L 206 we find *van wyngards vrochte* corresponding to *de hoc genimine uitis* (Matt. xxvi 29). In general the text of the Liége MS is more paraphrastic than that of the Stuttgart MS, or that at Cambridge, but the more I study these texts together the more it seems to me that the lively paraphrastic style of L does not go deeper than the Dutch rendering, and that the Latin from which L was translated kept close to the Gospel text, to a text as much, or nearly as much, assimilated to the Vulgate as that of F.

Our story of the Samaritan village is given in F 137, L 185, S 182, and in the Arabic, at the same curious place, between John xi and xii, which is so odd that we may be certain that the original Harmony did really insert it there. The Arabic (the text of which has been

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assimilated wholesale to the Peshitta) of course has all three doubtful clauses **a**, **b**, and **c**. So also has S, but F omits all three, while L has only **b** and **c**. The question is, which of these gives us the true text of the Old-Latin Harmony?

Here comes in the point of the foregoing discussion. If the omission of the three clauses be regarded as due in the West to some accident of the aberrant Irish text, and the Northumbrian-Eugipian text by which Victor of Capua corrected the ancient Harmony be supposed to have retained clauses **b** and **c**, then it is difficult to think of their absence in F as due to any other cause but faithful transmission. In other words, we should be almost compelled to assume that the true Old-Latin Harmony had the shortest text, agreeing with B and Dr Hort —and the presence of clause **a** in S 182 would be an insoluble puzzle. But if the true Northumbrian-Eugipian text really omitted all three clauses, and the presence of two of them in cod. Amiatinus is due to the scribe here deserting his exemplar to follow a widely-spread addition derived from the Old-Latin, then it is likely that Victor's text also omitted all three clauses and they would then have no place in F, whatever the unrevised Harmony found by Victor may have had. We may therefore here reject the evidence of F, as representing not the text of the pre-Victorian Harmony but that of the true Vulgate.

As between L and S, there can here be little doubt. L 185 omits **a** but retains **b** and **c**, as does the current text of the Vulgate. S 182, on the other hand, has the clause *also Helyas dede*. This was almost unknown in the Western world after the days of Charlemagne, and rare before that. Its appearance in a fourteenth-century Dutch text can only be due to faithful transmission, and I have no hesitation in accepting it as evidence that the Old-Latin Harmony, before Victor revised it, had all three extra clauses in the story of the Samaritan village. This is, of course, just what might have been expected, for all three clauses are found in the 'European' branch of the Old-Latin, with which the old Harmony certainly had the greatest affinity.

What, however, is the chief moral of this long discussion of a single point is the demonstration that S, and therefore also L, contains an element independent of Codex Fuldensis which is not derived from what it could have picked up since the sixth century. There are, of course, other indications of this. Dr Plooij has brought forward several, but some of them did not seem to me compelling. Most of them indeed seemed capable of another explanation. But the evidence here brought forward from the text of Lk. ix 54–56 cannot, I think, be put aside. Any one who wishes to maintain that the late Dutch Harmonies are not connected by a real, if sometimes rather a tenuous, thread with the pre-Victorian 'Diatessaron' will have to explain away

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the decisive words *also Helyas dede* in the 'Harmonia Evangeliorum Flamandice' at Stuttgart.

It may be added that the Cambridge fragment (Dd xii 25) is here extant and supports S (*als Elyas dede*).

III.

I have left out of account the Greek and Syriac evidence, because I cannot suppose that Greek or Syriac texts had any influence on Victor of Capua or Dutch mediaeval Harmonies. In Greek the outstanding feature is that many MSS retain **a** ('as Elias did') but omit **b** and **c**, i. e. exactly the opposite of the mass of Latin Vulgate MSS: this seems to me to shew that Greek texts had no influence here in the West.

In Syriac the Arabic Diatessaron has all three clauses in agreement with the Peshiṭta; syr. *S*, on the other hand, omits them all in agreement with ℵB, while syr. *C* has **b**+**c** but not **a**. Thus syr. *C* agrees with the mass of Vulgate codices, with the Liége Harmony, and with *e*. It seems easy at first sight to call in the Diatessaron to explain this isolated coincidence between syr. *C* and the Liége Harmony, but it will not explain the addition of **a** in the Stuttgart MS, or the text of *e*, or indeed that of the Clementine Vulgate. The Liége MS, in fact, is the only text which suggests that 'Tatian' accepted **b** and **c** but rejected **a**, and its evidence is discounted by the fact that it agrees textually with the mediaeval Vulgate.

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NOTE ON THE TEXT OF THE *CANTICUM SOLIS*.

St Francis of Assisi died on the fourth of October, 1226, so that this Number of the *Journal of Theological Studies* is contemporary with the Septicentenary celebrations at Assisi and elsewhere. It seems, therefore not inappropriate to offer a small tribute here to the memory of the Poverello in the form of a Note on the text of the well-known *Canticle of Brother Sun*, with the special object of evaluating the received text, which in this case is happily that of the most ancient MS, in the light of the newly discovered text from Perugia, and other evidence recently made available.

Most persons, I suppose, read the Canticle from Sabatier's edition of the *Speculum Perfectionis*, where the whole poem is quoted (§ 120). In this work M. Sabatier, recognizing that the MSS of the Speculum gave a very poor text, relegated their testimony to an Appendix and inserted in the text of his book the text of *Assisi* 338 (= A), the oldest and

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best MS of the writings of S. Francis. Since the publication of Sabatier's *Speculum* in 1898 various other texts independent of that work have been unearthed, notably the MS from S. Isidoro in Rome from which Fr. Lemmens edited the *Speculum* generally known by his name, and the '*Legenda Antiqua*' from Perugia discovered by Fr. F. M. Delorme.[1] The plan of this Note is to give a complete conspectus of the variants in the five lines where all our authorities are extant, in order to examine the grouping of the documents and especially to see what support they give to the ancient MS from Assisi.

The main authorities for the text of the *Canticum Solis* are

A = Assisi 338 (about 1250).
I = S. Isidoro 1/73 (xiv°) = Lemmens' *Speculum* (*fol.* 6r) and Sp. § 10.
P = Perugia 1046, §§ 79 and 6 (1311): see *A F H* xv 71 and 10.
L = cod. A. G. Little, *olim* Phillipps, §§ 156 (± 1400).
N = S. Antonio, § 66 (xiv°): see *A F H* xii 69.
Sp = *Speculum Perfectionis* (?1318): *o* Ognissanti, *c* Cleopatra B 2, *m* Mazarine 1743.
Bart = Bartholomew of Pisa (1385).
Ricc = Riccardi 1407 (1503).
679 = *Actus in Valle Reatina* (1416).

The *Canticum* has 33 lines, following the division of lines as printed by Sabatier. Of these A N Sp *Bart Ricc* and 679 contain the whole, except that N omits ll. 10–12, apparently by carelessness. I has ll. 1–19, 27–31; P has ll. 23–31; L has ll. 27–31 only. It is therefore only for ll. 27–31 that all our nine authorities are extant.

It is unnecessary to quote the Canticle at length, but for the convenience of readers, especially with regard to the variant *da* for *per*, discussed at the end of this Note, I give the opening words and the last couplet, following cod. A.

Altissimu onnipotente bon Signore
tue so le laude la gloria e lhonore et onne benedictione.
Ad te solo Altissimo se konfano
et nullu homo ene dignu te mentovare.
Laudato sie, Misignore, cum tucte le tue creature
Spetialmente messor lo frate Sole
lo qual e iorno et allumini noi per loi
et ellu e bellu e radiante cum grande splendore
de te, Altissimo, porta significatione.

[1] See *Archivum Franciscanam Historicum* vol. xv pp. 23–70, 278–332 (1922). *La Legenda Antiqua S. Francisci*, texte . . . de Pérouse, par le P. Ferdinand-M. Delorme, Paris, 1926, only gives the text of the latter part of P, so I here keep to the numeration in *A F H* xv.

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10 Laudato si, Misignore, per sora luna e le stelle
in celu lai formate clarite et pretiose et belle.

. . . . . .

32 Laudate et benedicete Misignore et rengratiate
et serviateli cum grande humilitate.

The verses omitted are all of the same general structure as ll. 10–11: 'Be praised, my Lord, *per* Brother Wind', or 'Sister Water', &c. Line 7 is given here exactly as in A, except that I have printed *qual* and *e* as two words, as explained below. The general sense of the stanza will then be (ll. 5–9): 'Be praised, my Lord, with all Thy creatures, specially our noble Brother Sun, *who indeed is Day*, and Thou dost illuminate us by him, and he is radiant and a type of Thee'.

In ll. 27–31, where all our authorities are extant, the variations are here given in full:—

27 *Laudato si, Misignore, per sora nostra morte corporale*

laudatu Sp.*c*, lauda Sp.*m* si] A L 679, sia I N *Bart Ricc*, sie P, sii Sp.*o c m* misignore] A I, mio segnore P N, mio signore L Sp.*m Bart*, meo segnore Sp.*o c*, mio signiore *Ricc*, monsignore 679 per] *omnes*, da 679 sora nostra] A P N Sp.*c* 679, nostra sorore I, sorore nostra L, soror nostra Sp.*o m*, suor nostra *Bart*, suora nostra *Ricc*.

28 *da la quale nullu homo vivente po skappare.*

da la quale] A I Sp.*c m Bart*, dalla quale P N *Ricc* 679, de la cale L, de la quale Sp.*o* nullu homo] A Sp.*c m*, nullo homo I N Sp.*o Bart*, nullomo P, nul homo L, niuno huomo *Ricc*, niuno homo 679 vivente] morto 679, *om. Ricc* po] A I P L Sp.*o c m* 679, puo N *Bart Ricc* skappare A, scapare I, scampare P L N Sp.*o c m Bart*, ne campare *Ricc*, scampar et 679.

29 *guai acquelli ke morrano ne le peccata mortali.*

guai] A P N Sp.*c Bart* 679 (guay Sp.*o Ricc*), vay I, gay L, gaiai Sp.*m* acquelli A, a quegli I *Ricc*, ad quilli P, a quello L, a quelli N (*Bart*), a quilli Sp.*o c m*, ad quelli 679 ke] A I P Sp.*c m*, che L N *Bart* 679, qui Sp.*o*, li quali *Ricc* morrano A, morono I, morano N *Ricc*; morira P, morro L, moro 679, more Sp.*o Bart*; *om.* mor. . . . ke (2°) Sp.*c m* ne A P L, nel I, in N Sp.*o Bart Ricc* 679 le peccata mortali A, li peccati mortali I P: peccato mortale L N Sp.*o Bart Ricc* 679 (pechato L).

30 *Beati quelli ke trovaro ne le tue sanctissime voluntati*

biati P, beato L; *pr.* e N quelli] A N (*Bart*) 679, quegli I *Ricc*, quilli P Sp.*o*; quello L ke] A I P, che L N *Bart Ricc* 679, q̄ Sp.*o* trov.] A I P L; *pr.* si N *Ricc*, *pr.* se Sp.*o c m Bart* 679 trováro] *scripsi*: trovara A P L, trovarone I; truovano N, trovano *Bart* 679, trovam *Ricc*, trova Sp.*o m*; corona Sp.*c* (cf. Sp. 123) ne le] A I

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Bart, ne li P, nelle N 679, in le Sp.*c m*; ne la L, en la Sp.*o*, nella *Ricc* tue] A I, toi P 679, toe Sp.*c m Bart*; tua Sp.*o Ricc*; cor(!) L* sanctissima L *Ricc*, sancte 679 uoluntati] A Sp.*c* 679, voluntadi I, volontadi N, voluntade P *Ricc*, voluntate L Sp.*m*, voluntade Sp.*o Bart*.

31 *ka la morte secunda nol farra male.*

ka la] A I L, kella P, ke la Sp.*o c m*, che la N *Bart Ricc* 679 secunda] A I L N *Bart*, second P, segonda Sp.*o*, secunde Sp.*c*, secondo Sp.*m*, seconda *Ricc* 679 nol A, nogle I, noli P L Sp.*c m*, nolli N 679, non li Sp.*o Bart*, non gli *Ricc* farra] A L, fara I P; porra fare N Sp.(*c*) *m*, porra far Sp.*o Ricc*, pora far *Bart*, potra fare 679.

A large number of these variants are no doubt insignificant in the strict sense of the word, in that their significance is small, but it seemed to me worth while for these five lines to put down every difference that I have noted, in order to see how the authorities divide themselves. The general result is to confirm A in its position: the other chief witnesses, such as I and P, differ more from one another than they do from A. Thus A is not often alone; it generally has I or P or L with it. For instance in l. 29 f. it not only preserves the old-fashioned *k*, but in company with I and L it also distinguishes between *ke* (= Latin *qui*, mod. *chi*) and *ka* (= Latin *quia*, mod. *che*). N, on the other hand, tends to head the list of the later texts.

Of the readings which are strictly textual and not grammatical the most interesting is the insertion or omission of *si* before *trovaro*. There is great diversity in the spelling of the latter word, but the texts fall into two groups in the matter of *si*, which is found in N, all MSS of Sabatier's Speculum, Bartholomew of Pisa and the two late texts, but is omitted in A I P and L. This omission was long supposed to be peculiar to A, and was actually cited by Böhmer in 1871 as a reason for not following A everywhere. But the distribution of the evidence shews pretty clearly that if *si* be right it must be a correction and that the oldest tradition did not have the reflexive. I venture to think A correct, and that ll. 30–31 form one sentence, not two, meaning 'Blessed are those who (when they died) found in Thy most holy wishes that the Second Death would do them no ill': for the phrase, see Rom. i 10 *in uoluntate Dei*.

In l. 31 the same grouping occurs. The older MSS A I P L have 'will not do', the later texts, headed by N, have 'will not be able to do'. It may very well have been that the hand which inserted *si* also turned *farra* into *porra fare*.

The actual form of the verb in l. 30 is a more difficult question. The later group all have what is meant for the present indicative: N *Bart* and 679 have a plural, the Speculum a singular. The four

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older texts all begin with *trovar . . .*, which suggests *trováro* (or *trovárono*). It is in fact the only form of the verb which so begins. A P L all have *trovara*, which is meaningless, I actually has *trovaro*, but followed by *ne*, reduplicated from *ne* following. The agreement of A P and L is an agreement in error, but the other readings seem to be corrections of this: here again, therefore, A preserves the oldest extant tradition.

It is the same with l. 7, which begins in I, as well as in A, with

Lo quale iorno,

said of Brother Sun. Most texts have *iorna* or *giorna*, and 679 has *orna*, a correction which at least shews that *giorna* was felt to be not quite satisfactory. The agreement of I with A shews us that *iorno* did not originate with the scribe of A: is it translateable? I venture to suggest that *quale* stands for *qual'è*, so that it means 'Brother Sun, who indeed *is* Day'. And I would further compare the line with what is said in P § 78 (= Sp. *S* 119) about the *Canticum Solis*: 'In mane (said Francis) cum oritur sol, omnis homo deberet laudare Deum qui creauit ipsum, quia per ipsum oculi *de die* illuminantur.'

It is notable how bad the tradition of the text is in the MSS of Sabatier's Speculum, and how much better (and nearer to A) it is in P. As Sabatier remarked, the Canticle was written down by someone unfamiliar with Italian. In 1898 M. Sabatier put this down to 'some Northern scribe', but the text is almost as bad in the Ognissanti MS as in the Mazarine. I would rather say that the editor of Sp. *S* was more skilled in Latin than in the Umbrian vernacular. Possibly indeed this editing may have taken place at Avignon, or have been the work of some Franciscan attached to the Papal Court established at Perugia. Certainly the text of Sp. *S* shews no sign of independence or special excellence.

I, on the other hand, is the best text next to A itself. It has plenty of errors of its own, but they are different from those of other texts, and when A and I agree they seem to be always right. I is not directly copied from A, but its great value is to shew again and again that what might have seemed to be scribal peculiarities of A are not errors, but the correct maintenance of an old, if not indeed the original tradition.

The variant *da* for *per* in l. 27, and in all the other seven places where *per* similarly occurs (e. g. l. 10), raises a question of a different order. It is only in 679, i. e. the 'Acts of Francis in the Valley of Rieti', that *da* is found, and naturally there can be no question but that *per* is the true reading. But what did St Francis mean by it? When he says 'Be praised, O Lord, *per* Brother Wind or Sister Water' what is the meaning of *per*? It may be answered that Francis was composing in

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Italian and that *per* has all the meaning, and either of the meanings, that it has in Italian. But the English translator must choose, and the variant *da* at least tells him that one Italian early in the 15th century did find a difficulty in *per*.

The preposition, in fact, holds the key to the meaning of the whole Canticle. According to 679 Francis wishes God to be praised *by* Sun. Moon, Fire, and the other creatures: e. g. 'God be praised by (*da*) Fire, through (*per*) which God illuminates the night' (ll. 18, 19). Even *cum* in l. 5 is turned into *da*. On the other hand it seems a little inartistic to exhort those who pardon their enemies for the love of God to praise Him (ll. 23, 24); it makes better sense to take the lines as meaning that God is praised through the fact of these forgiving men and women. The same may be said about 'our Sister, bodily Death'. At the end of the Canticle comes *rengratiate* (l. 32): this corresponds to the phrases about the beauty and usefulness of the various Creatures, suggesting therefore that God is to be praised *for* them. So we get back to *cum* in l. 5: this does not naturally mean *da* (so 679), but *con*, i. e. God is to be praised *together with* His Creatures, so that when Francis praises Sun, Moon, and Fire he wishes us to think of it as praise of God who made each one so. All this tends to make the English translator choose 'through', if not 'for', to render *per*.

The variant *da* is proof positive that the interpretation of *per* was somewhat doubtful. It is, therefore, worth remark that in this, as in other matters, Conventuals and Spirituals—or perhaps it is more accurate to say, Thomas of Celano and the Leonine tradition—seem to be divided. I venture to call 2 Cel. ii 161 (*ad fin*) as a supporter of 'by': 'Laudes de creaturis tunc quasdam composuit et *eas* utcumque ad Creatorem laudandum *accendit*'. On the other hand we have *Perugia* 78 (= *Speculum* 100), which makes Francis say: 'Volo . . facere nouam Laudem Domini de suis creaturis quibus cotidie utimur . . . in quibus humanum genus multum offendit Creatorem . . . quia inde nostrum Creatorem et datorem omnium bonorum sicut deberemus non laudamus'. Here clearly the new Laud is to be a praise of God *by* men *for* the creatures.

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CODEX BEZAE AND THE 'SORTES SANGALLENSES'.

To translate Lk. xxi 34 μερίμναισ βιωτικαῖσ the Vulgate has *curis huius uitae*, while the Old Latin texts vary, for the first word, between *sollicitudinibus* (*a e* Iren) and *cogitationibus* (*b c f ff i l q r*). The Latin of Codex Bezae has *soniis*.

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This peculiar word (*sonium*) attracted a good deal of attention from the time of Scholz onwards. It seems to be the parent of the French *soin*, and so has been used to suggest a Gallic origin for Codex Bezae. I cannot find that anything fresh has been written about it since Rendel Harris's *Study of Codex Bezae* (1891), where possible connexions are discussed on pp. 26–29. At the foot of p. 28 Dr Harris remarks 'we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the word may after all be Vulgar Latin and not necessarily Vulgar Latin of as late a period as the sixth century'. This was an acute conjecture; the trouble was that there seemed to be no evidence.

An accident sent me to the edition of the *Sortes Sangallenses* by H. Winnefeld (Bonn, 1887). These *Sortes* have nothing to do with those in Codex Bezae itself or the associated ones in the St Germain codex (*g*), on which see Rendel Harris in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. ix, no. 1. But the word *sonium* occurs in lix 9

de SONIO *liberaris et deo adiuuante*
ad filios tuos reuerteris saluus,

and the corresponding verb *soniari* occurs in xii 11, xxxvii 11, xlvii 11, e.g.

non es fugiturus, noli SONIARI.

The S. Gallen MS (n. 908) is a palimpsest; the under writing, which contains the *sortes*, is of the sixth century. Moreover, the text, though at least in its present form Christian, is concerned with 'praetors' and 'aediles', and 'decemprimi', which seems to throw the composition of the *sortes* into the third century, or thereabouts. Thus *sonium* does turn out to be a Vulgar Latin word of respectable age, and so it throws no direct light whatever upon the age or country of the Latin side of Codex Bezae.

F. C. BURKITT.

ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΣ.

APROPOS of Prof. C. H. Turner's important article on the exact significance of ἀγαπητός as applied to our Lord (JOURNAL, vol. xxvii [1925–1926], pp. 113–129), I have come across a very interesting passage in Plutarch, which illustrates his argument. It occurs in the *Moralia*, tract 7, Περὶ πολυφιλίας (*De amicorum multitudine*) c. 2, pp. 93 F, 94 A,[1] and reads as follows:—

τὸ σφόδρα φιλεῖν καὶ φιλεῖσθαι πρὸς πολλοὺς οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ

[1] Vol. i p. 188 of the admirable new edition by W. R. Paton and I. Wegehaupt (Leipzig, Teubner, 1925).

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ποταμοὶ πολλὰς σχίσεις καὶ κατατομὰς λαμβάνοντες ἀσθενεῖς καὶ λεπτοὶ ῥέουσιν, οὕτως †τῷ φιλεῖν ἡ ψυχὴ σφόδρα πέφυκεν, εἰς πολλοὺς δὲ μεριζομένη ἐξαμαυροῦται. διὸ καὶ τῶν ζῴων τὸ φιλότεκνον τοῖς μονοτόκοις ἰσχυρότερον ἐμφύεται, καὶ Ὅμηρος ἀγαπητὸν υἱὸν ὀνομάζει 'μοῦνον τηλύγετον' (I 482, π. 19), τουτέστι μήτ' ἔχουσιν ἕτερον γονεῦσι μήθ' ἕξουσι γεγενημένον.

As this example belongs to New Testament times, it may serve to bridge the gap between Aristotle and Julius Pollux.[1]

A. SOUTER.

Ναζωραῖος κληθήσεται.

A POINT of some interest arises from Dr Dix's article on 'The Messiah ben Joseph'. If the blessings of Joseph in Gen. xlix and Deut. xxxiii were ever taken Messianically, they may be the source of the much discussed 'He shall be called a Nazarene (Ναζωραῖος)', Matt. ii 23. Joseph is there termed נָזִיר, separate, consecrated, or prince, among his brethren. The LXX has in Genesis ὧν ἠγήσατο ἀδελφῶν, but in Deuteronomy Δοξασθεὶς ἐπ' (ἐν) ἀδελφοῖς. But the writer of Matt. i and ii is not dependent on the LXX, as is shewn by comparison of ii 15 Ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου with Ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετεκάλεσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ. In Lam. iv 7, the only other place where נָזִיר occurs outside the technical sense of 'Nazirite', LXX has Ναζιραῖοι, Vulg. *Nazaraei* (Vulg. has *Nazaraeus* in all places, except sometimes in Numb. vi). This verse is quoted in this connexion by Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* iv 8) 'The Creator's Christ, according to prophecy, was to be called Nazaraeus, whence also the Jews call us by this very name, Nazarenos (v.l. Nazaraeos), because of Him. For we are those of whom it is written, Nazaraei were made whiter than snow.'

Eusebius *Dem. Ev.* vii 2, p. 349 connects Matt. ii 23 with נָזִיר Lev. xxi 12. He says that the LXX has ἅγιον, Aquila ἀφόρισμα, Symmachus ἄθικτον, Theodotion νάζερ. Our Lord and Saviour had by nature holiness, inviolability, and consecration.

HAROLD SMITH.

[1] Turner, pp. 116 f.

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REVIEWS

The People and the Book, Essays by Members of the Society for Old Testament Study, edited by ARTHUR S. PEAKE, D.D. (Clarendon Press, 1925.)

THIS volume contains fifteen essays by different authors who have worked quite independently but in accordance with a general plan laid down by the Editor. The central essays (iv, vii, viii, ix) deal with the history of Israel, and the developement of Hebrew religion from Moses to the death of Simon the Maccabee; the remaining papers treat various subjects subsidiary to the main theme. A full Bibliography and an adequate Index round off what Dr Gressmann, in the current number of the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (p. 77), justly describes as 'eine für Laien ideale Einführung in das AT und seine Probleme'.

In the first essay, *Israel and the Surrounding Nations*, Dr H. R. Hall compresses into forty pages a vast amount of information concerning the political history of Western Asia and Egypt from the age of Hammurabi to the reign of Darius II. He takes a hopeful view of the 'possibility of reconstituting the early history of Israel from the admittedly often self-contradictory Jewish legends aided by contemporary monumental evidence' (p. 9, n. 1). But his own reconstruction of that history, which identifies the Exodus with the expulsion of the Hyksos *c.* 1580 B.C., and the conquest of Canaan by Joshua with the invasion of the Khabiru mentioned in the Amarna letters *c.* 1330 B.C., thereby increasing the years of desert wandering to two hundred and entirely dissociating Joshua from Moses, departs much further from the Biblical tradition than that of most Biblical scholars (e. g. of Dr Burney). While Dr Hall thus brushes aside one of the earliest traditions contained in the Pentateuch, namely, that which associates Joshua with Moses, he treats some of the latest (Genesis xiv and xxiii) with undue deference (pp. 18, 22). Amongst many interesting suggestions made in this essay are the following: the Ark was a relic of Egyptian religion; the Golden Calf may have been an image of the goddess Hathor, and the Brazen Serpent the symbol of the Delta-goddess Buto.

Dr. S. A. Cook contributes a learned and cautious paper on *The Religious Environment of Israel*. He is fully aware of the danger of too hasty generalization, and warns us that resemblances of religious

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phraseology may have more than one explanation. He seems inclined to accept Robertson Smith's theory of a primitive Semitic totemism.

In *The Modern Study of the Hebrew Language*, the longest essay in the book, Mr G. R. Driver shews by a number of well-chosen examples the kind of help which a Hebraist may derive from comparative study of the Semitic languages. Two small errors need correction here: 'vowel' in the sentence 'Accadian adopting the stative sense and retaining the *i* under the second vowel' (p. 92) should apparently be 'consonant', and on p. 96 'the Assyrian particle which takes the preterite should be given as *ai*, *é* or *í*—not *lā* which takes the present'. (The author himself makes this correction in the current number of the *ZAW.* p. 77.)

In Professor Welch's sketch *The History of Israel*, that which is conjectural (e.g. the early date of Deuteronomy, p. 128; Manasseh's persecution of the prophetic party, p. 143, the action of Pharaoh Necho, p. 145) is perhaps not sufficiently distinguished from that which is supported by direct evidence. Dr Welch agrees with Dr Hall in placing the entry of the Hebrews into Canaan in the Amarna period, but chooses for the Exodus a date (*c.* 1445 B.C.) which most Egyptian and Biblical scholars regard as almost impossible (p. 7 n. 2; Burney *Israel's Settlement in Canaan* p. 91; *Camb. Anc. Hist.* vol. ii, p. 356). Moreover, Dr Welch seems to distinguish the Sagaz from the Habiru (p. 123), whereas, according to Dr. Hall, 'the absolute identity of the Khabiru and Sa-Gaz is proved' (p. 15 n. 2)

To those who are new to Biblical studies one of the most valuable papers in the book will be *The Methods of Higher Criticism* (Dr. T. H. Robinson), which gives a simple and clear account of the kind of problem which produces 'Higher Criticism' and of the results to which such criticism leads. Perhaps the statement 'P in the main finds its practical expression in the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah, just as Deuteronomy appears to have been the inspiration for the reforms of Josiah' (p. 170) needs some qualification.

In *The Present Position of Old Testament Criticism* Professor J. E. McFadyen gives an admirably balanced summary of recent Old Testament studies. It is to be regretted that the space at his disposal did not permit a fuller account of recent work on Ezra-Nehemiah.

Professor Lofthouse, *Hebrew Religion from Moses to Saul*, has to deal with highly controversial subjects. Admittedly none of the evidence for the earlier part of the period is contemporary, and opinions will vary as to where, if anywhere, the exact truth lies in the five traditions of Moses which appear in the Old Testament (p. 225). Professor Lofthouse is aware of the problems, but some of his statements seem a little inconsistent. If 'it is impossible . . . to describe

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the actual religious ideas of the pre-Mosaic patriarchs' (p. 224), it is surely not easy to speak of 'pre-Mosaic religion' as a thing which can be contrasted with Mosaism (p. 231).

A well-proportioned sketch of *The Religion of Israel from David to the Return from Exile* is drawn by the Editor, who re-affirms his belief that Hosea i–iii contains genuine biography, that Hosea ii 14–23, xiv 1–9 are genuine utterances of Hosea, that 'the Servant of Yahweh (Isaiah liii) is to be identified not with an individual but with Israel' (p. 286 n. 1); and his dissent from the view 'that the record of the vision of Isaiah (Isa. vi) has been deeply coloured by the prophet's disillusion in the early years of his ministry' (p. 274 n.).

Professor W. E. Barnes, *Religion of Israel from the Return to the Death of Simon the Maccabee*, sets forth the religious ideas of post-exilic Judaism, and protests against the notion that the religious history of this period is the history of a 'decline'. His statements on disputed points are very cautious; 'Ezra followed Nehemiah after an interval of about forty years and . . . took up part of Nehemiah's work and carried it to success' (p. 293); the contents of the complete Pentateuch 'were published and known abroad, thanks to the action and example of Ezra' (p. 313); the kernel of Deuteronomy is pre-exilic (p. 317); the 'Servant of Jehovah', in Isaiah lii 13–liii 12, is one who, when the prophet wrote, had recently lived in obscurity unnoticed, and had died for Israel's sin, and who still, though dead, made intercession for the transgressors. 'His sufferings borne in silence and submission plead for Israel with God' (p. 308).

Dr W. O. E. Oesterley writes of *Worship and Ritual*. It is scarcely possible to compress so large a subject into thirty pages without appearing to speak too dogmatically on many points which are still open to discussion. Dr Oesterley treats the stories of the patriarchs in Genesis, and of Moses in Exodus, as sufficiently reliable descriptions of 'patriarchal' and 'Mosaic' religion respectively, and on this basis makes a clear-cut distinction between Mosaic and pre-Mosaic religious ideas and practices. Some readers will feel that this part of the argument rests on insecure foundations.

Mr H. Wheeler-Robinson, *Hebrew Psychology*, discusses Old Testament ideas about human personality. Especially interesting is his attempt to explain how a Hebrew prophet would think of his own 'inspiration' (p. 371 ff).

In the eyes of the primitive Hebrew, we are told, 'Man's organism is . . . a "United States", rather than a monarchic or imperialistic realm' (p. 354). 'He thought of himself as an animated body with many parts, which could function in quasi-independence of one another, every physical organ having psychical and ethical attributes

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of its own. He believed in invasive influences, good and bad, which might take possession of any of those organs, so that a man might become the agent and instrument of such influences in word or deed' (p. 371). If we may take it for granted that the Hebrew prophets shared these ideas, we shall more easily understand the language in which they describe how the 'Word of the Lord' came to them (e. g. belief in the possibility of the invasion of a single organ by influences from without may help to explain the way in which some prophets represent themselves as holding conversations with Yahweh).

'The whole history of prophecy shews that a prophet was the subject of an abnormal experience which separated him from other men, and warranted him in the belief that he was called of God' (p. 372). 'Not every message received and recorded in the Old Testament was given through these abnormal experiences', but 'at some point or points in every prophet's "inspiration", it is reasonable to assume that there was an experience of abnormal contact with God' (p. 373). It was not always the same kind of experience; for the primitive prophet it was a physical seizure, indistinguishable from mania; for the classical prophets of the Old Testament it took the form of visions or auditions, the impulse to utter words which seemed to the prophet not entirely his own, 'the sudden leaping into consciousness of some word or phrase, vivid as the writing on the wall at Belshazzar's feast' which the prophet would presently elaborate into an oracle (p. 374). But by every prophet the experience was accepted as 'objective', and explained as the effect of an influence which came from outside. Yahweh had caused his eye to see, his ear to hear; Yahweh's messenger had touched his lips; 'his own volition was, so to speak, "short circuited", and out of the current' (p. 374).

Yet, although 'some such experience', as Mr. Robinson writes elsewhere (*ZAW.*, 1923, p. 5), 'was as essential to the equipment of a prophet as . . . episcopal ordination to an Anglican clergyman', one of the greater prophets recognized that it was not in itself a complete equipment. In Jeremiah xv 19 Yahweh is represented as saying to Jeremiah, 'if thou take forth the precious from the common, thou shalt be as my mouth'. 'Here we come as nearly as possible to what a modern would call a "value-judgement". In the last resort, this is what prophecy means. Into the complex organism of the prophetic consciousness, with its many avenues of approach from without, not limited to the peripheral organs, or to their physiological aspect, there came some impulse that was transformed into, or expressed by, a phrase or a picture, and often projected into the outer world. As the selenium bar can translate a light-ray into terms of an electric current, so the prophet's consciousness translates into terms of his own experience this

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original impulse. But in the very process he is constrained to refer it to the seeing eye or the hearing ear, and to give it an other-than-self quality. Many such visions and auditions came to him, as they come to a man amongst ourselves between the waking and the sleeping state; the genuine prophet was he who knew how to distinguish the precious from the common, to exercise a moral judgement, and to advance to the truth that that moral judgement was true for God' (p. 375).[1]

This account of the working of the prophetic consciousness must he taken for what it is, namely, an attempt to construct, from hints scattered throughout the prophetical books, a picture of a process which the prophets themselves never fully describe, and probably seldom considered.

Professor Kennett considers that *The Contribution of the Old Testament to the Religious Development of Mankind* consists in its uncompromising monotheism; its high ethical standards, especially its standard of justice and of sexual morality; its universalism and its individualism, the attempts which it has made to solve the problem of suffering, and the model which it has provided for all Christian worship and devotion.

No one was better qualified to write on *Jewish Interpretation of the Old Testament* than the late Reader in Talmudic in the University of Cambridge. Fully aware of the 'verbal distortions, the subtle yet childish ingenuities, the illogical pretensions to logic' of the Rabbinical exegesis (p. 425), he reminds us that that exegesis contained much that is greater than these things. 'Comfort and Sweetness represent the purpose of Jewish interpretation, if we add of course Conduct and Justification, conduct of man and justification of God' (p. 424). Fantastic exegesis was produced by the necessity of finding Scriptural warrant for ideas and practices which had grown up under the influence

[1] The last paragraph might seem to suggest that Jeremiah xv 19 refers to visions and auditions, and means that the true prophet must scrutinize all visions and auditions which come to him, and reject those which are found morally deficient. Probably this is not what Mr Robinson means. In any case, there is no reason for supposing that the verse has anything directly to do with visions or auditions. Dr Skinner, who translates it 'If pure thoughts thou utter, unmixed with base, thou shalt be as my mouth,' reasonably explains it as follows: 'He (Jeremiah) sees that he must separate between the noble and the base in his own mind. In the presence of God he recognizes that there is something unworthy and ignoble in . . . his querulous complaints, his impatience . . . his vindictive spirit towards his enemies . . . Only as he cleanses himself from these lower impulses . . . and brings forth things noble and right, can he stand before Yahwe and speak as his mouthpiece to his fellow men' (*Prophecy and Religion* pp. 204, 214 f). At the same time, it is true that when the utterance of things ethically right and noble is regarded as the essential mark of true prophecy, the mere experience of vision and audition has already become of secondary importance.

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of the Scriptures, but which were not derived from them. 'The resurrection being an established dogma, it was necessary to find Scriptural support (e. g. in Deut. i 8), however far-fetched and unconvincing—except to those who argued with a smile on the lips' (p. 430). But 'side by side with the Midrashic interpretations there was almost continuously a natural interpretation' (p. 426): 'many interpretations regarded as new are as old as Mechilta and Sifre' (p. 403).

Of more modern scholarship Dr Abrahams writes: 'Exegesis of the Hebrew Bible deserves and requires a limiting denominational epithet (i. e. Jewish or Christian) when it is at its second, not at its first best' (p. 404); only one general tendency of Christian scholars is to be deplored, namely, 'the conventional treatment of the Law as a stage of degeneration from Prophecy' (p. 406).

Professor G. H. Box, *The Value and Significance of the Old Testament in relation to the New*, gives ample proof that 'New Testament literature is indebted to the Old Testament not only on the score of language and literary form, but in the more vital sphere of theological ideas' (p. 465). 'Jesus was influenced in His profoundest thoughts by the Old Testament, and more especially by the prophetic writings, and writings that were themselves influenced by the prophets' (p. 452). 'St Paul's thought was fundamentally Jewish—not Hellenic or Hellenized in any deep sense—and his great ideas go back to the Old Testament. He does, it is true, use Stoic terms, and, to some extent, the terminology of the mystery-religions; but in all such cases the language is charged with new meaning and new content. The determinative element is Jewish. . . . When Greek thought really did exercise a decisive influence upon Christianity, the Pauline theology failed to be understood, and exercised no real influence' (p. 464 f). Professor Box writes as a zealous advocate of Old Testament studies against those (Hellenists?) who would eliminate the Old Testament altogether from popular religious teaching (p. 433). His account of an almost entirely Jewish St Paul is not wholly free from polemical bias, and needs to be supplemented by the words of another Hebraist, Dr G. B. Gray, who writes, 'St Paul was a Hebrew of the Hebrews, yet in some respects and at times at least the Pauline epistles perhaps leave upon us the impression of being the least Semitic of any parts of the New Testament' (p. 478).

These words occur in the last essay in the book *The Horizons of Old Testament Study*. This essay stands apart from the Editor's general scheme. It is the Presidential Address delivered by Dr Gray to the Society for Old Testament Study in January 1922, a few months before his death. The manuscript was found unfinished amongst Dr Gray's papers and prepared for publication by Dr T. H. Robinson.

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The People and the Book is dedicated to the memory of Dr Gray. It is a memorial not unworthy of one in whom profound learning, sound judgement, and true piety were united.

Prophecy and Eschatology, by NATHANIEL MICKLEM, M.A. (Selly Oak Colleges Publications, No. 9, 1926.)

THIS book appears to have been written and printed too hastily. It contains many printer's errors (e. g. 'more closer' for 'more closely' p. 14, 'ances' for 'trances' p. 48, 'challened' p. 92, 'undoutedly' p. 207, 'Baa' p. 96, 'beilige' p. 132 n. 3, 'decisive' for 'indecisive' p. 199, 'Jeremiah' for 'Nehemiah' p. 196), some very obscure passages (e. g. pp. 82, 127, 244), and no index of subjects. Consequently it is not easy to read or to review.

The writer has two things to say. The first is that the great Hebrew prophets from Elijah to Ezekiel were neither mere preachers of righteousness, nor yet 'ecstatics' like the 'sons of the prophets' who infected Saul with their enthusiasm (1 Sam. x 10 ff). When a prophet says: 'I saw', 'I heard', he is not using a mere figure of speech. 'Thus the Lord shewed me and behold two baskets of figs' means more than 'The people of Judah may be likened to figs'; 'thus saith the Lord' means more than 'this is the Lord's opinion'; the prophet is speaking of a definite moment when he seemed to see the thing he describes, to hear the words which he repeats. But, on the other hand, there is nothing in the language of the great prophets, nor in that of more recent poets and musicians who have described their own experience of similar moments of 'vision' and 'audition', to warrant the belief that such experiences were always or normally accompanied by bodily disturbances which could be seen by the casual onlooker. Prophetic 'visions' and 'auditions' are examples of phenomena well known to students of the psychology of dreams; they are to be regarded not as the beginning but as the end of that mental process by which conviction is formed; they are to be treated as 'dream experiences' in which the problems which have long occupied the prophet's mind find their solution, a solution which is expressed in symbolism suggested by the prophet's immediate surroundings. 'Psychologically the process is not unlike that whereby a mathematician will solve a problem in his sleep' (p. 36 f), but whether, at the moment of vision, the prophet was awake, asleep, or in ecstasy, is relatively unimportant. *Psychologically* there is no difference between the visions

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of the great prophets and those of the 'false' prophets; both are the work of imagination; 'but whereas the vaticinations of the prophets of weal are the outcome or "outcrop" of the imagination working upon the *material presented by their desires*, the prophecies of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah . . . are based upon insight into the moral order . . . the oracles of the great prophets, whether for weal or woe, are always ethically conditioned' (p. 44).

This is the second thing the author has to say. It is quite incredible that any of the great prophets, wholly occupied as they were with moral issues, ever uttered an absolute and unconditional prediction either of weal or woe. 'Are the closing verses of Amos authentic? Did Isaiah believe in the inviolability of Mount Zion and the imminence of the Messianic reign? Did Jeremiah confuse a spiritual repentance with a physical return from exile? Did Ezekiel set his heart upon the ritual of the new temple and gloat over the thought of the discomfiture of Gog? If so, it is religiously and philosophically certain that they did not understand their own real meaning, and that they halted between two different notions of religion' (p. 243). Popular 'eschatologies of weal or woe', based on earlier soothsayings, may have been current in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., but the great prophets owed nothing to such sources except perhaps their symbolism (p. 103). Five of the eight chapters of this book are occupied with a detailed proof that the genuine prophecies of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel contain no unconditional promises or threats, and that none of these prophets—not even Ezekiel—regarded a cultus as a necessary or desirable element in religion.

Most readers will agree with Professor Micklem when he protests against any attempt to reduce the great prophets to the type of the primitive 'ecstatic', and when he insists that the prophets were essentially religious men who believed that 'this world is a moral order; social evil, pride and self-sufficiency bring inevitable destruction; . . . the only power in all the world is the living God' (p. 177). Many will doubt, however, whether all the prophets from Elijah to Ezekiel resembled each other as closely as Professor Micklem would have us suppose. Can we really believe that Elijah and Amos were two minds with but a single thought; and, since 'by all psychological principles the temple in his vision must be a symbol of something else', that Ezekiel xl–xlii have 'nothing directly to do with ritual or ceremonial or any temple of the future' (p. 223 f)?

F. S. MARSH.

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Christologie vom Tode des Athanasius bis zum Ausbruch des Nestorianischen Streites (373–429), by Dr EDUARD WEIGL. (Koesel and Pustet, Munich, 1925.)

THIS work is published as No. 4 of a series of monographs called 'Münchener Studien zur historischen Theologie'. But it is unconnected with the other five of the series that have so far appeared, and may be treated as an independent study.

Dr Weigl is Professor at Munich, and Director of the Seminary called the Georgianum, and this is his third publication on History of Dogma. The first appeared twenty-one years ago, when he was in charge of the Diocesan Seminary at Passau. It was a study of some 360 pages on the soteriology of Cyril of Alexandria, the author's interest being to shew what was being thought in the East about the problem of grace and human salvation, at the time when Augustine was impressing so distinctive a character upon Western conceptions in this matter.

Dr Weigl's next book was a study of the Christology of Athanasius. The Christology of Athanasius was developed in the last decade of his life, and represented particularly by the two books 'Contra Apollinarium', whose authenticity Dr Weigl vigorously defends. This study was published in 1914, and seems to have received less notice than it deserves, in consequence.

Both these books involved their author in a survey of early Alexandrine Christology, which of necessity led him to examine the parallel developements overseas. There was room for some one with the necessary knowledge to write a short general survey of the Christology of the period. And this Dr Weigl has done, in the mature and careful little volume under review. The course of the argument may be summarized as follows.

The starting-point of the first Christological movement was the implicit 'monophysism' of the Arian Christ, reaching its climax in the Eudoxian rejection of ἐνανθρωπήσαντα. There was reaction against the Arian Christology, upon two main lines.

The first is that of the Apollinarians, which accepts monophysism as an inevitable condition of the Christological problem, making the divine nature fundamental, and postulating the consubstantiality of the manhood with the Godhead, its passibility being an 'economy'. Now if there is μία φύσις, and the Word is not ἄλογος, it seemed that the rational part of manhood must disappear in incarnation, since otherwise the rational in the Word, and the rational in the manhood would be two αὐτοκίνητα in potential conflict. Thus the Apollinarians, despite reservations, tended towards impersonal manhood of heavenly origin, which

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the Word brought with Him into this world, 'through' the Virgin. And they were against assumption by the Word of something which, even after such assumption, belonged to this world.

The other reaction was that of the Antiochenes. They regarded monophysism as the essential error of the Arians, and held that the Godhead of the Word is secure against Arian inferences once it is recognized that in Christ are δύο φύσεις, though ἓν πρόσωπον. The Antiochene appreciation of the φύσις of manhood was very rich. But it made the Christological problem harder by provoking the question 'Which is the Son of God? the Word or the man?' Diodore's answer was that the Word is Son by nature, while the man is Son by grace. The union of the Word and manhood is moral and not substantial, but it is eternal and indissoluble. Nevertheless it was a standing difficulty of the Antiochenes to avoid the creation of two Christs.

After dealing with these two main lines of Christology, Dr Weigl gives an interesting survey of contemporary intermediate systems, whether of known authorship, or from anonymous documents. So he comes to the Cappadocians, whose importance Christologically he regards as much less than their general theological reputation would suggest. They were for some while disposed to regard the Apollinarian strife as a ζυγομαχία ἀδελφική, by comparison with the Arian controversy. While they rejected as 'Samosatene' any ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος of the natures, they insisted, for soteriological reasons, on the human soul and will in Christ. This meant at least a mental distinction of ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο, the duality to be resolved in the concrete fact of the unity of Christ's Person. Dr Weigl is inclined to regard the Cappadocians as going too far towards the Antiochene side.

In Part II of his book, Dr Weigl turns to Alexandrine Christology. The reader can hardly fail to notice a change of style and feeling at this point. Dr Weigl's survey of non-Alexandrine Christology is learned and good, but it is with the Alexandrine thought that he is at home.

Alexandrine Christology as such, starts with the work of Athanasius in the closing years of his life. When the stress of anti-Arian strife began to abate, he turned again to the mystery of the Incarnation. What he wrote, however, was very much the individual work of a master, and even his own most intimate disciples, Peter and Didymus, were far from beginning where he left off. Nevertheless, Dr Weigl thinks that there continued to be in Alexandria a tradition of constructive thought about the Incarnation, guided by the principle of Athanasius, that the divine *possessed* the ἴδια of humanity.

Didymus, as an Origenist, was against σὰρξ ἄψυχος. The infiltration of Manicheeism into Alexandria in his time also set orthodox Alexandrines against the Apollinarian way of thinking. By the time of Theo-

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philus it was otherwise. His anti-Origenism inclined him to dislike the laying of emphasis upon the human soul in Christ, and it took the efforts of Nyssen to rouse him to languid animadversion upon Apollinarianism. Cyril, born not very long before the death of Athanasius, grew up at Alexandria in an atmosphere of progressive scholarly thought. It is a main contention of Dr Weigl that Cyril's theological work is consistent throughout. It is not to be divided into precontroversial and postcontroversial, as though its exactness was the fruit of polemic. Certainly some distinctions were sharpened by controversy. But Dr Weigl contends that every essential component of Cyrillian Christology is present in the writings that date before 429. Hence, in the case of undated works, he does not hold it sufficient ground for placing a work late, that it should contain phrases that are characteristic of the period of controversy. There are works of Cyril where that is the case, in which the emphasis, anti-Arian, and not Christological, plainly marks them as belonging to the earlier period.

In his earlier years Cyril, like Theophilus, was not much concerned over Apollinarianism, or indeed any overseas theology. His starting-point was the key-word of Athanasius, ἕνωσις, with its implication of some sort of duality that has been resolved. Cyril adds one of his chief contributions to the working out of the problem by his increasing use of the word φύσις to express that wherein the duality consists. He tacitly assumes the Word to be possessor and agent in all that is predicated of Christ. Incarnation is itself an eternal 'gesture' of the Word. It is His προσλήψις of manhood, not involving Him in any change, but rather constituting a particular mode of His being.

Dr Weigl sees no justification for Professor Harnack's suggestion that with Cyril the manhood in Christ is not concrete and individual, but 'ideal' in the Platonic sense. He points to Cyril's assertion of the miraculous character of the virgin-birth and sinlessness of Christ, and his way of contrasting Christ and Adam, in soteriological passages. His way of speaking about human individuals bears this out. He says that all men are ἀδιάκριτοι κατὰ τὴν φύσιν. What makes their individuality is their ὑποστάσεις. But if it be asked how the fullness of manhood can be present without there being thereby a separate ὑπόστασις of the manhood, Cyril takes refuge in mystery. No complete rational account of the Incarnation can be given. Because there is μία ὑπόστασις τοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένου, we predicate of one and the same Agent both sufferings and superhuman works. Cyril attributes Christ's resurrection τῇ οἰονεὶ πηγῇ τῆς ἰδίας ὑποστάσεως. It is upon the same principle that he explains that the flesh of Christ is lifegiving.

On Cyril's general principles, it is the divine that is the subject of προκοπή, not directly, but through the manhood united to it. The

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nature of the Word keeps its glory, and the nature of the manhood its dependence, throughout.

But the Nestorian controversy forced Cyril to a more radical treatment of the problem of the προκοπή. His interest was to discover what there was in the Incarnate that was not subject to it. In Himself, he said, the Word cannot have become wiser or more loveable. It must therefore have been in the eyes of others that He became these things. He cannot have been subject to blind chance, and the force of irrational passion. Therefore His ignorances and His emotions were not absolute, but were supernaturally controlled. They were, however, both real and necessary. No passion would have been sanctified if He had not possessed it. And by such acceptance of all that is essential to manhood He opens to those whom He represents the way of escape from φθορά, through (static) union and (dynamic) fellowship with Himself.

Dr. Weigl concludes that, up to 429, Cyril, while being typically Alexandrine in principles, was eclectic in method. But he shewed a wonderful power of making the fruits of his eclecticism conform to his principles. He never really turned aside out of the hundred-year-old path of Alexandrine Christology.

Dr. Weigl thinks that he began with a bias rather on the side of δύο φύσεις. But he was never entangled in the difficulties inherent in Antiochenism, because he discerned an inward mutual congruity of manhood and the Word.

To sum up, Dr. Weigl's book is a valuable textbook for the doctrinal movement about which he writes. It also contains a very well presented case for Cyrilline Christology. Many of his readers will not be entirely convinced by the latter. But probably all will feel that his sympathetic presentation of Cyril's teaching is a valuable and timely aid towards a just estimate of the first Christological controversy.

Konfessionskunde, by Professor HERMANN MULERT. (Töpelmann, Giessen, 1926.)

PROFESSOR MULERT traces a developement from Polemics, through the transitional stage of Symbolics, to 'Konfessionskunde', or the study of Denominations. Polemics naturally rose with the divisions of Christendom, and had their heyday in the two centuries following the Reformation. The end of the seventeenth century found people growing weary of this negative and destructive process, and ready to learn what it was that other people believed. So sprang up Symbolics, the study of creeds and confessions. But it is plain that documents

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cannot profitably be studied except in connexion with the whole life of the religious community to which they belong. Hence the need to proceed beyond Symbolics to 'Konfessionskunde', which may be regarded as a Christian department of Comparative Religion.

The volume under review is only the first part of Professor Mulert's book. The remaining volume is advertised to appear 'in the summer' of 1926. But the table of contents of the two volumes is printed on the brown paper wrapper of this one.

There are two introductory chapters, and a third, whose appropriateness is a little difficult to see, on the three great creeds of Western Christendom. Then follows a review of the Eastern churches, and about half the review of the Roman communion. The next volume is to finish the latter, then, in chapter xv, to deal with the Anglican church, and thereafter to finish with the remainder of the Reformed communions.

In this volume there is a brief review of the relations of the Anglican church with the Eastern churches, which shews good information well digested and summarized with care.

The author seems to view his field from the point of view of devout liberal protestantism, with a great power of sympathetic understanding of other people's aims and tendencies. Considering the amount of compression that has been necessary, the book is written in a very readable way.

In fact, for matter which many may well want to read more than once, it is a pity that it could not have been printed a little better. It is in an eye-destroying Gothic type, with narrow margins, and even the brown paper cover is printed all over. This is no doubt because it appears in the 'Sammlung Töpelmann', which would seem to be a cheap series for extended publication. But if such books as Professor Mulert's are widely read in Germany, so much the better for Germany!

The Idea of Faith in Christian Literature (Death of St Paul to end of Second Century), by Professor W. H. P. HATCH. (Humphrey Milford, 1925.)

PROFESSOR HATCH will need no introduction to readers of this JOURNAL, but this little work of his appears in an unaccustomed dress. It is in fact a thesis which he presented to the Protestant Faculty of Theology of the University of Strasbourg for the degree of D. Theol. It was printed at the Imprimerie Alsacienne. And while misprints of a kind that would have been unlikely from an English press have not

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been entirely eliminated, they might easily have been very much worse. The book appears in the usual paper wrapper of continental publishing. It continues the line of Professor Hatch's 'Pauline Idea of Faith' (Harvard, 1917).

The author tabulates the occurrence of words bearing on the idea of Faith in the post-Pauline canonical writings, the documents of the Subapostolic age, and of the Apologists up to Irenaeus. Then, writer by writer, he discusses the sense in which the words are used. He recognizes two distinct elements in what his writers mean by faith. Sometimes one element is predominent, to the virtual exclusion of the other. But always the writers are unaware of the composite nature of that of which they speak, and unconscious that by their particular emphasis they are modifying the sense commonly attached to the word. The elements are (*a*) trust, and (*b*) conviction.

Trust only demands that the intellect shall not forbid. It is predominently moral, an affair of the heart and will, an attitude towards life and towards God. This is easily the chief element in the faith of Judaism, and of the discipleship of Jesus.

Conviction begins in the mind, and there affords a fulcrum for the moving of heart and will. Professor Hatch sees this element come suddenly, if unconsciously, to the front, in the Johannine writings. And it is from this that a new use of the word issues, '*the* Faith', *Fides quae creditur*.

There is a third thing that tends to come in and colour the thoughts which a writer associates with this word, namely mystical experience. To some, like Philo, faith (trust) is the goal of the Via Mystica. To others like St Paul and St John, faith, as the writer conceives it, is the door to mystical communion with God. To St Paul, it becomes in this way also the secret of Christian morality. No other writer presents so coherent and complete a conception of faith as St Paul. But the others all recognize that the mental acceptance of the Gospel, a Christlike trust, and Christian standards of moral virtue, must somehow hold together.

In these days when intellectual conviction is so much troubled, Professor Hatch thinks that we might make more than we do of the element of trust, as an attitude towards life, copied from Jesus, and justified by its power to make one live at one's best.

It suffices to say that there are the fruits of rich scholarship on every page, and that this, if not one of the more indispensable books on a reader's shelves, will not be one of the least attractive.

W. TELFER.

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The Attributes of God. The Gifford Lectures delivered in the University of St Andrews in the year 1924–1925, by LEWIS RICHARD FARNELL, Rector of Exeter College, Oxford. (The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1925.)

DR FARNELL remarks that though his subject was explicitly mentioned in the deed of foundation of the Gifford Lectures, none of his predecessors has given it any systematic exposition. He calls his work an essential chapter in Comparative Religion, but its significance goes beyond this empirical study. It must be regarded as a valuable contribution towards the elaboration of the new type of philosophy of religion which some thinkers are endeavouring to formulate. This philosophical significance notwithstanding, Dr Farnell does not make it his chief concern. He does treat definitely of Problems of the Philosophy of Religion in his last lecture, and there are frequent incidental considerations of a philosophical character throughout the volume, but there are many points where the need of a general philosophical consideration and a more definite and more fully stated position are keenly felt by the philosophical mind. To enumerate these here would demand too much space. It is, however, worth quoting Dr Farnell, a student of historical religions, in contrast with the opinions of a former Oxford Gifford Lecturer. He says that 'religion in any sense in which it has yet been recognized' is instinctively repelled by the idea of divinity as the sum of all reality. The cry of the Indian saint 'the worship of the Impersonal laid no hold upon my heart' appeals, he says, and we think rightly, as the voice of all real religion.

It is only at a certain stage that the idea of divinity becomes sufficiently definite to serve as a focus for many attributes. In fact, Dr Farnell contends that 'our inquiry only begins to be fruitful on the plane of personal deities or *θεοί*'. From a consideration of the empirical data he concludes that theriomorphic representation has tended to promote an attitude of fear, while anthropomorphism has been more conducive to love. Later attempts to treat theriomorphic imagery as symbolic have been favourable to indefinite forms of mysticism. The early mind could not grasp the idea of divine omnipresence, and early forms of anthropomorphism, especially those associated with idolatry tended to militate against its recognition. Dr Farnell seems right in maintaining that we can only satisfactorily understand idolatry on the ground that the worshippers regarded the image as in some sense 'full of the mystic essence of the deity'. In this connexion he dwells on the different kinds of offering and sacrifice to the deities, and leads on to a consideration of similar implications in the doctrine of the death of Christ. He says that none of the reinterpretations of this

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doctrine have satisfied the developed modern conscience. Here he appears to treat our 'religious theory', in which vicarious sacrifice is still a prominent dogma, as lagging behind in the onward march of thought. In our secular law and ethics we have 'risen far above it'. But may it not be asked whether this is indeed true? Are there not signs, not merely in modern legal practice but also in government and in political theory, which point to a definite recognition of corporate welfare demanding and rightly accepting the sacrifice of individuals? I venture to think that Dr Farnell's attitude in this matter needs reconsideration. It is a reflex of an apparent assumption of an individualistic personal religion as its highest form. The doctrine of vicarious sacrifice may yet help us to withstand an exaggerated individualism, and to come to a more profound understanding of experience than that can give us.

In his discussion of anthropomorphism Dr Farnell treats of the prevalent attribution of sex characteristics to the deities, and he appears in the main, if not indeed entirely, to regard the eradication of such attributes as an advance. This is a delicate and difficult topic, which must needs be seriously handled in the theology, especially the moral theology, of the future. For the present it must suffice to insist on the implications of even Dr Farnell's own statement: 'For a comparative study of the attributes of Godhead it is important to bear in mind that the Mediterranean old-world religions, all save the Hebraic, agreed in regarding the processes of the propagation of life as divine.' A less prejudiced consideration of some of the religions of the East should also teach us something in this connexion. Goddess cults have often fostered the growth of the ideas of divine mercy and pity.

Dr Farnell regards Judaism and Islām and Unitarian Christianity as the truly monotheistic religions. In practice he thinks that the Third Person of the Trinity is hardly a living power for the mass of believers, the majority of the earnest of whom have addressed their prayers to God and to Christ as two distinct personages without any thought of the triune dogma. To this must also be added the cult of the Virgin and the saints in many countries, so that 'the current popular religion of Europe should be rather described as a high spiritual polytheism, tempered and restrained by the Athanasian Creed'. However, the whole discussion of polytheism and monotheism raises the question of the existence and place in religion of beings intermediate in nature and power between men and a Supreme Being or God, and if there are such, whether with our present terminology we should call these deities. Many doubts have been thrown on the purely monotheistic character, in the absolute sense, of Islām in practice. (Cf. for example S. Curtis *Semitic Religion To-day.*)

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Although Dr Farnell dissociates himself from those who seek in Nature-worship the chief source of religious ideas he agrees that something towards advanced and spiritual concepts is derived from the realm of nature. The sun-god Shamash became the god of righteousness, the law-giver, and in the hymns to Re-Aton, well described as masterpieces of religious poetry, a nature-god could be conceived as a 'High Power of the Spiritual life'. The sun's light has been constantly associated with purity and truth. Nature worship gave men a sense of a beneficient deity in the sources and elements of their own terrestrial life. 'We have lost the old Pagan sense of the divinity of those things in which our physical life depends and some of the *joie de vivre* that goes with that sense.' And, it may be remarked, even poetry does not make up fully for the neglect of this side of religion.

The most interesting event in our religious history, says Dr Farnell, is 'the progress from the tribal-particularist phase to the universal concept of God'. This was not the reflexion of a political universalism: Israel was never a wide empire. There were in Orphism and in Homeric utterances a transcendence of national limitations. But the chief ground of this broadening and universalizing of the idea of God, the author seems to find in the emergence of an individualism of tense and direct communion with God. 'The developement of personal religion quickened and facilitated the birth of the concept of a universal God standing everywhere in the same relation to the individual soul.' With this conviction, Dr Farnell again insists on a criticism of 'our own Christology' which is not yet delivered 'from the fetters of group morality'. Thus the form of universalism, to which he points is not that of a universal community but that of a universal freedom for individual communion. 'The history of progressive religion justifies the old belief, strongly held by the Cambridge Platonists, that God as the source of all soul-life reveals himself most profoundly to the individual soul in solitude.' But may it not also be true that the full fruition of this revelation is in communion with Nature and mankind?

The record of men's ideas concerning the moral qualities of deity makes strange reading. Nevertheless, certain traits come into prominent relief in the course of history. In the higher religions of the old world, justice appears to have been the most definite attribute, and it was a task frequently undertaken to find a means of reconciling the injustices of this life with the justice of the deities. Yet the attributes of mercy and compassion have rarely been wanting in conceptions of the divine. Purity is applied to men and deities, while holiness is essentially a characteristic of the supernatural. The infusion of solemn awe which comes with the recognition of the quality of holiness in the divine helps according to its greater or lesser degree to differentiate

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religions. But there is surely a sense in which we may also attribute holiness to true saints.

In his consideration of the attributes of Beauty, Wisdom, and Truth, Dr Farnell finds his best data in the religion and thought of ancient Greece. In his discussion of divine power he treats also of its expression in the world, indicating the attitudes which have seen this (i) in the miraculous and (ii) in universal law. Incidentally he raises the question of the implications of prayer in this connexion. Here again Dr Farnell's individualistic view appears. For, suggesting that prayer may have its one real effect within the consciousness of the individual who must realize it through his own freedom, he concludes that (so conceived) 'prayers for an individual other than oneself have no validity', 'And herein, more conspicuously than elsewhere is revealed the wide cleavage that at present exists between the highest theistic thought and the popular religion.' But are we so certain that it is popular religion which is wrong?

The preceding paragraphs are quite inadequate to indicate the scope and importance of this book. But no work of Dr Farnell's needs any one to commend it in order to ensure it due attention. For my own part I would thank him for this most valuable and interesting volume.

The Christian Doctrine of the Godhead; or the Apostolic Benediction as the Christian Creed, by ALFRED E. GARVIE, D.D. (Hodder and Stoughton, London.)

THE above-named work appears to be one of three which Dr Garvie has planned to write. On p. 220 he declares his intention to deal in another volume with 'the philosophical vindication of the religious belief in God, or the harmonizing with the other products of the thought of man of the distinctive contribution of religion'; and on p. 224 he projects a further volume on the subject of Christian ethics. These sides of the subject are, therefore, only casually touched on in the present treatise. When completed these three volumes will no doubt be readily welcomed and highly treasured by the many students who have come under Dr Garvie's influence during his attachment to the Hackney and New Colleges in London. Indeed, the present publication reads like a carefully and continually revised and elaborated set of lectures on Christian Theology. Such a production might account for its skilful avoidance of anything which might savour of extreme views or hasty judgements. The book is essentially one for frequent study rather than for one rapid reading. The author is anxious to

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expound a constructive theology, and there is an absence of negative criticism of doctrines which may be considered obsolete. Dr Garvie's liberalism becomes evident chiefly in the light of the consideration of what he omits. This may also be noted in his choice, not of one of the orthodox creeds as the framework of his discussion, but of the Apostolic Benediction.

The sections of his treatment shew not only Dr Garvie's starting-point and mode of approach but also his Trinitarian conception of the Godhead. They are: (i) The Grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ; (ii) The Love of God; and (iii) The Community of the Holy Spirit. In earlier years Dr Garvie was well known as a keen student and a sympathetic critic of Ritschlianism. The mode of approach and much in the general exposition shew Ritschlian influences. 'If Christian faith be based on the fact of Christ, then Christian theology will be an exposition, commendation, and appreciation of the significance of that fact for faith.' This exposition, therefore, does not begin with the consideration of an abstract conception of God, but with the evangelical testimony of the Person and Work of Christ. This is followed by a survey of Apostolic experience and interpretation of Christ and his work, and this leads Dr Garvie on to a sketchy discussion of later doctrinal developement and dogmatic formulation. The second section is devoted to a presentation of the conception of God and His love which Christ has revealed to us. We may affirm the personality of God on the authority of Christ. It is the 'Fatherhood of God' which is distinctive in the teaching of Jesus. Insisting that Jesus claimed that 'He as Son was known by the Father alone, and that He alone knew the Father and could make the Father known', Dr Garvie maintains that this implies a different relation of Christ to God from that of men to God: 'He is Son by an eternal relation, men become sons by a temporal experience.' Though the Fatherhood of God is permanent and universal, sonship as a moral and religious relation has to be realized personally by each man.

In Dr Garvie's opinion the doctrine of the Holy Spirit has not been accorded adequate importance in the theological developement of the Church. The reason for this may be similar to that for which he criticizes a number of recent writers—the tendency to identify the Holy Spirit with the living Christ so as virtually to deny the necessity of a separate treatment of the two doctrines. Yet Dr Garvie's exposition of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit is itself extremely vague. It is perhaps true to say that it is much more difficult to think of the Holy Spirit as person than to think of Christ, or the Father, as persons. But it is not very helpful to contend that 'it need not be maintained that we are to speak of the Holy Spirit as a person'. For it seems

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even more difficult to conceive of a Spirit which is not personal. After a consideration of the work of the Holy Spirit in the Church and in Christian life generally, Dr Garvie endeavours to reach an intelligible exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity. He regards it from two points of view, (i) economic, (ii) ontological. The former is the manner in which the Christian Revelation is found in a 'historical trinitarian presentation'—that is, God revealing Himself as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. It is this view which his whole exposition emphasizes. The Trinitarian conception, he says, is a blessing to the soul. Dr Garvie would admit that his discussion of the question whether this Trinity in Unity is also ontological is not very satisfactory as metaphysics, towards which he has a little of the Ritschlian distrust. He thinks that the categories of psychology and of sociology may make the doctrine of the Trinity more intelligible than any of metaphysics. For the purpose of pastoral instruction and for the promotion of Christian experience this seems true and important, but the philosophical theologian cannot thus evade the ultimate problem.

Psychology and the Church. Edited by O. HARDMAN. (Macmillan, 1925.)

THIS series of Essays, meant especially for the clergy, aims at removing some of the difficulties and making available some of the lessons of a new way of thought which it is dangerous to neglect. Remarking on the recent rapid progress of Psychology, the Bishop of Southwark in an Introduction suggests that the most dangerous attacks on Christian faith and conduct are now to be found in the tendency to treat religion as purely subjective, 'simply as projections of the human mind'. The opposition to the repression of instincts is regarded as undermining the Christian teaching of the control of the sex passions. He rightly commends the constructive efforts of the writers to shew how a knowledge of psychology should aid in pastoral work.

Dr W. R. Matthews with his customary lucidity opens the volume with a brief account of the psychological position and of its limitations. But on the ground that introspection begins with a necessary and unavoidable falsification he contends that the conceptual scheme on its basis 'must also in some degree misrepresent the reality of mind'. One is inclined to ask how, without a direct knowledge of experience and not merely of the memory of it, Dr Matthews can rightly assert falsification in introspection, for such an assertion implies a contrast between true and false. How then can he at the same time maintain

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'that I can know what I experienced only when the experience is gone'?

With skilful brevity Mr Grensted traces the various advances in the sphere of psychology from the time of Aristotle up to McDougal and Jung. He concludes with a consideration of three problems to which the psychology of to-day leads up, though ultimately they pass beyond its special scope: (i) the purpose or 'end' of life; (ii) the nature of the self; (iii) the problem of moral responsibility.

Dr Relton from the point of view that psychology can give us only description and not explanation in its account of prayer, challenges the right of the psychologist, *qua* psychologist, to explain prayer as mere autosuggestion and religious experience generally as subjective delusion. Discussing a number of recent books, indicating wider reading for those wishing to continue the study of the subject, he contrasts Jung's psycho-analytical view of religion with the Christian hypothesis, insisting with Dr Rufus Jones that 'mystical experience has all the essential marks of objective reference as certainly as other forms of experience have'.

Mr C. E. Hudson's paper on 'The Psychology of Public Worship' has some useful practical suggestions. 'The Psychology of Religious Education' is treated by Dr Dix with the systematic precision of a schoolmaster. Mr Rogers in a wise consideration of the 'Psychology of Preaching, Evangelism, and Edification', faces the difficulty that though half-hour sermons are too long, even two a week do not give sufficient scope for systematic instruction and edification. The paper is full of practical sagacity and is one of the 'most worth while' in the volume. Dr Bicknell contributes a balanced study of Sectarianism, Schism, and Reunion, from the points of view of modern social psychology and sociology.

The 'Psychology of Moral Developement' is treated by Dr Hardman with ample references to recent writers, and he makes a valuable contribution to the study of the actual relation of the 'religious or God sentiment' to the developement of the social organism and of individual character. Dr Hardman thinks that the experience of the Church has shewn the necessity for control, self-sacrifice, and restraint, and the inadequacy of the sublimation taught with exaggerated claims by New Psychologists.

The general reader will probably be most interested in the instructive essay by Drs Hadfield and Browne on the 'Psychology of Spiritual Healing'. With the aid of a historical survey they shew the variety of methods which have been employed—the power of personality; prayer, individual and collective; faith in relics and in wells; emphasis on the miraculous healing of bodily disease; and the necessity for spiritual regeneration. They point out that while evidence is forthcoming which

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encourages us to believe that all diseases can be influenced and cured by spiritual means, medical men generally restrict the use of this method to psychogenic diseases, that is, those that appear to originate in the mind. In our present state of knowledge, treatment by organic means is the most efficient form of cure for organic diseases, though even then hope and faith may have their influence. In the absence of proof to the contrary, the writers are inclined to assume that 'cures of functional disease occur by spiritual healing as they do by psychotherapy'. In spiritual healing the conditions necessary for inducing a suggestible state of mind are usually present. They point out that M. Coué omits to emphasize the most important condition of such suggestion being successful, namely, that the stimulus to suggestibility comes from outside.

A. G. WIDGERY.

Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet, by Dr JOSEF ANDREAS JUNGMANN, S.J. Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung. (Münster in Westf., 1925.)

THIS is a careful and enlightening study of a very interesting question, the place held by Christ in the official prayer of the Church. As the title indicates, the author has set certain limits to the scope of his enquiry, dealing directly only with prayer strictly so called, and, except for the earlier period, only with liturgical or eucharistic prayer. The formularies for the sacraments in general, or for the night and day offices, do not come under consideration, still less the forms of devotion to be met with in hymns and other compositions of a more or less private nature. Thus the book contains no reference to such sources as the *Odes of Solomon* or the *Book of Cerne*. But even so the material is ample, and in fact, after a searching examination of the whole field of liturgical documents, from the *Didache* to quite late eastern and western formularies, the author enlarges his survey and proceeds to illustrate the liturgical matter from the New Testament and almost every type of Christian literature.

The book works out in effect as a study of these two elements: prayer through Christ, and prayer to Christ. But so far as public prayer is concerned, the latter hardly comes into view at all before the end of the fourth century. Down to that date, and for some time later still, the rule almost without exception was prayer to God through Christ, with varying forms and applications of this idea. The one apparent exception, apart from documents of an exotic kind, is to be found in the anaphora of the Dêr-Balyzeh papyrus fragments published by Dom P. de Puniet in 1908. Dr Schermann would place the com-

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position of the prayers in this document early in the third century, but Dr Brightman has rightly said that they can hardly be 'earlier than the middle of the fourth century at the earliest' (*J.T.S.*, January 1911, p. 311). I would raise the question whether this anaphora can be as early even as the fourth century. For several reasons I suspect that it is considerably later; and one of these reasons is that the anamnesis in the eucharistic prayer is addressed to Christ, in the form: *τὸν θάνατόν σου κ⟨αταγγέλλ⟩ομεν, τὴν ἀνάστασίν ⟨σου ὁμολογοῦμ⟩εν καὶ δεόμεθα . . .* Here the fragment breaks off, but the words *καὶ δεόμεθα* are enough to shew that the sentence is not a mere exclamation of the people, such as is found in the Liturgy of St James (Greek and Syriac), and in practically all the liturgies of Egypt except the two most representative ones, those of Serapion and 'St Mark'. The interjection of the people at this point can hardly, I think, date back to the fourth century, and the formula in the Papyrus has the appearance of being a still later incorporation of the people's words into the text of the prayer. Are we not here in the age of the Egyptian and Syrian Monophysites? The date of the Papyrus itself is, according to Mr Crum, saec. vii–viii. Another feature which points in the same direction is the insertion of *καὶ πίων* in the words of Institution for the cup; while as regards the 'Epiclesis' of the Holy Spirit which this anaphora has before the Institution, the late Edmund Bishop wrote to me in 1909 that in his final opinion this was 'only another step forward in the developement of the Egyptian Canon, of which we have earlier phases in Serapion and and "Mark"', and that if the text were complete we should find a second 'Epiclesis' in the usual place.

Dr Jungmann is a well-equipped patristic scholar and a trained theologian, and has a thorough acquaintance with the modern works bearing on all departments of his subject. His essay necessarily involves a large attention to the history of Doxology, and though this is not his immediate concern, and the doctrine of the Holy Spirit does not belong to his enquiry, yet this book will be found to provide an excellent introduction to the whole subject of Doxology and a valuable aid to any student entering upon a systematic study of it.

Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft, Band v (for 1925). (Münster in Westf., 1926.)

THIS valuable liturgical publication, edited by Dom Odo Casel of Maria Laach, was noticed and described in the JOURNAL for July 1925, p. 422. The present issue contains, besides the usual comprehensive *Literaturbericht*, essays by Dom Casel, Dr J. P. Kirsch, Dr H. Lietzmann, Dr A. L. Mayer, Dr W. Lüdtke, and Dr A. Baumstark. Of

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these perhaps the one of most interest for English readers is the short paper of Dr Lietzmann entitled 'Handschriftliches zu Alkvins Ausgabe und Sacramentarium' (pp. 68–79).

Those who have seen his *Sacramentarium Gregorianum nach dem Aachener Urexemplar* (1921) will remember that Dr Lietzmann regards the Cambrai MS 164 (C), written about the year 812, as a direct copy of the original Roman book of Pope Hadrian I, unaffected by Alcuin's corrections. C heads a small group of MSS which profess to give the Sacramentary as 'ex authentico libro bibliothecae cubiculi scriptum', and as to which Dr Leitzmann says (*Sacr. Greg.* p. xvii): 'there are at least four which date from the ninth century and were probably copied directly from the original'. A second and more numerous class is headed by the Ottoboni MS 313 (O). The outward marks of this class of MSS are, first, that they omit the clause 'ex authentico ... scriptum' in the title; and second, that they contain the Preface and Supplement of Alcuin. This group, according to Dr Lietzmann, represents the revision of Alcuin. The Vatican MS Regin. 337 (r in Dr Lietzmann's notation) has, like the O class, the Preface and Supplement; but as it also claims to be 'ex authentico', it is placed in the C class, of which, however, it is said to be a degenerate member with many alterations of the authentic text. This MS was taken by Mr H. A. Wilson as the basis of his edition, and was held by Edmund Bishop to be one of the best representatives of Hadrian's *Gregorianum*; but it does not fall into line in Dr Lietzmann's classification, and he seems to have no very definite use for it. He quotes r only to turn the scale between C and O when these leading representatives of the two classes are at variance, a consensus of C and O being usually regarded as decisive that the reading is that of the original *Hadrianum*.

In his article in the present *Jahrbuch* Dr Lietzmann refers at the outset to a contribution of his to *Miscellanea Ehrle* (Rome, 1924), which I have not seen. There, he says, he has made a study of several MSS of both classes which were not employed by him in his edition. It will be enough to mention here the three belonging to the C class, viz. Vienna lat. 1815 (W), of the first half of the ninth century; Verona 86 (V), of the middle of the same century; and the Nonantola MS (N), now Paris lat. 2292, of the second half of the century. Of this class C and W are pronounced to be 'the best, and in doubtful cases the decisive representatives' (p. 70); and of all C is 'not only the oldest, but also usually the most trustworthy witness' (*ib.*).

On pp. 72–74 a list of readings is given to shew that the classification of the MSS by means of the 'ex authentico' test works out in practice. It is indeed the case that in these examples the leading members of the two groups range themselves on opposite sides, and that of the C group

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C W are almost always, and C W V commonly, found together. Yet V deserts the other two in nearly a third of the readings adduced, while N and r appear as merely nominal members of the C class, siding predominantly with the O class.

It would be rash to criticize Dr Lietzmann's method or his results before the full texts of such MSS as W and V are made accessible. Yet I cannot suppress a misgiving that we may be here in deeper water than he suspects, and that he may perhaps have read somewhat too literally the claim of the C group to be taken 'ex authentico libro bibliothecae cubiculi'. Does this necessarily imply that each of these MSS was copied directly from the 'Urexemplar' itself, or even from another MS which had been copied directly from it? It is clear from the case of N and r that the statement cannot be accepted in the same sense for them all. And there are other elements in the problem which suggest to me that C (to speak only of this MS) is not a direct copy of Hadrian's book, but rather that it was written from a copy of one of the older MSS of the *Gregorianum*, already existing in France, which had been only incompletely collated with and corrected from the official *Hadrianum*. Such a hypothesis would help to account for the not inconsiderable number of corrupt readings in C which can be traced back to the *Gelasianum*, the *Leonianum*, or one or other of the Gallico-Roman books current in France at the time, and which may therefore reasonably be regarded as (to use Edmund Bishop's phrase) 'French corruptions'.

I find difficulty also in accepting Dr Lietzmann's opinion that O is the best (or even a good) representative of the Alcuinian recension of the *Hadrianum*. This MS, too, contains a number of 'French corruptions'; but further, it shews in places, and especially in the Canon of the Mass, marks of conscious and intentional Gallicanization which can hardly be attributed to Alcuin. If this text started from him, it did not end with him: it has every appearance of being a later edition.

May we venture to hope that Dr Lietzmann will yet give us a comprehensive edition of the *Gregorianum*, with a full collation of all the leading ninth-century manuscripts—not forgetting r?

The Sacramentary (Liber Sacramentorum): Historical and Liturgical Notes on the Roman Missal, by ILDEFONSO SCHUSTER, Abbot of the Monastery of St Paul's Without the Walls; translated from the Italian by ARTHUR LEVELIS-MARKE. Vol. i, 1924; vol. ii, 1925. (Burns, Oates, and Washbourne.)

IF we are to deal fairly with the learned author of these two handsome volumes of over 400 pages each, we must take account of what he

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tells us in his Preface as to the genesis of the work. 'These hasty notes were originally intended by me for the limited circle of my own pupils, whether at the Pontifical Higher School of Sacred Music, or later at the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome. . . . It has not been my wish either to write a book exclusively for the learned, or to compose a mere manual of piety. . . . I have, therefore, guarded against analysing the eucharistic formularies with that critical indifference which would fail to estimate at its true value the venerable antiquity of the documents under consideration. . . . To bring out clearly the subject-matter in its historical and archaeological aspect, by rapid and accurate touches, to illustrate it by expressive comparisons, to point out the theological authority for its most important statements, whilst at the same time drawing attention to the artistic beauty of its mystical aspect —such has been the aim that I have ever kept in view.'

These volumes, then, contain in part lectures, or notes for lectures, which were only completed and published at the instance of friends, as we also learn from the Preface, after the author had been deprived of his literary leisure by his appointment to the care of souls as Abbot of St Paul's.

A feature of the book which gives it quite a special character and value is its abundant information on matters connected with the topography and archaeology of Christian Rome. Abbot Schuster knows his Rome, and knows it as an archaeologist, and his mastery of this branch of his subject gives him a decided advantage over many writers on Western Liturgy. Here, in my opinion, lies the special value of his work; nowhere else will the reader find the Roman services put so well in their setting and treated with such a wealth of local illustration. In other respects there is a good deal to criticize, even when we have made all allowances for the circumstances in which the book came into being. With all the Abbot's learning and erudition, and a great deal that is well and beautifully written, he shews at times a certain lack of grip in dealing with problems of a critical nature, or a want of acquaintance with the more recent literature bearing upon them; and it may be remarked that his use of English publications appears to have been almost *nil.* Occasionally also his treatment of documents leaves something to be desired; an extreme example of this may be found on p. 78 of vol. i, where a famous passage of St Basil (*de Spir. sanct.*, c. 27) is explained in a way that is not a little disconcerting. For a fuller discussion of the first volume I may be allowed to refer to the *Downside Review* of January 1925.

The first volume deals, as far as p. 318, with the Sacraments, and especially the Mass; and it is in this section that I find most to criticize. The rest of the volume treats of the ecclesiastical year from the begin-

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ning of Advent to the last Sunday before Septuagesima. The second volume carries on this commentary to the end of Whitsuntide. Here we have the full benefit of Abbot Schuster's archaeological equipment. To the description of each service is prefixed an admirable account of the basilicas assigned for the *Collecta* and the Station.

Though vulnerable to the critic at many points, the book remains a storehouse of information that is not otherwise accessible to the ordinary reader, and as such it deserves a special word of commendation. It may be added that the translation is extremely well done.

Lexicon to the Syriac New Testament, by WILLIAM JENNINGS, revised by ULRIC GANTILLON. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1926.)

SYRIAC students, and especially beginners, will welcome this convenient and serviceable Lexicon to the New Testament. It is very carefully and accurately compiled, and is so arranged that there is no difficulty in finding any word or form of a word. Though it is not a concordance, it supplies adequate references to illustrate the various uses and forms of the words; and altogether it is a valuable and most welcome addition to our not over-plentiful supply of good handbooks for the study of Syriac. I find very little in the book to criticize, and if I venture upon a few comments as to minor points, it is because I hope that further editions will be called for and assume that in this event the author will welcome suggestions from any quarter.

In two or three cases singular forms seem to have been incautiously assumed from the plurals of nouns, thus *ḥezwāna* from *ḥezwāne*, *ḥailūtha* from *ḥailawātha*, *gebhūtha* (with *e* after the first consonant) from *gebhyātha*. As regards the first, I believe the only singular for 'show', 'spectacle', 'vision', is *ḥezwa*, from which in the plur. comes *ḥezwāne* with inserted *n*, as *besmāne* from *besma*. I know the dictionaries give *ḥezwāna*, but without being able to quote an example of its occurrence. The sing. *ḥailūtha* (fem.) may possibly be met with in rare cases and in some special sense, but it is not found in the N.T., and *ḥailawātha* (masc.) is the regular plur. of *ḥaila*. In the plur. *gebhyātha* the *e* results only from the altered vocalization, and does not imply a sing. with the same *e*.

As regards the placing of the hard or soft point (Q. or R.), the author supplies it only with *b*, *d*, *p*, *t*, omitting it in the case of *g* and *k*, probably because it is difficult for Westerns to make any distinction in pronunciation for these letters. In supplying the point with the four letters mentioned there appears to be a certain lack of precision. Thus we are given R. for Q. in words where for different reasons doubling of

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the letter takes place, as *ḥuddātha*, *yubbāla*, *geppa*, *ṣeppĕra* (Heb. *ṣippōr*); or after a diphthong, as in *ṭaupāna*; and in the abs. and constr. *rab*. On the other hand Q. is given with the *t* of a number of feminines where Dr Nöldeke tells us that R. is customary, e. g. *mauhabhĕtha*, *pāraḥĕtha*. The usage in such words is, of course, very arbitrary and difficult to determine.

The printing is very accurate; I have noticed only two slight mistakes, ܟܒܕ for ܟܒܪ, and ܟܠܕܢܐ for ܟܠܕܝܐ.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

Quellen zur Geschichte der Trennung von Staat und Kirche, by ZACCARIA GIACOMETTI. (Mohr, 1926.)

DR GIACOMETTI sets himself the considerable task of providing us with documents bearing on the separation of Church and State in modern times, and in a volume of over seven hundred pages he carries out his task with real success. The bulk of his work is naturally devoted to France, and we have all the leading laws from 1789 to 1924 clearly set out. The five pages allotted to Russia seem far too few when we remember how seriously the problem of Church and State there looms in the minds of most of us to-day. The land next treated at length is Switzerland, the author's own. There is a lack of perspective in giving five pages to Russia and no fewer than close on two hundred to Switzerland. A careful reprint of the ordinances of the different states of the United States is given. As England still possesses an Established Church, there is naturally no mention of her in this book. In furnishing us with this work of reference, Dr Giacometti has rendered valuable service to students.

Johannes Fisher, Sacri Sacerdotii Defensio contra Lutherum, edited by H. K. SCHMEINK. (The Aschendorf Company, Münster, 1925.)

THE love of John Fisher's learning, combined with his conservative instincts, renders all his writings peculiarly attractive. This is notably true of his *Sacri Sacerdotii Defensio contra Lutherum*. It is also appropriate that on the four hundredth anniversary of publication Herr Schmeink should issue an accurately printed text with variant readings which deserves a warm welcome. In the foot-notes there are references to modern authorities. The editor includes an all too brief account of the characteristics of Fisher's writing, and the bibliography gives the exact works which ought to be given. There is just enough of the

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background given to enable us to understand the history of the time. Since 1517 the break of Luther with the Roman Church had been increasingly apparent, and in 1525 Fisher sent forth his apologia which gathers his points skilfully.

Huss und Wiclif, by JOHANN LOSERTH. (Oldenbourg, München u. Berlin, 1925.)

HERR LOSERTH examines afresh the problem of the genesis of the views of Huss, and he traces them back to Wiclif. His thesis is not precisely novel, yet he handles it acutely, presenting his considerations with power. On not a few points, e. g. the Ten Commandments, he sets side by side parallel passages from the writings of Wiclif and Huss, and the resemblance of the thoughts of the two men thus presented is singularly striking. Imperialists like Dante, Marsiglio, and Ockham, had revolted against the temporal pretensions of the Church. None of them, however, had raised the banner of revolt against any article of the creed of the Church. No doubt Dante's *De Monarchia* assaults the Hildebrandine idea of the temporal power of the papacy. What it begins the *Defensor Pacis* of Marsiglio of Padua and the *Dialogus* of Ockham pursue to its logical conclusion in demanding serious changes in the constitution of the Church in her relations with the State. Herr Loserth perceives that with Wiclif and Huss we reach a wholly different position of affairs, for both attack the doctrines of the Church. The logic of Dante, Marsiglio, and Ockham, had been largely concerned with external organization. It was reserved for the dialectic of Wiclif to proclaim that the mind of man could not rest there. For the internal organization as well as the external was open to assault, and accordingly Wiclif and Huss proceeded to assault it. Nor has the world quite finished with these fourteenth-century writings, and Herr Loserth's book recalls their importance. 'My soul and God'—so John Henry Newman resolved religion into that one relation. 'My soul, my brother's soul, and God'—so John Wiclif resolved religion into that double relation. We have not yet exhausted the burden of his teaching and Huss's on the duties—as well as the rights—of property.

Die Lehre des Luthertums im Abriss, by WERNER ELERT. (C. H. Beck, 1926.)

DR ELERT provides us with an able outline of the thought of Lutheranism as he conceives it. He groups his epitome under traditional headings, but there is nothing traditional in his handling of

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these headings. It is impossible to comprehend Luther's theology without continually bearing in mind that he passed through the school of the modernists of his day. He even had a passing glimpse of the comparative point of view. Accordingly, Dr Elert analyses Lutheranism from a modern angle. Perhaps his third section is most illuminating, and here he considers the problem of freedom. His remarks on the excessive individualism of our time will set the reader thinking, perhaps not always in directions Dr Elert contemplates.

R. H. MURRAY.

The Gothic Version of the Gospels, by G. W. S. FRIEDRICHSEN. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1926.)

IN this volume Dr Friedrichsen has given an interesting study of the style and nature of the Gothic Version, which as the earliest surviving monument of Germanic literature has been the subject of much unreasoning praise and blame. It is indeed an almost word-for-word rendering, in which the order of the Greek is nearly always retained, often against what is believed to have been the true Gothic idiom, but the translator chose his renderings of single words with much discretion, whereby his work retains a good deal of individuality and colour. It is only likely that the slavish attention to the Greek order, coupled with some freedom in vocabulary, is not so much the result of any theory of verbal inspiration or of a translator's duty, as a natural product of interlinear versions, or (what comes to much the same thing) translations written in narrow columns parallel to the original. But I cannot think that the evidence suggests that the original Gothic renderings were slavishly uniform, or that when we do find inconsistency in the surviving MS it is a valid reason for suspecting later revision, e. g. from some Latin text. The Gothic calls a synagogue *gaqumths* in Lk. iv 15, but in the next verse it is called *swnagoge*. 'In the Temple' (ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ) is *in alh* in Mk. xiv 49: in Jn. xviii 20, an entirely parallel passage, it is *in gudhusa*. There was no reason, of course, why the translator should not vary his renderings from time to time, but these simple instances shew that mechanical consistency was not even aimed at.[1]

From p. 162 onwards Dr Friedrichsen is occupied with possible Latin elements in the text of the Codex Argenteus, the MS written in

[1] The reader of Dr Friedrichsen's book will find some details in § 2 (p. 23 ff.), but he seems to me to exaggerate the literary technique of the original translator and to assume too easily that anything that seems to come short must be due to revisers.

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silver letters on purple vellum now at Upsala. He points out that both this MS and the palimpsests at Milan belonged originally to North Italy, to the region of Lombardy, the country of the Lombards. Wulfila, the original translator of the Gothic Bible, worked among the Goths in the Balkan Peninsula: his ecclesiastical centre was Constantinople and he made his translation from the Greek. But the Gothic kingdoms shifted westwards, to Spain, to Toulouse, to Ravenna, to Pavia and Milan: our Gothic MSS all date from the 6th century and so belong either to the new Lombard kingdom or to the state of things that immediately preceded it. It is uncertain whether these MSS were the work of Arians or Catholics, but the historical evidence collected by Dr Friedrichsen (pp. 166–168) makes it clear that in Italy at the end of the 5th century and during the 6th there was a good deal of intercourse between the two races and creeds, of which the Wölfenbüttel bilingual leaves (*gue*) are a surviving monument.

There is, therefore, sound historical reason for expecting our Gothic codices to betray the influence of the Latin Bible, and we need not be surprised if Latin MSS written in the regions of Italy where Gothic influence was considerable should sometimes themselves exhibit Gothic symptoms. This proves actually to be the case. The Latin side of *gue*, containing fragments of the Epistle to the Romans, is neither Vulgate nor Old-Latin but a literal rendering of the Gothic text on the opposite column, while Codex Brixianus, the 'Old-Latin' MS of the Gospels cited as *f*, has a Preface which shews that it is a transcript of a Latino-Gothic bilingual with the Gothic text left out. No wonder therefore that the text of *f* shews evidence of Gothic influence, that it differs in certain places from other Latin codices, both of the Vulgate and the Old-Latin, to agree with the Gothic in text and in rendering, as I pointed out a quarter of a century ago in the first number of this JOURNAL.[1] Dr Friedrichsen, like Kauffmann and Streitberg, accepts this view of *f* and its text, and I am sure rightly. But when he goes on to claim a quite close connexion between Cod. Palatinus (*e*) and Cod. Bobiensis (*k*) and the Gothic he is on very much more debateable ground.

With regard to *k* the evidence is of the slightest and his suggestion (p. 190) that *k* was written by a Goth is most unlikely. The scribe of *k* was unfamiliar with Christian terms—he did not even know his *Paternoster*[2]—but he was not ignorant of Latin: his spelling is remarkably good, and his very mistakes shew that words like 'Jove' and 'praetor' came naturally from his pen. I see no reason to doubt that *k* was written, probably in Africa itself, in the 4th century, by a

[1] *J. T. S.* i 131 f.

[2] He actually writes *ueni ad regnum tuum* (Matt. vi 10)!

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professional scribe.[1] It has nothing to do with St Columbanus: it was an antiquated volume, perhaps already two centuries old, when the monastery at Bobbio was founded, and it only gravitated there, as did other old books, because Bobbio became a famous library.

When it is considered that no external bond connects *k* with the Gothic, that it was probably written before any Goth was in Italy or Vandal in Africa, and (most important of all) that it presents an utterly different type of text from the Gothic version, it seems absurd even to suggest any connexion between them. As a matter of fact Dr Friedrichsen only notes two points of contact, Matt. viii 32 and Mk. ix 50. In Matt. viii 32 ὥρμησεν s rendered by the Gothic 'made a run for themselves', which our author connects with *impetum fecit* (so *f k*), while other Latins have *impetu abiit*: the agreement does not seem to me very close. In Mk. ix 50 εἰρηνεύετε is rendered by the Gothic 'be peaceable': here *k* has *pacati estote*, other Latins *pacem habete*, but surely nothing can be founded on this quite excellent rendering.

The connexion of *e* with the Gothic is more plausible and deserves examination. Codex Palatinus (*e*) has a kind of superficial resemblance to *f*, which we know to have Gothic associations. Both *e* and *f* belong to old Lombard centres of influence, *e* to Trent and *f* to Brescia. Both are written on purple vellum, both are classed as 'Old-Latin', but have a very individual character. Here, however, the resemblance ceases, and if we are seriously to consider the possibility of a Gothic element in *e* it will be well to remind ourselves beforehand of the very narrow limits which that element can have. This is not judging a case before hearing the evidence: the considerations I mean are an essential part of the evidence.

(i) Codex Brixianus is at the earliest of the 6th century, that is to say it was written during the period of Gothic influence in Italy. Cod. Palatinus, on the other hand, is one of the older 'Old-Latin' MSS; it is usually placed in the 5th century, no doubt rightly. If so, wherever it was written, it is a monument of the days before Theodoric: if it were regarded as a standard text it might conceivably have influenced Gothic codices, but peculiar readings in *e* ought not to be ascribed to Gothic influence. On p. 215 Dr Friedrichsen hesitates to suggest Gothic influence to explain a reading in *ff*, but *e* must be as old as *ff*, if not older.[2]

(ii) The vast difference in text between *e* and the Gothic must not

[1] For these rather peremptory statements I may perhaps be allowed to refer to the *Proceedings* of the Cambridge Philological Society lviii p. 7 (Lent Term, 1901).

[2] It should be remembered also that there is nothing to connect *e* with France, i. e. with the Visigoths.

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be forgotten. The Gothic Version, whatever revision it may have received, remains an almost word-for-word rendering of the Byzantine Greek text, almost as constant a witness to it as Chrysostom or Codex Alexandrinus. When the evidence of the Preface to *f* was considered, which definitely connects *f* in some way with Gothic codices, the Gothic connexion thus demonstrated explained why *f* is so much nearer to the Byzantine text than any other Latin MS. But the whole of the textual affinities of *e* are away from Byzantium. Neither by what it adds to, nor by what it leaves out from, the text approved by modern editors, does *e* habitually agree with the Byzantine Greek and the Gothic. Here are one or two of the well-known examples, all taken from St Luke, where Dr Friedrichsen particularly finds links of connexion between the Gothic and *e*: Lk. v 39 ('the old is better') is read in the Gothic, *om.* the verse *a b c d e ff* l r*; Lk. vi 1 δευτεροπρώτῳ is read in the Gothic, *om. b c f*^{c} *l q r*, while *e* has *et sabbato mane factum est ut . . .*; Lk. ix 54^{b} ('as Elias did') is read in the Gothic, *om. e l aur.* In a word *e* and the Gothic are textually poles apart.[1]

(iii) In a general way the same is true of the renderings and the minuter textual phenomena. It is improbable that the Gospel-text in Italy during the 5th century, whether in Latin or in Gothic, would have been much influenced by an exemplar like *e*, which begins the *Benedictus* (Lk. i 68 ff) in agreement with St Cyprian, but in profound disagreement with other Latin texts, thus: 'Benedictus Dominus Deus Israhel *qui prospexit* redemptionem *populo* suo et *excitauit* cornum salutis'.

With these considerations in mind we can go on to consider Dr Friedrichsen's theory of what he calls the Palatinian Bilingual (p. 169 ff). He begins with the Gothic renderings of ἀρχιερεύσ, of which there are no less than six.[2] As this word is rendered by four different terms in the Latin Gospels, there is a sort of presumption that the variation in the Gothic may be due to the influence of some Latin text. When, however, the actual occurrences are tabulated, the various terms do not even tend to correspond with those in any Latin MS: there is nothing, for instance, to shew that *auhumists gudja* corresponds to *princeps sacerdotum.* The fact is that ἀρχιερεῖσ in itself is a curious term, offering a certain challenge to the translator, as is seen at once if we

[1] As explained above I am taking examples from Lk., but it is not out of place to note that whereas *e* is the oldest surviving Latin witness to the story of the Woman taken in Adultery (Jn. vii 53–viii 11) the Gothic omits it with many *early* Byzantine authorities.

[2] The terms may be rendered in translation-English 'priest' (*gudja*), 'chief-priest', 'most-priest', 'prince-priest', 'chief-hallow', 'over-priest'. Of these, 'chief-priest' (*auhumists gudja*) is much the commonest.

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render it in English by 'High Priests'. It seems to me, after going through the occurrences both in Gothic and the Latin MSS, that the Gothic variations are best accounted for as proceeding from the occasionally felt ambiguity of the Greek term rather than as mechanical assimilation to any Latin text. And if I may for once be allowed to expatiate, after the manner of so many enthusiasts, on the niceties of Wulfilian Gothic, I would say that *auhumists weiha* in Jn. xviii 13 emphasizes the ordination of Caiaphas for that particular year, while *reikistin gudja* in the mouth of the officer of Annas (Jn. xviii 22) emphasizes the official dignity of his master. It is exactly the same with the renderings of δοξάζειν, which Dr Friedrichsen also brings forward: I can see no clear connexion between the different renderings of this word in Gothic and those in Latin MSS, and the same may be said of the renderings of ἐπιτιμᾶν.

Dr Friedrichsen's postulation of what he calls the 'Palatinian Bilingual' is based on the twenty instances where he finds peculiar Gothic readings agreeing with *e*. They are tabulated on p. 183, list B, and it cannot be denied that they make there an imposing array. When, however, they are examined in detail they become less formidable. Thus Lk. vi 48 ἐβάθυνεν is rendered 'deepened' by the Gothic, *exaltauit* by *e*: Dr Friedrichsen calls this 'extraordinary' and no doubt it is over-literal,[1] but the ordinary Latin Dictionary quotes *exaltare sulcos in iii pedes* from Columella iii 13, i. e. to make them 3 ft. deep, so that the word is perfectly appropriate in Latin for 'digging deep'. In Lk. xvi 20 Lazarus ἐβέβλητο πρὸσ τὸν πυλῶνα αὐτοῦ: no doubt this may merely mean that Lazarus *was lying* at Dives's door, but one asks how he came to be there and it is quite legitimate to suggest that the Evangelist is telling us that he *was put* there by others. The amount of force or roughness inherent in βάλλειν in N.T. Greek depends entirely on the context: see, for instance, Mk. vii 33. When therefore the Gothic has *sah atwaurpans was du daura is* 'who *was cast down* at his door', it is nothing more than a literal translation and it is not necessary to explain it as a later assimilation to the *proiectus erat* of *e*, as Dr Friedrichsen does (p. 180). What makes the matter still clearer is that in this very context the Gothic preserves, against *a* and *e*, the relative construction of the Byzantine text and has no trace of the African (and Spanish) spelling *Eleazarus*.

On Lk. xix 31 ('the Lord hath need of it') Dr Friedrichsen quotes the parallel Mk. xi 3, but not the curious variation in Lk. xix 34. There is no variation in the Greek of this phrase, but it is rendered differently in *vv.* 31 and 34 by *e*, by *a*, by *r*, and by the Vulgate, as well as by the Gothic. The only conclusion I can draw, as the two

[1] Other Latin texts have 'qui fodit *in altum*' for δσ ἔσκαψεν καὶ ἐβάθυνεν.

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Gothic renderings are not a quite word-for-word translation of any of the three Latin renderings, is that the difference is original. ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ χρείαν ἔχει is an ambiguous phrase: does it mean that the Lord had *need* of, or that He *desired*, the animal? The Goth avoids making Jesus declare that He needed it. Such psychological analysis of the mind of a translator is always conjectural, but in this case it is at least as plausible as the assumptions made by Dr Friedrichsen, viz. that inconsistencies and mistakes in the Codex Argenteus are to be explained away as blundering efforts of hypothetical 'revisers' to assimilate the Gothic to a Latin text that had certainly not been the current text in Italy for a century.[1]

That the Gothic text we have contains elements derived from the Latin is certain; that the Latin Codex Brixianus has been influenced by the Gothic text which stood opposite its immediate ancestor is equally certain; but that the Gothic was ever influenced by a Latin text of the type of *e* is a paradox which I find too hard to believe, and I do not think the coincidences brought forward by Dr Friedrichsen are remarkable enough to make his theory of a 'Palatinian Bilingual' probable. If we are to look for instances of Latin influence on the Gothic, I think in the first place we ought to begin with a study of the marginal notes or glosses in the Codex Argenteus. These are conveniently brought together by Dr Friedrichsen (pp. 218–220). Some of them seem to be true Notes, e. g. Matt. vi 24 and Lk. xvi 13 where 'mammon' occurs: this is transliterated in Matthew (*mammonin*), while in Luke it is translated (*faihuthraihna* = 'riches' (?)), a marginal note in each case giving the other word. Dr Friedrichsen remarks: 'Of the two renderings, *mammonin* is probably the original', but in a rare technical term is it not equally likely that the Gospels differed? The context in Luke favours a vernacular rendering.

At Lk. vi 49 *flodus* (i. e. 'flood') the margin has *ahwa* (i. e. 'water') as in the preceding verse. Here we may plausibly trace the influence of the Latin, for the Greek has ποταμόσ in both verses, whereas in the Latin we find *fluuius—fluuius* in *e*, and *flumen—flumen* in most Old-Latin texts (*a b c d ff l q r*), but *flumen—fluuius* in *f* and the Vulgate.

Still more interesting is Lk. ix 34,[2] where I transcribe Dr Fried-

[1] It is surely more probable that mistakes like that in Jn. xiii 29 (ινα τι δω), where δω has been taken to be 1st pers. sing. (p. 140), or in Lk. xv 8 where τισ γυνη has been rendered 'a certain woman' (p. 226), should be due to the original translator. Corrections are more often right than wrong.

[2] I note in passing the gloss to Lk. ix 13 as a curiosity: here the text corresponding to τὸν λαόν is *manaseidai* (= τὸν κόσμον), while the margin has *managein* which is the right word. This shews that the confusion of *'amma* and *'ālma* is not confined to Syriac!

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richsen's Note (p. 220): '*ἐφοβήθησαν δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐκείνουσ εἰσελθεῖν εἰσ τὴν νεφέλην faurhtidedun than in thammei jainai qemun in thamma milhmin*; Marg. *jah at im in milhmam atgaggandam.* With the intrusive *jah* cf. b f l q *et intrantibus illis in nubem*'. There is, however, a little more to it than that. The European phalanx *b ffff l q r* not only read as above but also omit the *et* at the beginning of *ver.* 35, whereby the construction is eased and the sense is a little different, for the disciples are made to be afraid because of the cloud itself, not because 'they' (i. e. Moses and Elias) entered into the cloud: at the same time it is clearly a *Latin* correction, for the Greek text could not be 'improved' in the same way. Here therefore Goth^{txt} agrees with the Greek, Goth^{mg} agrees with a 'European' Latin correction.

It would be ungracious to take leave of Dr Friedrichsen without a word of recognition of the interest which the study of his book arouses. I cannot agree with his main new contention, but it is a most stimulating theory, worked out with great pains and ingenuity. And it is all the more attractive, in that it calls attention indirectly to a feature about certain of the famous 'Old-Latin' MSS, which is too often overlooked. It seems to me that some of these codices may well be asked for their pedigree and credentials. Some of them, of course, are of the bluest blood; they do not need to explain themselves. If, as I believe, *k* was written in Africa in the 4th century, then it is sufficient to say that its text, apart from faults of transcription, is that of its age and country: St Cyprian is ready to stand surety for it. Again, *a* was probably transcribed before the Vulgate revision was made: in any case it needs no sponsor to its legitimacy beyond Lucifer of Cagliari. It is the same with *n*, and with *ff* and *h* (Matt.): these ancient codices were all written before the Vulgate was more than a critical novelty. The peculiarities of *d*, puzzling as they are, may be put down to the idiosyncrasies of a bilingual. But the rest of the 'Old-Latin' MSS all have something to be explained away, they all seem to have 'had a past', so to speak.

Thus *l* is a MS of the Four Gospels, written in North Italy in the late 7th or 8th century. Matt. and Mk. are Vulgate, Jn. nearly so: that is what you would expect from that place and date. How then does it come to have an Old-Latin text of Lk.? What use can it represent? Again, *q* is quite as late, but it has an almost unrevised 'European' text akin to *b*, only the *plus* of the Byzantine text has been added: whence did these additions come? Did they really come from a Greek MS, or from a Gothic MS? There is not much sign of Gothic influence in the rest of *q*, such as there is, for instance, in *f*. Codex *i* seems to be of the same social grade as *l*, for in it Lk. is much purer Old-Latin than Mk. Then there are the mixed MSS *r* (and its

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companions), *g* in Matthew, and *c*: how did they get their curious texts? And finally there are *b* and *e*: why were they written? Who used them? Both are sumptuous codices, written in gold and silver letters on purple vellum: were the texts they contained not up to date? If *b* was written in or near Verona about 550 are we to infer that Jerome's Revised Version was not yet current in those parts?

About *e* there is even more mystery. No doubt the fundamental character of the text is 'African', i. e. Cyprianic, but it has many non-African readings,[1] and some whole chapters (notably Lk. xxiii) desert the African text altogether and are akin to *b*. Its ancestor, therefore, was a corrected 'African' codex with some pages missing, which had to be supplied from a 'European' source. How and where did such a text come to be written out in a most sumptuous style in the 5th century? Even if *e* came to Trent, as *k* seems to have come to Bobbio, as a homeless exile, to what sort of a community did it originally belong?

All these queries are more easily put than answered; but I think it worth while to remind my fellow-workers in this field that the queries really do present themselves. Dr Friedrichsen ends his book (p. 248) with a suggestion that the chief witnesses of the Old-Latin version may owe their preservation to the theological and text-critical activities of the Goths. I cannot help feeling that this suggestion is worth consideration, especially so far as the purple codices are concerned.

Pelagius's Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St Paul. Vol. II: Text and Apparatus Criticus, by ALEXANDER SOUTER. (University Press, Cambridge, 1926.)

THIS volume with its predecessor makes up volume ix of the Cambridge *Texts and Studies*. The former volume, containing the Introduction, was reviewed in this JOURNAL in 1922 (vol. xxiii, pp. 411–414), and there Professor Souter's method for constructing the original text of Pelagius was explained. He is much to be congratulated on having brought his laborious task to a successful conclusion, or at least to a definite resting-place, for he hopes still to give us the Commentary of Ps-Jerome, in which the work of Pelagius was so long engulfed.

Accepting this reconstruction, which is based not on mere conjecture, but upon ancient MS authority, and is attested as genuine by the hostile evidence of St Augustine and of Marius Mercator, it is interesting to consult the annotations of Pelagius, writing at Rome about A. D. 409, and see what he tells us on matters remote from 'Pelagianism'.

[1] See above on *dilectus*, in the review of Mr Milne's book.

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Indeed the impression the work as a whole makes is that it is mainly concerned with explaining the text to ordinary folk, though naturally the passages which deal with the channel of inherited sin (*tradux peccati*) are given the fullest treatment.

In one instance Pelagius raises a historical difficulty, for on Gal. i 22 he says of St Paul '*Notandum quia post triennium ecclesiis Iudeae erat ignotus*': apparently he supposed the Persecutor had so changed in looks that he was not recognizable. Of the heretics whom Pelagius so often has in view the most frequently mentioned are Arians and Manichaeans. 'Fotinians' come five times, Novatians four, Jovinians four, Marcionites twice; possibly the mention of these last is only an echo of Tertullian.

The Biblical text of the true Pelagius demands a minute study, which no doubt in time it will receive. Meanwhile one or two general observations may be hazarded. The great authority of St Jerome in matters of Biblical scholarship made itself felt immediately, and his collected Letters seem to have been widely read from the time of their first publication. Pelagius himself explains *Maranatha* in words borrowed from one of Jerome's letters (p. 229 = *Hier.* i 131). Now it may be true that the text commented by Pelagius is not the 'Vulgate', either in the sense of the text current in later days or in the sense of the approximately correct text of Jerome's revision printed by Dr White.[1] But it does not seem to me certain that the text of Pelagius is independent altogether of Jerome. Jerome in his well-known Letter to Marcella (*Ep.* 25) pilloried three incorrect Old-Latin readings in the Epistles, viz. 'serving the time' (Rom. xii 11), '*humanus sermo*' (1 Tim. i 15, &c), and the omission of the last clause of 1 Tim. v 19. The Letter does not prove that he had already revised the Pauline Epistles at the time he was writing: he is defending his revised version of the Gospels, and I think he is merely picking out notorious readings from the rest of the New Testament where those who read the text in Greek knew that change was needed. I venture to suggest that Marcella, and a good many of her contemporaries beside, accepted the authority of the great Biblical scholar and altered their codices of the Epistles accordingly.[2] Certainly in all these passages Pelagius agrees with Jerome, not with what had been the Old Latin. Elsewhere he often has the Old Latin, not the Vulgate, and it is probably a safe rule that where Souter's two main MSS (A and B) differ, the one that agrees

[1] Let me take this opportunity of congratulating the Dean of Christ Church and the Clarendon Press on the appearance this month (June 1926) of a new fasciculus, containing 2 Corinthians.

[2] May I say in passing that I for one believe that the Western reading in Rom. xii 11 is authentic, and that St Paul wrote τῷ καιρῷ δουλεύοντες.

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with the Vulgate is to be rejected. But in any case the type of text is not very far off the Vulgate.

There is little to choose between A and B in this matter, e. g. in 1 Cor. vii 35 (p. 169, l. 11) *porro* should be rejected with B, but on the opposite page *cogitat* in 1 Cor. vii 32 with A must be right against the *sollicitus est* of B. In some cases the comment shews that A is clearly right against B: thus on Gal. ii 3–5 (p. 312) Pelagius, as has always been recognized, definitely asserts that Paul did circumcise Titus, but A is the only one of Souter's MSS that omits *quibus neque*. On the other hand, in Phil. ii 15 (p. 400) the late 15th-century codex B must be right against A and all the rest in reading *inreprehensibiles* and *immaculati* for *sine querela* and *sine reprehensione*, for both A and B insert *sicut* before *filii dei* against the Vulgate and the Greek, i. e. attesting the Old-Latin text which is also that of Ambrosiaster. Here B is consistent, A inconsistent.

Just before Professor Souter's *Introduction* appeared Dom J. Chapman published an interesting paper in the *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique* on Pelagius and his text of St Paul.[1] Dom Chapman was writing before Souter's MSS were known, except in specimens, and it is curious to see how much of his ingenious reconstructions still stands. No doubt he is right in maintaining that Pelagius when he wrote his Commentary was ignorant of Greek and had not consulted Greek MSS, and that the evidence is quite inconsistent with the theory (which had some vogue at the time Dom Chapman was writing) that Pelagius was himself the author of the Vulgate text of the Epistles. But if Souter's theory is sound and his MSS A and B represent the text of the genuine Pelagian Commentary—which I venture to think practically demonstrated,—the evidence which Dom Chapman has heaped up to prove the general illiteracy and ignorance of Pelagius has nothing to do with Pelagius, but only throws into relief the illiteracy and ignorance of the Irish glossator of the Würzburg MS of the Pauline Epistles. This glossator marked a large number of glosses with the letters *pl*, by which Pelagius does seem to be intended, but for the more foolish of them, such as that which makes *Germanus* (Phil. iv 3) into a man's name, or *Narcissus* (Rom. xvi 11) into a town, Pelagius is not responsible.

Further, the four places where Souter said that Pelagius had noted various readings do really exist, but they refer to differences in Latin texts. All four are worth notice here. On Rom. xii 13 *necessitatibus*, Pelagius duly notes that 'some codices' have *memoriis*, i. e. he adopts the Vulgate reading, but notices the well-known Old-Latin variant. On Col. iii 15 *grati estote*, he says some copies have *gratia estote*: he is quite right, for so reads Augustine's *Speculum*, and I expect we shall

[1] Vols. xviii 469–481, xix 25–42.

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know of more evidence when 'Wordsworth and White' gets to Colossians. Meanwhile it is of interest to note that the Book of Armagh has *gratiae estote*, and possibly this is what Pelagius intended. On 2 Thess. ii 3 *discessio*, he says that elsewhere this Antichrist is called *refuga* in Latin copies: again he is right, for *refuga* is the reading of *d*, the Latin of Cod. Claromontanus. The fourth case is different, for here there is an error, which is possibly that of Pelagius himself. On 1 Cor. x 22 *an Domino aemulamur*,[1] he says *alii codices habent*: ipsi me zelauerunt in non Deo, *hoc est, ad zelum prouocauerunt*. This as it stands is a note on Deut. xxxii 21, and out of place here. It seems to me that what was originally intended was a note on 1 Cor. x 20, referring to the absence of the words *et non Deo* in some Latin copies after *immolant*. The authorities quoted for omission by White besides Pelagius are *m*, Tertullian, Ambrosiaster, and an opponent of Augustine —quite enough to shew that it is a real Old-Latin reading, however incorrect. I imagine that Pelagius had a note saying 'here some codices add *in non Deo*', and that he omitted to verify his references.

There is a curious trace of something similar in Rom. xvi 23 (p. 125). Here A, which omits some of the salutations, has *Salutat uos Aristus* (sic) *arcarius ciuitatis*, and no more; B has *vv.* 21–23[a] followed by *Salutat uos Erastus arcarius ciuitatis et Quartus superdispensator*. Both MSS then go on with a note on 'arcarius'. Here evidently something is wrong: Quartus was only a *frater*, and we know from Ambrosiaster that *dispensator* was an Old-Latin variant to *arcarius*. Probably *super* is a corruption of *frater*, and Pelagius may have had *dispensator* instead of *arcarius* in the text, the following note beginning with *Dispensator*[*em*].

But after all the late pre-Vulgate text upon which Pelagius made his courageous notes is a matter of secondary moment. The real importance of the Commentary is its place in the history of thought, a monument of the revolt of ordinary human consciousness against what seemed to be overwhelming logic and authority. So far as authority is concerned Pelagius goes straight for the citadel, and attempts to shew that St Paul is not Augustinian. It is special pleading, of course, but Pelagius served his generation by shewing that some sort of plea could be made out. 'As many as are of the works of the law are under the curse' said St Paul (Gal. iii 10): Pelagius adds 'Because the custom of sinning so prevailed that no one yet fulfils the law' (p. 319). So, while asserting the prevalence of sins, Pelagius's spade cuts through the *tradux peccati*, the layer of sin. Of course the classic passage is the note on Rom. v 12: it may perhaps interest some

[1] Note that here B has the better text, for A repeats *aemulamur*, as if the passage quoted was a comment on that word.

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readers of this JOURNAL who do not care to read through a Latin Commentary to see the offending words in English :—

Rom. v 12 (*Souter*, p. 45): '*As through one man sin entered into this world and death through sin.* By example or model (*forma*). Just as when there was no sin it came through Adam, so also when righteousness hardly remained in any one it was called back through Christ; and as through his (Adam's) sin death entered, so through His (Christ's) righteousness life was restored. *And so death passed upon all men in that all have sinned.* In so far as they so sin, they die in like manner: for it did not pass upon Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, of whom the Lord says "For they all live to Him." But here it says all are dead, because among the multitude of sinners the few righteous are not excepted, as in "There is none that doeth good, no, not one", and "every man a liar", or else (it means) that death passed upon all men that lived in a human and not in a heavenly manner.'

This is the 'vain talk' of the first British author, whom somehow Augustine and Jerome and Pope Innocent failed altogether to silence.

A Reconstruction of the Old-Latin text . . . of the Gospels used by Saint Augustine, by C. H. MILNE, M.A. (University Press, Cambridge, 1926.)

THIS book consists of an Introduction of 28 pages, followed by 158 pp. of text, an appendix of 19 pp. more (on the *De Consensu*), and a loose sheet of 'Supplementary Notes', which calls attention to the chief defects in the work itself. If the points mentioned in the Supplementary Notes had been considered earlier the book would have been very much more useful, and (as I venture to think) some of the conclusions in the Introduction would have been different.

The first defect is that quotations made by Augustine himself and those quoted by Augustine from predecessors or opponents have not been distinguished. This particularly applies to the quotations from the *Contra Faustum*, in which work Augustine begins each section with a verbatim quotation from Faustus the Manichee. The quotations by Faustus from Scripture would be well worth a separate study, as they represent a late-African text, free from contemporary Catholic influences.[1]

[1] In the Supplementary Notes above referred to Mr Milne admits that the Faustus-quotations should have been distinguished from the rest, giving as his reason some remarks in a lecture delivered by Prof. Souter of Aberdeen in Louisville, Kentucky, last December. The *Contra Faustum* has been in print for over 400 years, and the importance of the Faustus-quotations has often been recognized, e.g. by the late F. C. Conybeare in the *Key of Truth*, p. clxix.

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To explain the insufficiency of Mr Milne's methods in his Introduction it is necessary to consider the question of Augustine's Biblical text in general. St Jerome published his revised version of the Latin Gospels, now commonly called the Vulgate, in 384: St Augustine is acknowledged to have accepted this Revised Version (so far as concerns the Gospels) before the year 403. Mr Milne therefore only takes account of Augustine's quotations down to A.D. 400: his work is a study of the text of the Gospels as read during the last fifteen years of the use of the 'Old-Latin' at Hippo.

It was known, and Mr Milne agrees, that in the time of Cyprian (about 250) the Gospel-text current in Africa resembled that of the MSS *k* and *e*: it is further acknowledged that Augustine came in the end to reject all other Gospel-texts for the Vulgate. Mr Milne seems to have assumed that Augustine's pre-Vulgate text must have been a mixture of *k e* and the Vulgate. But he found it 'disconcerting to discover that he (Augustine) was more often independent of both than dependent on either' (p. xv). Now besides *k* and *e*, of which Mr Milne takes account, and *f* (a late Old-Latin text printed in full by Wordsworth and White), there are a number of other extant Old-Latin texts, numbered *a*, *b*, *c*, *ff*, *h* (Matt.), *l* (Lk., Jn.), *q* and *r*, besides other fragments. If we wish to study St Augustine's text we ought at least to take account of these MSS, if only for points of contact. But Mr Milne has only occupied himself with the chance collection of various readings that Wordsworth and White found occasion to quote in their notes. In that invaluable work a new critical text of the Vulgate is constructed (a very good text, though doubtless not quite impeccable), *all* the variations of the 20 or 30 selected MSS of the Vulgate are given, also *f* is printed in full, but even in Luke and John only a selection of other Old-Latin variations are given, while in Matthew and Mark very few Old-Latin variations are put down.

When Mr Milne therefore has looked for the Augustinian text in other MSS than *k* and *e* it is not wonderful that he chiefly finds coincidences with *f* (p. xiii, end), for *f* is the only Old-Latin text given in full by Wordsworth and White. But of his ten coincidences in Matthew between Augustine and *f* (p. xiv), six are coincidences also with *a* and *b*, i. e. with the 'European' Old-Latin generally; in another *b* agrees with *f*, in another *f* agrees with *c* and *d*, in another Augustine quotes the passage (Matt. xix 21) seven times in four different ways. If other Old-Latin MSS had been examined in full besides *f* a number of similar coincidences would have been observed. As a matter of fact, besides the seven readings noted above in which *f* agrees with *a b*, or *b* alone, against the Africans and the Vulgate, I have noticed in the course of a few chapters the following agreements of *b* and

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Augustine against *f*, the Vulgate, and the Africans[1]: Matt. v 17 quia (= *b*), v 45 oriri iubet (= *a b c g*), vi 24 patietur (= *a b*), vii 25 offenderunt (= *a b g h*), viii 12 ibunt (= *a b*), and the list might be greatly extended. Mr Milne's imposing list on p. xiv is therefore quite useless as a guide to the affinities of the Augustinian text. It is clear to me that the history of the Gospel text in Africa is that of a ***gradual Europeanization*** of an original 'African' (i. e. Cyprianic) text followed by a ***revolution*** whereby the Vulgate was substituted for this half-Europeanized text, rather than that of a gradual assimilation of the current Old-Latin to the Vulgate.

There is a further consideration to be kept in mind. Augustine, the Catholic Bishop of Hippo, must to a certain extent have entered on his work as an officer of 'the Italian Mission', designed to combat the specifically African schism of the Donatists: it is only likely that his ecclesiastical position would have influenced Augustine in favour of non-African codices. He certainly had no great veneration for the Latin text in itself: *libros noui testamenti si quid in Latinis uarietatibus titubat Graecis cedere oportere non dubium est* was his constant principle. He disliked a rendering which seemed to assert in the Lord's Prayer that our Father *leads* us into temptation, and he knew that the customary African paraphrase ('do not suffer us to be led') had no authority, so in his exposition of the Sermon on the Mount (ii 30) he uses *ne nos inferas*, quoting the Greek word εἰσενέγκῃς. As far as I know, Augustine is here unsupported by any Latin text: I think it must be his own rendering.

The Gospel-text, then, used by Augustine in the first years of his time at Hippo has several elements in its composition. There is first the old African element, which is quite considerable, represented by Mr Milne's thick type. There is also a European element of uncertain origin: to use a phrase of Dr Sanday's it 'runs very much along the broad highway to the European text', and is therefore probably closer to *b* than to any other. Besides these a definitely Augustinian element must be recognized, where St Augustine himself has brought in a peculiar rendering, generally in order to conform more directly to the Greek original.

On p. xxiii Mr Milne made an unsatisfactory detached Note on the word *dilectissimus*: in the supplementary page of Notes he points out that the original Note referred to Faustus and not to Augustine. But as he further introduces into his correction the questionable statement that 'there is no trace of *dilectissimus* as a rendering of ἀγαπητός in any Old-Latin Gospel texts outside African influence', and as the

[1] The Vulgate, the Africans, and *f* are naturally not always themselves in agreement in these passages.

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matter is of some importance in itself, I will set out the facts in detail. They are best exhibited in a Table.

ἀγαπητόσ	*dilectissimus*	*dilectus*	*carissimus*
Matt. iii 17	*c* Faust 23^2	*a b d h* *f* vg Iren Aug^2	
xii 18	*k*	*a b d ff* *q f* vg	
xvii 5	*e c* Cyp $^2/_2$	*a b d ff m n q f* vg	
Mk. i 11	Hieron	*a b* *t f* vg	*c ff* M
ix 7	§38 *k* Faust 12^1, 16^2	*q* r_2 *f*	*a b c d ff i r* vg
xii 6	*c*	*a*	*b d ff q* vg
Lk. iii 22		*e* *q* *f* vg	
ix 35	*c μ*	*e b d* *q* *f* vg	
xx 13	*i q r*	*d* *f* vg	*a c ff*
Acts xv 25	*d* Iren		vg &c.

Other renderings: Mk. xii 6 *om. k*; Lk. xx 13 unicum *e*, *om. l*, *hiat b*.

In Lk. iii 22, 'Thou art my Son' (Ps. ii 7), without ἀγαπητόσ, is read in

a b c d ff l r* Faust23 Hil Juvenc Tyc.

In Lk. ix 35 ἐκλελεγμένοσ (*electus*) is read for ἀγαπητόσ in

§56 *a ff l* vg.codd (B D R *aur gat*).

§ denotes De Bruyne's African *Capitula*, an authority for the African text almost equal to *k* itself.

The context shews that I have assigned the references of Faustus and Augustine correctly. According to Faustus the Psalm-quotation is *secundum Lucae fidem*, while if you say *hic est filius meus dilectissimus* you may call yourself 'Matthaeanus' (*c. Faustum* 23^2). Augustine himself (*c. Faust.* $23^{5,7}$) has *dilectus*. In *c. Faust.* 16^{13} Augustine uses *dilectissimus*, but he gets it from Faustus, for he says *uocem . . . quam commemorasti*.

The evidence of De Bruyne's *Capitula* makes it probable that the true African text of Lk. ix 35 had *electus*, not any equivalent of ἀγαπητόσ, in which case the *dilectissimus* of *c* and *Mulling* must be regarded as an old, African, harmonization to the parallels.

The most certain deduction to be drawn from the above evidence is not so much that *dilectissimus* is African as that *dilectus* is not-African. No African authority has it anywhere except *e* in Lk. iii 22, ix 35, a circumstance which suggests that in these passages *e*, as so often elsewhere, has undergone revision from a non-African source.

The occurrence of *carissimus* is noteworthy. I do not profess to know what its origin is in Lk. xx 13 *a c ff*, but the three passages in Mk, in all of which it has substantial support, are another of those curious indications of that special element in the European text of

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Mk, which is illustrated by such expressions as *summus sacerdos*, *obiurgare*, and *deprecari*, to which I called attention in a paper called 'Itala Problems' in the volume of Essays published on the occasion of Abate Amelli's jubilee.[1]

F. C. BURKITT.

Evangelium Palatinum: Studien zur ältesten Geschichte der lateinischen Evangelienübersetzung (= Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen hrsg. v. M. Meinertz. XII Bd. 3. Heft), von HEINRICH JOSEPH VOGELS. (Münster, Aschendorff, 1926. Pp. vi + 147. Price 6 Mk. 80 Pf.)

THIS study will command the attention its author's name deserves. It is full of matter meriting consideration from all students of the Latin Bible. Its main theme is a study of the elements distinguishing *e* from *k*, and this is a subject of great importance. The volume contains a good deal of contentious matter, and the tone is sometimes rather too assertive. It nevertheless offers a great deal that is extremely valuable, and the author's views are not lightly to be dismissed. There is a disposition on his part to assume that a particular translator must always have used the same Latin word in rendering a specific Greek word. Perhaps the most welcome part of the investigation lies in the lengthy lists of readings which are attested alike by the earliest Latin and the earliest Syriac witnesses. Each Gospel is very properly studied by itself. The close connexion between *e* and ff_2 in the section Luke xxii 39–xxiv 11 is clearly set forth in parallel columns with the Vulgate text, and the author argues forcibly that *e* is the borrower, not ff_2. It is a long time since Burkitt pointed out the 'African' character of *c* in Luke xxiii–xxiv. Here we have the fact set forth in tables, and it is important to mention that the text of *c* printed by Vogels is based on photographs of the MS itself, not on the faulty editions of Sabatier and Belsheim. In this connexion the interesting announcement is made that De Bruyne is preparing a new edition of *e*, in which some 150 errors of Tischendorf's edition are corrected. In Luke xxiii *c* turns out to be a much more valuable witness to the 'African' text than is *e* itself. An important remark is made by Vogels, that no other Old-Latin MS is so closely related to *d* as *e* is. Vogels also confirms the view of Harnack and Pott that *e* goes oftener with Marcion than does any other Old-Latin MS. Investigations like those of Vogels are bound to dispel some of the darkness that envelops the early history of the Latin and Syriac Gospels, and it will not be surprising if in the

[1] *Miscellanea Amelli*, Montecassino, 1920.

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end we have to admit for the Gospels as for the Epistles of St Paul a powerful textual influence coming from the work of Marcion or Tatian or both.

In the *Revue Bénédictine* for April and July, 1926, pp. 123–138, Vogels has published a paper entitled 'Die Vorlage des Vulgatatextes der Evangelien'. In it he begins by giving his support to Burkitt's view that the Codex Brixianus (f) is the Latin side of a bilingual, of which the other side was Gothic, and that each side has influenced the other. He brushes aside the view that a represents the type of text used as the basis of Jerome's revision in St Luke's Gospel, thinks there is more to be said for the view that b represents the original behind all the four Gospels, and himself argues that the e–ff_2 type in Luke xxii 39–xxiv 11 is that which Jerome undertook to revise. He gives no proof that either of these MSS is free from Vulgate influence, but merely makes a categorical statement to this effect (p. 127). Apparently he does not regard a as a pre-Vulgate codex, though it is a view generally accepted, I think, that a and k are the only Old-Latin MSS of which it can be safely said that they are free from Vulgate influence. The fact that, on the assumption that a is Jerome's original in St Luke, 'we do not see' why Jerome made certain changes in the language, does not mean that Jerome did not see his own reasons for doing so. It would need a consummate Latin scholar as well as a competent textual critic to divine the workings of Jerome's mind as clearly as that. Vogels furnishes the archetype of b e ff_2 i and q, for the restoration of which in his opinion e and ff_2 are the best authorities, and gives a list of readings of the Vulgate which he thinks are due to Jerome's corrections of this archetype. It would have been interesting if he had set forth in detail Jerome's motives for these alterations. Strangely enough he ignores Wordsworth and White's view that ℵ is related to the Greek manuscript used by Jerome to correct errors of reading as distinguished from errors of rendering.

A. SOUTER.

Jesus, by RUDOLF BULTMANN. (Deutsche Bibliothek, Berlin, 1926.) Being vol. i of a series under the general title *Die Unsterblichen: die geistigen Heroen der Menschheit in ihrem Leben und Wirken.*

PROFESSOR RUDOLF BULTMANN, of Marburg University, is known to New Testament scholars from his very elaborate analysis of the literary structure of the Synoptic Gospels published in 1921 under the title *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, and from his two articles introductory to the study of the Fourth Gospel; the first, *Der religions-*

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geschichtliche Hintergrund des Prologs zum Johannes-Evangelium, was published in 1923 in the second volume of the studies presented to Hermann Gunkel on his sixtieth birthday, the second, *Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen Mandäischen und Manichäischen Quellen für das Verständnis des Johannesevangeliums*, in the *Z.N.T.W.*, 1925, Heft 1/2. His new work is intended to appeal to a wider public, though it may be questioned whether the book is in fact as popular as his publishers desired, if one may judge from the rather irrelevant illustrations which he frankly owns were imposed upon him against his own better judgement.

Professor Bultmann in the course of his literary analysis of the Synoptic Gospels had reached the conclusion that the historic framework of the gospel narrative was the creation of the Hellenistic Christian community and that therefore the aphoristic utterances of Jesus detached from the framework in which they have been preserved provide the only trustworthy evidence of the life and work of Jesus. The examination of the sayings of Jesus made it evident to Professor Bultmann that He regarded Himself as the herald of the advent of the rule of God, that is as an eschatological prophet. These conclusions are assumed in the present book, the purpose of which is to make clear what in actual fact Jesus intended, 'was er gewollt hat'.

Since the rule of God was about to break forth, Jesus regarded the present as the hour of decision. He offered a clear and distinct alternative, either repentance, or alienation from God. The whole teaching of Jesus is concentrated upon the demand for repentance, the significance of the eschatology being never unrelated to it. This explains why his teaching contains no apocalyptic speculation. Of set purpose He discarded every attempt to peer into the future. The teaching of Jesus contains no metaphysics, no sentimental humanitarianism, no mysticism, no conception of developing human personality. The call of Jesus is for decision, not for an inner life. This decision is never thought of as obedience to an already revealed Law, in whatever direction that Law be interpreted. Jesus recognizes no ethical principles whether revealed or innate in the human soul. Obedience to the will of God means obedience in a definite and purely individual concrete situation. This is what Jesus meant by the love of God. But, since there is no such thing as the abstraction of God and the individual from a concrete situation in which others play their part, absolute surrender to the will of God involves a particular attitude to these others. Hence the significance of the command *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself*. 'There is no obedience to God, so to speak, in airless space, no obedience apart from the concrete situation in which as a man I stand among other men, no obedience directed

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simply towards God. . . . Just as I can only love my neighbours when I surrender my will entirely to the will of God; so I can only love God in so far as I genuinely love my neighbours.' The command to love is a command, and shews therefore that the word 'Love' expresses an attitude of Will, evoked by the command of God, not a feeling of sympathy evoked by a recognition that all men, even the most dejected, possess within them a spark of divinity. The failure to make the complete surrender to the will of God in the given concrete situation makes a man a sinner, just as the complete sacrifice makes a man righteous. The either-or provides the opportunity for an absolute decision, not of advancing a stage in a gradual development.

In the second half of his book Professor Bultmann discusses the conception of God which underlies the teaching of Jesus. God is not a subject for thought or speculation, nor is the idea of divinity considered as of value for the understanding of the world or for the recognition of its essential unity. God is not a metaphysical entity. He is personal Will; holy and merciful Will. But, since His name is not yet hallowed nor His will yet accomplished in earth as it is in heaven, He is the 'distant' God, the God of the future who in no sense belongs to the world or forms a part of it. The problem presented by the teaching of Jesus is therefore to give meaning to those sayings in which God is referred to as the 'present' God. Professor Bultmann regards the sayings which express an attitude of trust in the providence of God as the least characteristic sayings of Jesus, and he doubts their authenticity. The God of Jesus is not a power working in the world caring for the lilies and the sparrows and sending rain upon the just and the unjust. If, therefore, such sayings are to be retained as authentic, they must not be understood as implying a belief in Nature as an organism in which God is the life-principle. There is no unified concept of Nature. The world consists rather of independent entities each possessing its own needs. The recognition of God's action in the physical world is conditioned by the recognition of His action in a particular and individual human experience and not by a view of nature.

The human experience which is essential for Jesus is that God's acts are always miracles. They are unexpected acts of the will of God for the benefit of the individual. Prayer is therefore quite fundamental. Prayer is the attempt to move God to do what He would not otherwise have done. The necessary addition *Not my will but thine be done* does not turn prayer into resignation, but keeps it true to the demand that God must be obeyed. This is the synthesis between the 'present' and the 'distant' God. In particular moments in the experience of

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the individual the 'distant' God becomes the 'present' God, and miraculously reveals His power in action. In such moments God acts as the Father, and those who obey His will become His sons. Divine sonship does not therefore belong naturally to men as men, so that they need only become conscious of what they already are. It is a miraculous, concrete, and individual experience. And moreover it is a complete experience; complete in the sense that it carries with it the forgiveness of sins. The past is forgiven, and a new ego is created.

Had Professor Bultmann been content to publish his book under the title *Some elements in the teaching of Jesus* it would be open to very little criticism. But this is not at all what he means. Jesus has no significance to him except as the 'Bearer of the Word'. He is quite frank. The Word remains even if Jesus had never existed. The controversy about the existence of Jesus is therefore ultimately irrelevant. This limitation of the significance of Jesus to the herald of a teaching capable of abstraction is based upon critical conclusions as to what is authentic and what is not authentic in the Synoptic Tradition which are open to the very gravest criticism. The effect of this limitation is that, in spite of his insistence upon religious experience as a concrete occasion, Professor Bultmann has in fact abstracted the will of God from the concrete occasion of its expression to which the Synoptic Gospels direct especial attention. He refuses to deal seriously with the claim of Jesus to be the Messiah, which he regards as an imposition of the later Christian community. Consequently he throws away the key to the real understanding of the intensity of our Lord's claim that men should here and now repent. *Follow me* means apparently nothing to Professor Bultmann, at least he makes no attempt to interpret it. This omission renders inevitable the whole process of abstraction. The idea of a Messianic community cuts across the Professor's really devastating individualism and is therefore relegated to a later period. He attaches no importance to the death of Jesus, and therefore does not even raise the question as to whether or no our Lord intended to invest his death with redemptive significance. These and other inconvenient questions are shelved by deferring them to the creative activity of the Hellenistic Christian community. The book, however, is a vigorous book and well worth reading. Its weakness is in some sense its strength, since abstraction serves to call attention to elements in the teaching of Jesus which are far too often neglected.

EDWYN C. HOSKYNS.

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Die Religion des Judentums, von W. Bousset, in dritter Ausgabe, herausgegeben von HUGO GRESSMANN. (Tübingen, 1926.)

THIS, the third edition of 'Bousset', is published as the concluding volume of the new edition of Lietzmann's *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*. It is not described as either altered or enlarged, but as 'improved', and a comparison with the second edition shews the accuracy of the description. It is true that the Editor has added a useful supplement to the Bibliography, recording works which have appeared since Bousset's death. References to English work are meagre, and one misses especially any reference to the work of Israel Abrahams. Otherwise, apart from the correction of Bousset's latinized words, which were numerous, there is little alteration. But the new type is much pleasanter to read, the numerous quotations from sources are now printed in italics, and the index, which was poor, has been greatly enlarged. These are improvements which make even more acceptable a work which has always been indispensable.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, July 1926 (Vol. cii, No. 204: S.P.C.K.). A STUDENT OF LETTERS Charles Lamb: a query—H. D. OAKELEY The problem of truth in history—B. B. KESSLER Concerning divine attributes—W. R. MATTHEWS Some recent tendencies in philosophy and the doctrine of the Incarnation—R. B. HENDERSON The *Alcestis* of Euripides—F. HAROLD SMITH The transcendence of God—Science, Religion, and Reality– The Cambridge Ancient History, vol. iv—The text of the Acts of the Apostles—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, July 1926 (Vol. xxiv, No. 4: Constable & Co.). F. B. SANDFORD Letters of W. E. Gladstone to a Unitarian minister A. D. 1874–91—J. S. BEZZANT Where the shoe pinches—D. STRÖMHOLM The Riddle of the New Testament—H. T. KNIGHT The moral rationale of Miracle—R. MURRI Ernesto Buonaiuti and his recent excommunication—M. KENT 'The chaplain of the Sahara'—C. F. THWING Best and worst in America—D. F. HARRIS Biology and personality—J. BAILLIE The meaning of Duty: a plea for a reconsideration of the Kantian Ethic—H. CLAY Liberation, Laissez Faire, and present industrial conditions—A. MORGAN The present position in the Scottish Universities—E. W. LUMMIS A case against 'Q'—T. CARTER The comment of an unlearned man—Survey and Signed Reviews.

(2) AMERICAN.

The Princeton Theological Review, July 1926 (Vol. xxiv, No. 3: Princeton University Press). R. D. WILSON The headings of the Psalms—F. E. HAMILTON Modern aspects of the theory of Evolution—D. S. GAGE 'Experience and Nature'—F. D. JENKINS The subjective side of Salvation in its initial stages—JOHN D. DAVIS (1854–1926)—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche, June 1926 (Vol. xxv, Nos. 1, 2: A. Töpelmann, Giessen). H. LIETZMANN Jüdische Passahsitten und der ἀφικόμενος—R. GISLER Das letzte Abendmahl—E. SCHWARTZ Das Nicaenum und das Constantinopolitanum auf der Synode von Chalkedon—TH. HERMANN Die Schule von Nisibis vom. 5. bis 7. Jahrhundert—J. JEREMIAS Das Gebetsleben Jesu—E. RIGGENBACH Das Wort Jesu in Gespräch

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mit dem pharisäischen Hohenpriester—W. MICHAELIS Kenchreä—H. KOCH Zu A. v. Harnacks Beweis für den amtlichen römischen Ursprung des Muratorischen Fragments—A. v. HARNACK Die Marcionitischen Prologe zu den Paulusbriefen, eine Quelle Muratorischen Fragments—F. PERLES Zur Erklärung von Mt. 7, 6—O. STÄHLIN Zur Vorbereitung des neuen Tischendorf—E. v. DOBSCHÜTZ iv. Neutestamentlertagung zu Erlangen am 29 und 30 Sept. 1925.

Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte (Vol. xlv, N. F. viii, No. 1, 1926: L. Klotz, Gotha). H. KOCH Das dritte Buch der Cyprianischen Testimonia in seinem zeitlichen Verhältnis zum ersten & zweiten—J. SCHEIDL Ein Ostermärlein—J. HASHAGEN Landesherzliche Ablasspolitik vor der Reformation—G. WOLF Zur Frage des Kaisertums Friedrichs des Weisen—S. MERKLE Grundsätzliche und methodologische Erörterungen zur Bellarminforschung—K. BAUER Ein Vorläufer des Synkretismus in Frankfurt a. M.—K. WEISKE August Hermann Francke und die Schweiz—H. MULERT Wann kam der Ausdruck 'Das Wesen des Christentums' auf?—Literarische Berichte und Anzeigen.

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The Journal
of
Theological Studies

JANUARY, 1927

DOCUMENTS

EASTER SERMONS OF ST AUGUSTINE.

GENERAL EVIDENCE.

THE new texts, edited in the first part of this study (vol. xxvii, p. 337), and the others which have been indicated, offer an opportunity of reviewing the main series of Easter sermons, as standardized by the Maurists in 1683, and, what is more enlightening, of probing the large documentary background. By this process we are enabled to see the conditions under which a final edition of St Augustine's sermons would be possible, though, no doubt, the Easter sermons represent only a small part of the whole undertaking.

I propose, therefore, first to give a summary account of the work done by and after the Maurists; then, to describe some earlier systematic collections which form part of the literary evidence, and, coming to my main purpose, to submit a number of particular manuscripts which represent the bulk of the tradition. A complete table of the Benedictines' items (both authentic and spurious), furnished with references to our principal documents, will be, I think, the most suitable conclusion to this paper.

I.—(1) In his catalogue or '*indicium librorum omnium sancti Augustini*',[1] Possidius gives the following sermons '*de Tempore*', that is to say, referring to the feasts of our Lord:

De natale domini tractatus vii.
De epiphania tractatus vii.
De quadragesima ante pascha tractatus v.
De domini passione tractatus ii.

[1] I follow the manuscript *112* of Chartres, fol. 42^{v} sq., ninth century *ex.* (from the old Cathedral Chapter); I have also compared the manuscripts *73* of the same library, fol. 77^{r}, ninth century (again from the Chapter) and *2178* of the Bibl. Nationale (*N. Acq. Lat.*), fol. 122^{v}, eleventh century (from Silos Abbey in Spain). No. *73* has no title; no. *2178* has '*indiculum librorum*'. And see *P. L.* t. xlvi, col. 20, the text printed by the Maurists: '*Indiculus*'.

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Per uigilias pasche tractatus xxiii.
De simbulo tractatus iii.
De oratione dominica tractatum i.
Hortatoriu(m) ad competentes i.
De octauis infantium tractatus ii.
De ascensione domini tractatus ii.
De eucharistia tractatum i.
De aduentu spiritus sancti tractatum i.

It is true that, among the '*tractatus diuersi*' the complete list of which is first given,[1] some items appear to have an original connexion with the group '*de Tempore*'. Yet the account of Possidius is rather far from agreeing with the collection of authentic texts made by the Maurists. For, as will be explained, the Benedictine collection '*de Tempore*', and especially that for Easter, does not include all the sermons in that edition relating to the same circumstances. Moreover, the edition itself, good and reliable though it is, does not contain all the authentic sermons which have been transmitted to us, and must be supplemented. But, apart from these differences, we can easily see that the numbers given by Possidius, compared with those of the Maurists, are constantly under the mark in almost every section, and give a much lower total. Possidius mentions fifty-five sermons '*de Tempore*'; while the Maurists have been able to group in the same class eighty-nine sermons, which are distributed as follows; the figures extend from no. clxxxiv to no. cclxxii in the main authentic series:—

clxxxiv–cxcvi	*De natale domini*	(13)
cxcvii–cxcviii	*De calendis ianuariis*	(2)
cxcix–cciv	*De epiphania domini*	(6)
ccv–ccxi	*De quadragesima*	(7)
ccxii–ccxiv	*In traditione symboli*	(3)
ccxv	*In redditione symboli*	(1)
ccxvi	*Ad competentes*	(1)
ccxvii	*Paulo ante pascha*	(1)
ccxviii	*De passione domini*	(1)
ccxix–ccxxiii	*In uigiliis paschae*	(5)
ccxxiv–ccxxviii	*In die paschae*	(5)
ccxxix	*De feria ii*	(1)
ccxxx–cclviii	*In diebus paschalibus*	(29)
cclix–cclx	*In die octauarum paschae*	(2)
cclxi–cclxv	*In die ascensionis domini*	(5)
cclxvi	*In uigiliis pentecostes*	(1)
cclxvii–cclxxii	*In die pentecostes*	(6)

And we might add not only no. ccccliv '*in die octauarum infantium*',

[1] If all the articles are counted, the catalogue of Possidius mentions exactly 602 titles. The '*tractatus diuersi*' or various sermons begin with no. *408*; the proper sermons '*de Tempore*' are collected near the end, viz. nos. *572–583*.

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but also ten sermons too strictly defined as '*Dubii*', nos. ccclxix–ccclxxviii.[1] Besides, M. Denis, Card. Mai, and Dom G. Morin, have considerably increased the whole series.

After this general survey, I shall confine myself to the Easter set, that is, almost half the sermons '*de Tempore*', nos. ccxix–cclx, in order to trace the history of their compilation and tradition.

The whole is evidently patchwork and especially the main section, in which are collected 29 sermons under the general title '*In diebus paschalibus*'.

In order to understand the character of the Benedictine work, it must be borne in mind that this edition is only the completion of a long process. Probably the editors would have acted quite differently if they had been the masters of the ground, instead of considering themselves as only the latest tenants. In truth, it is a pity that they kept an old-fashioned programme and contented themselves only with carefully working it up.

The first printed collection '*de Tempore*' had been compiled for John Amerbach, the famous printer of Basle, by '*frater Augustinus Dodo de Frisia Canonicus regularis*',[2] who at the time was a canon of Saint-Leonard in Basle and died, it is said,[3] in 1501. Dodo owns that he collected discourses '*undique sparsos*'. The result was a large edition, published in 1495, of 256 sermons, followed by fifty-one other sermons '*de Sanctis*',[4] and later editors did not care to change this distribution, which as a matter of fact was strictly preserved till the time of the Maurists. As new sermons gradually became accessible,[5]

[1] *ccclxix-ccclxxii: De natiuitate domini; ccclxxiii-ccclxxv: De epiphania domini; ccclxxvi: De octauis paschae; ccclxxvii: De ascensione domini; ccclxxviii: In die pentecostes.*

[2] Dodo so describes himself in the metrical preface of the collection '*de Tempore*'.

[3] Cf. J. F. Foppens *Bibliotheca Belgica*, Brussels, i (1739), p. 112[2].

[4] *Plura ac diuersa diui Aurelii Augustini sermonum Opera* (Basileae). These two batches are the last parts of the volume, a small *in-folio* without pagination. The first five parts (for which Dodo does not seem to be responsible) are dated as of the preceding year: (1) *Ad fratres in heremo commorantes* (*Sermones lxxvi*); (2) *De Verbis domini* (*Sermones lxiiii*); (3) *De Verbis apostoli* (*Sermones xxxv*); (4) *In Epistolam canonicam beati Iohannis primam* (*Sermones x*); (5) *Homeliae id est sermones populares* (*Quinquaginta*). Apart from the fourth section, which has been conveniently displaced, all these series constitute the bulk of the '*Decimus Tomus*' in the subsequent editions of Erasmus (Basle 1529[1], 1543[2]) and of the *Louanienses* (Anvers 1576[1], Paris 1586[2], Paris 1614[3]), and, again, the bulk of the '*Tomus Quintus*' of the Benedictine edition (= *P. L.* t. xxxviii-xxxix).

[5] The more important additions, besides those of the *Louanienses*, are due to J. Vlimmerius, J. Sirmond, and J. Vignier: respectively, *D. A. Augustini Hipponensis ep. Sermonum pars una* . . ., Louvain (1564); *S. A. Augustini Hipponensis ep. Sermones noui numero xl*, Paris (1631); *S. A. Augustini operum omnium* . . . *editorum Supplementum*, Paris (1654).

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they found a place in a supplementary category, called '*de Diuersis*'. The task of the Maurists was to revise the whole, to add some further pieces, and to look for MSS by the help of which to secure a better text; while all the supposititious items were discriminated and put aside to form a second range of sermons, or '*Appendix*',[1] with corresponding titles. But, behind the new distribution, the old work is still visible, since none even of the worst texts published in 1495 have been left out.

Thus the paschal series of Dodo includes thirty-three sermons, numbered from cxxxii to clxiv.[2] Seventeen of these are authentic, or possibly so[3]; and this is a fair proportion, considering that the whole set of 256 sermons '*de Tempore*' only contains about sixty unquestioned texts.[4] The sixteen remaining articles, one excepted,[5] form precisely the paschal series of the Benedictine '*Appendix*' (nos. clvii–clxix, clxxi–clxxii). A considerable number of these are not attested by any ancient manuscript. Consequently, Dodo alone is responsible for their publication. We do not know at all where he chanced to pick them up, and it would have been much wiser relentlessly to reject all this rubbish.

Thus, the Benedictine '*Appendix*', a description of which I shall outline later, is entirely explained by the *editio princeps*. It is unnecessary to recall minutely the successive approximations to the standard edition. The Maurists accepted a great number of sermons first published by J. Vlimmerius (1564) and afterwards incorporated, with some other additions, viz. seventeen of the Easter sermons,[6] by the doctors of Louvain (1576). From J. Sirmond (1631) they took three

[1] The *Louanienses* had indeed begun this series of spurious items; but their criticism was rather weak. The '*Appendix*' of 1576 comprises only 86 sermons; for Easter, in particular, the editors have only put seven items of Dodo in this collection: their own nos. l–lvi, or nos. clviii–clxiii and clxix of the Benedictines. The '*Appendix*' of 1683 consists of 317 items.

[2] See the details in the following section no. 1. I do not count the four sermons for the Sundays after Easter (nos. clxv–clxviii), because they bear no true relation to Easter, no. xlvi of the main Benedictine series, and nos. xcvii, xcviii, cclxxii of the '*Appendix*'.

[3] One (no. cxxxv) is a discourse '*Ad competentes*', which the Maurists have classed with the '*Sermones de Verbis domini*' (= no. lix of the main series), and another one (no. clx) has only been received among the '*Dubii*' (= no. ccclxxvi). Lastly, two others (nos. clii and clviii) are incomplete (viz. parts of nos. ccxlii and ccxliii of the final edition); but, in fact, one of these is given complete shortly before (no. cxlvii, or Aug. ccxlii = no. clviii, or Mai cliii). Hence, strictly speaking, Dodo only published sixteen authentic Easter sermons.

[4] Cf. *P. L.* t. xxxviii 13 sq.

[5] No. cxxxiii becomes *App.* ccxlviii.

[6] Nos. ccxix–ccxxiii, ccxxv–ccxxvii, ccxxx, ccxxxiii–ccxxxiv, ccxxxvi, ccxliii, ccli–cclii, cclv, cclx.

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items,[1] and from J. Vignier (1654) four more.[2] However, in nearly every case they checked the text by manuscripts, some of which were very good. Finally, they themselves added five sermons from new collections.[3]

The references which I have collected under § III will shew the true sources from which the sermons nos. ccxix–cclx have come into our hands. But, at the outset, it is convenient to remark that, excellent as the materials sorted in 1683 are judged to be, a few were still imperfect. No. ccxxi, preserved by Eugippius in the sixth century[4] and so transmitted to the mediaeval copyists, is only a fragment, or more precisely the second part of a sermon the primitive redaction of which D. G. Morin has recovered.[5] Similarly, no. ccxix, taken by the Maurists from the scrap-books of Bede and Florus, was published in its proper form by Michael Denis.[6] Further, no. ccliv is reproduced according to the edition of 1495, without any other authority; but that text might have been tested and a better result secured. I have been able to recover a manuscript of the printed recension and two others of the true redaction.[7]

In the next place, it is no less important to remember that a number of authentic paschal sermons of St Augustine must be looked for in other sections of the great edition. Here, again, the Maurists have followed too readily their predecessors. A more thorough recasting of the old distribution would have given undeniable advantages. Nos. lvii, lix, cxvi, cxix–cxxi, cxlvi–cxlix, cccliii, ccclxiii are paschal sermons.[8] And in fact the manuscripts frequently assign these sermons, and occasionally some others, to Eastertide.

Now, the Maurists were too judicious to consider their own edition as absolutely final. Such a task of erudition is never accomplished

[1] Nos. ccxliv, cclvi, cclix.

[2] Nos. ccxxviii, ccxlvi, ccxlix–ccl. But J. Vignier is also responsible for the no. clxx of the '*Appendix*'.

[3] Nos. ccxxix, ccxxxviii, ccxlvii, cclvii–cclviii.

[4] *Excerpta ex operibus S. Augustini*, cap. cxx 135 (ed. P. Knoell, 1885 [*CSEL*, vol. ix 1], p. 445 sq.).

[5] *Mor. vi* or no. *2* of the Wolfenbüttel manuscript; see below, no. 5 and § III no. 11.

[6] *Dio. vi* or no. *8* of the Vienna manuscript; see below, no. 2 and § III no. 9.

[7] See below, § III nos. 14 and 15; the second copy of the authentic text is given by the manuscript no. *152* of Montpellier (University), ninth century, among various sermons ascribed to St Augustine, but much interpolated. A new edition was published in the *Revue Bénédictine*, Avril-Juillet 1926.

[8] The Maurists themselves admitted this for nos. cxix–cxxi; cf. *P. L.* t. xxxviii 673 note *b*. No. cclxxii may also be considered as an Easter sermon; indeed it occurs in some manuscripts with this attribution; but a traditional title refers it to the Pentecost.

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fully, but only begun, and designed as a step, however long a one it may be, towards further advances. When all the existing manuscripts have been inspected and duly criticized, only then will scholars have some right to be satisfied with their results. We are still far from achievement. Meanwhile, some people have tried, more or less successfully, to supplement the majestic folio of 1683. I shall review summarily these publications, in so far as they concern the Easter sermons.

(2) In a rather late manuscript at Vienna,[1] Michael Denis was fortunate enough to discover about two dozen new sermons, most of which are authentic[2]; the first ten are rightly connected with Easter and nearly all seem genuine.[3]

(3) The case is quite different with the '*sermones inediti*' published later by A. B. Caillau from manuscripts at Florence and Monte Cassino.[4] About 250 discourses, forming two parts, are distributed according to the plan traced by the Maurists, even down to an '*Appendix*'. Easter especially is provided, first, with eighteen sermons[5] and an '*Appendix*' of two[6]; secondly, with ten more sermons[7] and an '*Appendix*' of six.[8] But it would be difficult perhaps to find in the whole volume even a few guaranteed items. However, the publication may be used to illustrate some items of the Benedictine '*Appendix*' or other odd texts accepted by the mediaeval scribes. I shall, therefore, include in the general evidence three manuscripts of Monte Cassino which Caillau has used without discrimination.[9]

(4) Comparatively, Card. Angelo Mai might lay claim to a merciful treatment, as he has generally employed more valuable, if not very reliable, manuscripts. Three groups of his huge volume,[10] which includes 201 sermons, are on Easter subjects, viz. nos. xxxiv–xlii (most of them taken from the Agimundus homiliary)[11]; nos. lxxxiii and lxxxv–

[1] See below, § III no. 9.

[2] *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis ep. Sermones inediti admixtis quibusdam dubiis*, Vienna (1792); again, as '*Supplementum IV*' (1839) in the book of Abbé Caillau, mentioned immediately below, and *P. L.* t. xlvi 813–839.

[3] I would only exclude the first two: *Dio. i–ii.*

[4] *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis ep. Sermones inediti*, Paris (1836 and 1842).

[5] Nos. xxi–xxxviii (in the first part or '*Supplementum I*': 1836).

[6] Nos. iii–iv.

[7] Nos. liii–lxii (in the second part or '*Supplementum II*': 1842).

[8] Nos. xlvii–lii.

[9] See below, § III nos. 31–33.

[10] *Nouae Patrum bibliothecae Tomus Primus continens sancti Augustini nouos ex codicibus Vaticanis sermones*, Rome (1852).

[11] Also, no. li. See below, § III no. 12.

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xcv (taken from the Rochester collection)[1]; nos. cxlvi, clii–clvi, clxvi, and clxx (taken from odd manuscripts). One may confidently say that, for the most part, these sermons are not authentic, in spite of the boldness of the editor. Every text must be judged on its own merits, and this investigation is out of the question just now.[2] Frequently the text is quite imperfect, or the editor has been careless. For example, nos. xxxiv and lxxxiii are only parts of two authentic texts published completely by D. Morin[3]; nos. lxxxviii and cliii had already been printed by the Maurists,[4] and nos. xxxviii, li, xciii, clii, and cliv by Caillau.[5]

(5) Lastly, a recent and magnificent discovery has accrued to the credit of Dom Germain Morin. A Carolingian manuscript of the Wolfenbüttel library,[6] strangely overlooked till the year 1913,[7] has supplied him with no less than forty new Augustinian sermons,[8] and, in particular, sixteen relating to Easter.[9] Moreover, the edition is as good as might be expected from so experienced a scholar. After this encouraging achievement one may eagerly look to what the future will bring.

II.—(1) Now to return to the documentary evidence so far accessible. It seems convenient to begin with a few systematic collections, and first of all with the collection of Dodo already described. The reader will perceive immediately by means of the numerical references[10] the fundamental weakness of the *editio princeps*.

[1] Besides no. cxv (from the collection of Roberto de' Bardi, see below, § II no. 2). As to the Rochester collection, see in the first part of this paper (a note on the Easter sermon no. vii of the Orleans manuscript), and below, § III n. 13.

[2] Without committing myself, I should consider the possible authenticity of nos. xxxv, xxxviii, xxxix, lxxxvii, xcii, and cxv.

[3] Nos. xii and ix, respectively.

[4] Nos. ccxxx and ccxlii §§ 1–3, respectively.

[5] Nos. liii, lv–lvii, lix ('*Supplementum II*'). One may add that seven paschal sermons printed by Mai from the *Vaticanus Lat. 3835* (see below, § III no. 12) are already found in the old Latin editions of Chrysostom (see *Tertius tomus operum diui Ioannis Chrysostomi*, Basle 1547, col. 855 sq.); namely, MAI xxxv–xxxviii, xli–xlii, clii.

[6] See below, § III no. 11.

[7] Cf. *Revue Bénédictine* xxx (1913) p. 393 sq., and xxxi (1914) p. 117 sq.

[8] *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Tractatus siue Sermones inediti*, Zurich (1918).

[9] Nos. iv–xix; I include the three sermons which were before incomplete (nos. v, ix, xii: see above).

[10] Henceforward I shall indicate (so far as is required) every group of Easter sermons in a numerical series (from no. 1), these references being put before the items concerned. The items are simply indicated by their own numbers, that is to say: (1) the ordinary Arabic figures for the authentic sermons classified by the Benedictines; (2) the sloping Arabic figures for the sermons of the Benedictine '*Appendix*'; (3) the Roman figures for the sermons published by Denis,

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[1] *158*	[2] *248*	[3] *157*	[4] 59	[5] *159*
[6] *160*	[7] *163*	[8] 240	[9] 235	[10] 231
[11] *166*	[12] 241	[13] 232	[14] 237	[15] 239
[16] 242	[17] 248	[18] 253	[19] *164*	[20] 254
[21] (243)[1]	[22] *165*	[23] *167*	[24] 245	[25] *161*
[26] *172*	[27] MAI cliii[2]	[28] *169*	[29] 376	[30] *162*
[31] *171*	[32] *168*	[33] 224		

These sermons are arbitrarily distributed from Easter eve till the octave day. Undoubtedly Dodo compiled his series out of heterogeneous materials; this conclusion is made clear by a comparison with the manuscripts. I have already emphasized the worthlessness of the sermons which the Benedictines have been obliged to put into their '*Appendix*'. Indeed, many of them will never again appear in subsequent lists. As to the authentic sermons, we are not able to identify the document, or documents, from which the editor extracted them. Probably Dodo used late interpolated homiliaries derived from the book of Paul the Deacon.

(2) Very different and much more important is the large collection compiled by Roberto de' Bardi in the first part of the fourteenth century.[3] It is surely a matter of regret that Dodo did not begin the publication of the Augustinian sermons by employing this useful repertory. Later, Sirmond, Vignier, and eventually the Maurists, wisely took advantage of this source, which Bartholomew 'Urbinas' († 1350) had immediately appreciated and utilized in his '*Milleloquium*'. Furthermore, the Maurists have very frequently no other guarantee than their own copy of the '*Collectorium*', a *Regius* manuscript written in the year 1466,[4] to which indeed they continually refer.[5]

Caillau, Mai, Morin (besides distinguished by the references *Dio.*, *Cail.*, *Mai*, *Mor.*). (4) The other sermons are indicated by special references (e. g. the name of the supposed author or the first words are put between inverted commas). For instance, the sermons of Dodo, which are numbered cxxxii–clxv in the total series, are now counted from [1] to [3]; the first, which is no. clviii of the Benedictine '*Appendix*', is designated [1] *158*, and the last, which is no. ccxxiv of the main Benedictine series, is designated [3] 224. I would remind the reader that the final lists will give a clue to all the pieces printed in the Benedictine edition. For other printed sermons I refrain from being more precise, as too much space would be required. Yet I shall try to remove any ambiguity in peculiar cases.

[1] A contraction of the text.

[2] No other than sermon 242 §§ 1–3, already given completely under no. 16.

[3] Roberto de' Bardi (*Robertus de Bardis*), born at Florence, became chancellor of the University of Paris in 1336 (7 March) and died perhaps in 1347. Cf. A. Thomas in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire publiés par l'École Française de Rome* iv (1884) p. 74 sq.

[4] Now Bibl. Nat. *lat. 2030*. The manuscripts *2031* and *2032* are copies of the indexes made by that wonderful scholar, John de Fayt, a monk of St. Amand-en-Pevèle, later an abbot of St Bavon († 1395).

[5] The editors also quote two other manuscripts which are generally companions

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Only the first two parts of Roberto's work have been preserved, containing about 340 sermons, many of which are certainly apocryphal, as the Maurists have remarked[1] in a notice, perhaps too severe.[2] Yet Roberto has preserved a large number of authentic texts, and this can only be explained by his having had at his disposal excellent manuscripts, in addition to others less pure. For the Easter sermons at least, I feel certain that I have come across several of these documents, or similar ones[3]; at any rate the greater part of the paschal collection is practically explained. This collection contains more than fifty items.[4]

[1] *160*	[2] MAI cxlvi	[3] 219	[4] 220	[5] 221
[6] 222	[7] 223	[8] 226	[9] 120	[10] 119
[11] 121	[12] 233	[13] 231	[14] Mai lxxxviii (= 230)[5]	
[15] 228	[16] 259	[17] MAI xciii	[18] (*160*) [6]	
[19] 'Lux hodie clara' (= CAIL.[1] xxi)[7]			[20] MAI lxxxi [8]	[21] *159*
[22] *163*	[23] (*168*)[9]	[24] 'Non minus' (MAX. S. xxxvi)[10]		[25] MAI cxv
[26] MAI clv	[27] 240	[28] 241	[29] 232	[30] 234
[31] 235	[32] 236	[33] 242	[34] 116	[35] 237
[36] 252	[37] 246	[38] 244	[39] 251	[40] 243
[41] 230	[42] 256	[43] 361	[44] *170*	[45] 249
[46] 250	[47] 253	[48] 260	[49] *161*	[50] 353
[51] MAI lxxxix	[52] *172*	[53] AUG. Ep. lv §§ 2-32		[54] MAI clvi

(3) Various ancient manuscripts of sermons may be called systematic,

to the *Regius codex*: one *Theodericus* (from St Thierry near Rheims), which seems to have been lost, and a collection of St Victor, which must be no. *505* of the Arsenal Library, however different this volume may be from the '*Collectorium*'. On the other hand, Card. Mai used another French copy, similar to the *Regius*: the *Vaticanus lat.* 479, fifteenth century (first half); cf. *Noua Patrum Bibliotheca* i p. 431 sq.

[1] Cf. *P. L.* t. xxxviii 13 sq.

[2] Mai has tried to revise the process, but as usual has overstated the case, in order to make his new sermons taken from the '*Collectorium*' acceptable.

[3] See below, § III nos. 1, 2, 5, 13.

[4] Note that no. 18 is the same as no. 1, and no. 41 the same as no. 14, and no. 53 is taken from a letter.

[5] The only difference consists in the text added by Mai at the beginning: *Hic est dies quem fecit dominus, exultemur et iocundemur in eo.* (*Sicut domino . . .*); on the contrary, no. 41 gives exactly the Benedictine text.

[6] Some differences from the printed text.

[7] Also in the Fulgentius collection of St Mihiel *20* (no. 33); cf. *Revue Benedictine* xxxvi (1909) p. 226.

[8] Text printed in *P. L.* t. xcv 1326 (see below, no. 4).

[9] Differences at the end.

[10] *P. L.* t. lvii 605. Here and below, I keep the distinctions used by the editor of Maximus Taurinensis: *Sermones* (= S), *Homeliae* (= H.), *Tractatus* (= Tr.); but, of course, all the discourses attributed to Maximus or to the Ps.-Ambrose (*P. L.* t. xvii) ought to have been completely discussed in the light of the literary evidence.

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for instance the homiliary of Agimundus.[1] But, for the moment, I prefer to keep the true and recognized collections apart. The most characteristic one is the compilation published by Alanus of Farfa towards the middle of the eighth century. Superseded finally by the authoritative homiliary composed for Charles the Great by Paul the Deacon, the book of Alan was a little earlier.[2] We shall see later related manuscripts,[3] and the fact is already evident that nos. 2–8 explain ultimately nos. 18–24 of Roberto's collection.

It is remarkable that, at such an early date, all but three of the so-called Augustinian Easter sermons of Alan are apocryphal.

[1] MAI cliv (= CAIL.[11] liii) [2] *160* [3] 'Lux hodie clara' (= CAIL.[1] xxi)
[4] MAI lxxxi [5] *159* [6] *163* [7] *168*
[8] 'Non minus' (MAX. S. xxxvi) [9] 251 [10] 'Haeret adhuc' (MAX. H. lvi)[4]
[11] 243 [12] *161* [13] *162* [14] *172* [15] MAI cliii (= 242)

(4) The parallel compilation of Paul for the liturgical year, which became and still remains the official Roman 'lectionary',[5] need only be mentioned, as no sermons of St Augustine have been chosen by the author for Eastertide. This curious feature of the collection is well known. Augustine's discourses are almost wholly discarded in favour of those of Maximus and Bede, Leo and Gregory, who are great favourites with the compiler; apart from some scanty extracts from the *Tractatus in Iohannem* and a few other works, we can count only three authentic sermons and four spurious ones.[6] On the other hand, Alan regularly prefers Augustine and Leo, so that the two collections can be easily distinguished and, consequently, the threads of their influence

[1] See below, § III no. 12.

[2] I have already mentioned the collection of Alan in the first part of this paper. The main manuscripts are Berlin *Phillip. 1676*, Munich *Clm. 4547*, *4564*, and *14368*, Troyes *853*, all not very distant from the archetype. I hope to write a paper on this instructive homiliary, especially in order to trace its influence on old French collections. After having noted the Italian and Bavarian copies, I was rather surprised to find a splendid copy of part in the Troyes Library, coming, I think, from the Cathedral Chapter of Laon, and several indirect witnesses to it.

[3] See below, § III nos. 5, 13, 26, and 27.

[4] *P. L.* t. lvii 359.

[5] The manuscripts are almost innumerable. The most interesting ones are interpolated copies; for some of them see below, § III nos. 6, 22, 25, 26, 27, 29, 41. A perfect copy of the second part (which contains the Easter sermons) is a manuscript written at St Martin of Tours (now Bibl. Nat. *N. Acq. Lat. 2322*); cf. L. Deslisle *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits* . . . xxxi 1 (1884) p. 298 sq., who has described the collection minutely, but has wrongly attributed it to Alcuin.

[6] Respectively, nos. xxxi, lxxxiii, ccclxx § 2; clxxv, ccxxix, ccxxxi, ccxlv. Besides, a fragment of the '*Sermo de symbolo*', which may be attributed to Bishop Quodvultdeus. Cf. nos. 10, 13, 17 of the Fleury manuscript (in the first part of this paper).

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kept separate. Now, for Easter, Paul brought together five homilies of Gregory, five of Maximus (or so called), four of Bede, and an extract from Jerome; from Augustine he has only taken (II 14) a part of *Tractatus* cxxi on St John's Gospel. But the old editions of Cologne 1537 and 1539 (under the name of Alcuin)[1] have added three very well known pieces,[2] which many of the manuscripts below will attest:

MAI lxxxi 251 *172*

It is true that the copies of Paul's homiliary have been frequently modified and enlarged since the tenth century at least, so that some of them can be quoted as authorities for the Augustinian Easter sermons.

III. Next I have to enumerate, group, and briefly describe, forty-two manuscripts which give a fair idea of the literary tradition. Far-reaching as the attempted inquiry ought to have been and has been, I do not pretend to have examined all the collections which deserve notice; and I should be greatly pleased to see these indications supplemented some day. Yet the list looks long enough for the moment. The grouping, most important in order to facilitate a clear view of the facts, has proved to be a rather difficult process. Here is a rough survey of the arrangement: manuscripts or collectious resembling the Benedictine main series (1–8); collections with new matter (9–13); documents responsible for a few rare items (14–21); small abnormal collections (22–24); types of the '*Appendix*' (25–30); abnormal '*Appendix*' (31–34); old homiliaries related to the '*Appendix*' (35–42).

Hereafter, the numbers must in general speak for themselves, or, I should prefer to say, must suggest their own significance and value. For behind the mask, as it were, positive, true, and forcible realities are still lurking and peeping. The office of the commentator is strictly limited to describing the documents, when it is necessary, and sometimes hinting at their obscure parentage. One may then be content to observe the long and silent, but always changing, procession of ancient forgotten shapes.

(1) VITRY *3*: a remarkable Cistercian homiliary,[3] very probably compiled in the twelfth century, from various sources. All the sermons attributed to St Augustine, thirty in number, are authentic; on three occasions a few sermons explicitly attributed to 'Maximus' or

[1] Reprinted by Migne *P. L.* t. xcv 1159–1566. On the other hand, the edition of Spires (1482), on which indeed the editions of Cologne immediately depend, has kept the original redaction for Eastertide.

[2] Nos. cxxviii, cxxx, and cxxxvi of the editions; besides the sermon *Duae quippe uitae . . .* (no. cxxix); cf. *P. L. ib.* 1325 sq.

[3] For two other incomplete manuscripts see the first part, on Christmas sermons.

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'Ambrosius' are interspersed.[1] It is preferable to give the complete list, as the non-Augustinian items may explain some peculiarities of other collections.[2] In addition to the character of the Augustinian sermons, a striking feature of this series is its coincidence with the authentic elements of the Roberto collection.[3] Therefore Roberto used either a similar homiliary or the same fundamental collection already employed by the Cistercian monks. The next manuscript will probably answer the question. Unhappily, the copy of Vitry is defective after no. *37*, and the others fail to supplement it. A table mentions thirty-one sermons for Easter and Pentecost, which are now wanting. From the list of Roberto one may conjecture that sermons 253, 260, 352,[4] at least, were given after 251 (no. *37*).

[1] 219 [2] 220 [3] 221 [4] 222 [5] 223
[6] 226 [7] 227 [8] 120 [9] 119 [10] 121
[11] 233 [12] 231 [13] 240
[14] "Ambrosii" 'Non immerito' (MAX. H. lvii = Paul ii *3*)
[15] "Ambrosii" 'Magnum fratres' (MAX. H. lviii = Paul ii *4*)
[16] 241 [17] 232 [18] 234 [19] 235 [20] 236
[21] 116 [22] 237 [23] 242
[24] "Ambrosii" 'Retinet sanctitas' (MAX. H. lix)
[25] "Maximi" 'Exultandum nobis est' (MAX. S. xxix = Paul ii 7)
[26] 243 [27] 246 [28] 244
[29] "Maximi" 'Non minus etiam' (MAX. S. xxxvi = Alan ii *8*)
[30] "Maximi" 'Beneficia domini' (MAX. H. lv = Paul ii *6*)
[31] "Ambrosii" 'Heret adhuc sensibus' (MAX. H. lvi = Alan ii *10*)
[32] 230 [33] 256 [34] 361 [35] 249 [36] 250 [37] 251

(2) ROME, *Vatic. Lat. 480* (fifteenth century): a no less remarkable collection of Augustinian sermons, recent though the copy is.[5] Here we

[1] Nos. *14–15*, *24–25*, *29–31*.

[2] For instance, see Roberto no. *24* (§ II no. 2), and Alan nos. *8* and *10* (§ II no. 3). On the other hand, one will note that Paul the Deacon has four of these items, but sometimes under some different names: Vitry nos. *14* and *15* (= Paul ii 3–4: "Maximi"); no. *25* (= ii 7); no. *30* (= ii 6). Therefore Paul may have supplied these items or, more probably, have borrowed them from the same fundamental collection. I would suggest again that these attributions to Maxime or Ambrose are valueless; in fact, some items come primarily from the old Gallican collection which is called '*Eusebius Gallicanus*'.

[3] Roberto omits no. 7 (227); then he gives the sequence till no. *12* (= ROB. *3–13*); at this point he adds 228 and 259; but he continues with nos. *13*, *16–23* [excepting a few inversions] (= ROB. *27–35*); again he adds 252; but he continues with nos. *26–28*, *32–37* [excepting a few inversions] (= ROB. *37–43*, *45–46*). Here the Vitry manuscript breaks off.

[4] ROB. *47–48*, *50*. For 253 and 353, the supposition is confirmed by the Vatican collection (no. 2, below). Besides, the same collection favours the inclusion of MAI lxxxix (= ROB. *51*).

[5] Another copy is the Vatican manuscript *Vrbinas* 77, also of the fifteenth

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have for Easter, in exactly the same order, all the authentic items found in the Vitry manuscript, apart from sermons 235, 236, 361,[1] and moreover, filling the final gap, sermons 147, 253, MAI xciii, 353, MAI lxxxix.[2] The only doubtful element to my mind is MAI xciii, put by Roberto in another place.[3] He has also left out sermon 147, but admitted sermon 260.[4] The three other authentic pieces are attested similarly.[5] Thus the best part of Roberto's collection is again accounted for. Probably Vitry *3* and *Vatic. 480* both reproduce an older important manuscript of sound texts, which Roberto has not been afraid to interpolate.

[1] 219	[2] 220	[3] 221	[4] 222	[5] 223
[6] 226	[7] 227	[8] 233	[9] 231	[10] 240
[11] 241	[12] 232	[13] 234	[14] 116	[15] 237
[16] 242	[17] 243	[18] 246	[19] 244	[20] 230
[21] 256	[22] 249	[23] 250	[24] 251	[25] 147
[26] 253	[27] MAI xciii	[28] 353	[29] MAI lxxxix	

(3) LONDON, British Museum *Add. 17292*[6]: this manuscript, written at Parc near Louvain in the thirteenth century,[7] is representative of a precious collection which may be called, from the title of its first item, the '*Alleluia*' collection.[8] The book, which contains about forty-five sermons (all authentic), does not on the whole manifest any definite scheme; however, a part of it relates to Easter. The first item, sermon 255, is followed by 261 (for '*quadragesima ascensionis domini*'), 34, 29 (delivered '*die pentecostes in uigiliis*'), 13, 14 ('*die dominico*'), 15; then, one recognizes a group of eleven paschal sermons[9]; after this,

century; the Easter series is exactly the same (nos. 74–102 in the second part of the manuscript). However, it is certain that the copy of Urbino does not depend on *Vatic 480*; probably both manuscripts represent the same model. In *Vatic. 480* our Easter sermons are numbered 112–140.

[1] Respectively nos. *19, 20, 34* of Vitry. Accordingly, the general equivalence is: VAT. *1–7* = VIT. *1–7*; VAT. *8–13* = VIT. *11–13, 16–18*; VAT. *14–21* = VIT. *21–23, 26–28, 32–33*; VAT. *22–24* = VIT. *35–37*.

[2] The manuscript continues with sermons 265, 263, &c., for Ascension.

[3] ROB. *17*. [4] ROB. *48*. [5] ROB. *47, 50, 51*.

[6] Second part, fol. 73–151; the first part contains the very common collection of the '*Quinquaginta*'.

[7] More probably, I believe, at the end of the twelfth century.

[8] Vlimmerius, in 1564, employed a copy different, I believe, from the manuscript of Parc. The Maurists also knew a similar '*Germanensis*', but again different, if I am right, from the lat. *13376* of Paris, which is a fine copy of the ninth century (second half at the latest). I have moreover identified a third copy in the Charleville Library, no. 202, part xii (late xiith cent., from Signy), and a fourth one, incomplete, in the Valenciennes Library, no. 517 (xith c.). Lastly, a few items are traceable in the manuscript Harl. 4091 (xith c.), which is a German copy (interpolated) of the '*Quinquaginta*' collection.

[9] Nos. *8–18* of the collection: below, nos. *2–12*.

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no. *38* alone concerns Easter.[1] Therefore, all these pieces must be grouped again under new numbers. Apparently, sermons 119, 57, 151[2] are peculiar to this collection.

[1]255	[2]119	[3]241	[4]242	[5]251
[6]240	[7]243	[8]147	[9]148	[10]260
[11]57	[12]151	[13]252		

(4) ORLEANS *155*: the manuscript, sufficiently known, from which I am publishing the six new sermons and re-editing MAI lxxxix; I include it here for its nos. *8–18*, because it is now quite clear that this second section is closely related to the '*Alleluia*' collection[3]; sermon 226 only (no. *17*) is a distinctive element.

[8]119	[9]240	[10]241	[11]242	[12]243	
[13]251	[14]147	[15]148	[16]260	[17]226	[18]57

(5) PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale *lat. 12203*[4]: a small and interesting collection of twenty sermons, exclusively for Easter. The manuscript, written towards the end of the ninth century, comes from Corbie and has been used as such by the Maurists. The paschal collection is easily explained either by the homiliary of Alan or by the '*Alleluia*' collection. Only the last item remains indefinite and, in fact, unidentified.[5] All but one[6] of the apocryphal items are derived from Alan, and perhaps, in addition, sermon 251 which is his main Augustinian discourse[7]; this one and the remaining authentic sermons are contained in the '*Alleluia*' collection.[8] I surmise that Roberto used this very manuscript or a similar one.

[1] The manuscript *Add. 17292* gives also at the end (fol. 150[r] = n. *44*) sermon 272 ('*de sacramento altaris*'); but this piece is written by another hand and not announced in the '*Capitula*'.

[2] Nos. *2*, *11*, and *12* of my count.

[3] Equivalence: AUR. *8* = ALL. *2*; AUR. *9* = ALL. *6*; AUR. *10–11* = ALL. *3-4*; AUR. *12* = ALL. 7; AUR. *13* = ALL. *5*; AUR. *14–16* = ALL. 8–10; AUR. *18* = ALL. 11.

[4] Foll. 1–37; the second part of the manuscript, written by another hand, of the tenth century, may have been regarded as complementary to the Easter sermons: '*De spiritu sancto Paschasii diaconi urbis Romae*' (fol. 38–63).

[5] Fol. 36: *Adpropinquante sollemnitate pascali consueuit sancta ecclesia singulis annis rudibus populis et quibusque simplicioribus symbolum fidei tradere—desiderio tendite et dominus pacis sit cum spiritu uestro in s. s. a.*

[6] No. *14* (in collection of Roberto no. *44*).

[7] Equivalence: COR. *1–7* = AL. *2–8*; COR. *12* (S. 251) = AL. *9*; COR. *18* = AL. *12*; COR. *19* = AL. *14*.

[8] Equivalence: COR. *8* = ALL. *6*; COR. 9–11 = ALL. 3–5; COR. *12* (S 251) = ALL. 13; COR. *13* = ALL. 7; COR. *15–17* = ALL. *8–10*.

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[1]*160*	[2]'Lux hodie clara' (= CAIL.[1] xxi)		[3]MAI lxxxi	
[4]*159*	[5]*163*	[6]*168*	[7]'Non minus etiam' (MAX. S. xxxvi)	
[8]240	[9]241	[10]242	[11]252	[12]251
[13]243	[14]*170*	[15]147	[16]148	[17]260
[18]*161*	[19]*172*	[20]'Adpropinquante sollemnitate'		

(6) ARRAS *452*[1]: a large homiliary for Lent and Easter, composed at St Vaast in the thirteenth century. Most of the sermons are taken from the '*Tractatus in Iohannem*'; but the paschal set begins with ten items, all of which are present in the preceding book[2]; hence the connexion is again clear, though not for certain an immediate one.[3]

[1]*160*	[2]'Lux hodie clara'		[3]240	[4]242	[5]*170*
[6]147	[7]148	[8]260	[9]*161*	[10]'Appropinquante sollempnitate'	

(7) ORLEANS *154* (and PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale, *N. Acq. Lat. 1598–1599*)[4]: the old and most precious homiliary of Fleury, already mentioned several times in relation to Christmas. Sermon 158 of the '*Appendix*' is given before the items for the Passion (no. *40*); the proper paschal group (of ten authentic sermons, nos. *46–53*) is the gem of the whole book, and the Maurists have not failed to appreciate it; yet a new edition ought to be improved by the use of this text. There is no better witness for some items, and sermons 257–258 (the last ones) have not been attested hitherto elsewhere.

[1]*158*	[2]121[5]	[3]227[6]	[4]231	[5]232	
[6]237	[7]246	[8]250	[9]253[7]	[10]257	[11]258

(8) BRUSSELS, Bibliothèque Royale *14920–14922*[8]: a collection of fifty-two Augustinian sermons, nearly all of which are authentic.[9] The first seventeen[10] appear to have been taken from another more famous collection '*de Diuersis*', which I should prefer to call '*de*

[1] The first part, or foll. 1–86.

[2] Moreover, no. *10* is completed by an extract from the treatise of Paschasius on the Holy Ghost.

[3] Equivalence: VED. *1–2* = COR. *1–2*; VED. *3* = COR. *8*; VED. *4* = COR. 10; VED. *5–9* = COR. *14–18*; *Ved. 10* = COR. *20*.

[4] In fact, all the sermons related to Easter (viz. nos. *40* and *46–53* of the collection [with three items under no. *50*]) are in the fragments preserved at Paris: *1598*, foll. 5[v], 9[r]–15[r], and *1599*, foll. 20[v]–39[v].

[5] Peculiar 'incipit': *Ergo Christus in mundo* . . .

[6] Peculiar 'incipit': *Corpus et sanguini* (sic) *Christi* . . .

[7] Peculiar 'incipit': *Hodie terminatum est* . . .

[8] The manuscript is assigned to the ninth or the tenth century and, perhaps, comes from Cluny; cf. *Revue Bénédictine* xxxvii (1925) p. 166 sq.

[9] Cf. *ib.* xxix (1912) p. 465 sq.

[10] One excepted (no. *8* = sermon 24).

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Paenitentia' because of its first item (sermon 351).[1] The last seven items are evidently intended for Eastertide, i.e. for use during the Easter octave; one, however, for Saturday, is still indeterminate; sermon 63 has been reprinted by the Maurists without the help of any manuscript.

[1] 233 [2] 234 [3] 116 [4] 244 [5] 249
[6] 'tractatus s. A. de capitulo euangelii die sabbato' [7] 63

(9) VIENNA *651*: a manuscript of San Severino, Naples (twelfth century), discovered and partly published by M. Denis.[2] It contains fifty-seven sermons and represents more or less exactly an ancient African book for the second part of the liturgical year, that is, from Holy Saturday onwards. I give a complete list of the first twenty-four items, exclusive of Pentecost.[3]

[1] DIO. i [2] DIO. ii [3] 228 [4] DIO. iii [5] DIO. iv
[6] DIO. v [7] 226 [8] DIO. vi (229)
[9] 'Omnis quidem sermo' (MAX. Tr. i)[4]
[10] 'Promisimus primo' (MAX. Tr. ii)
[11] 'Hucusque de mysteriis' (MAX. Tr. iii)
[12] DIO. vii [13] 239 [14] 248 [15] 245
[16] 272 [17] DIO. viii [18] 230 [19] 247 [20] 261
[21] 29 [22] DIO. ix [23] AUG. Enar. in Ps. cxlviii [24] DIO. x

(10) MONTE CASSINO *175*: another copy, a little older (eleventh century), of the same African collection; the sequence is different from no. *13* onwards:

[13] 272 [14] 239 [15] 245
[16] 247 [17] 248 [18] DIO. xii [19] DIO. viii [20] 265
[21] 29 [22] DIO. ix [23] 396

(11) WOLFENBÜTTEL *4096*[6]: the new Augustinian homiliary discovered by D. G. Morin.[7] The sermons correspond with the traditional cycle of feasts. The literary background of the whole is certainly a complex one. We have thirty-three items to dispose of for Easter.[8]

[1] The main manuscripts are: Paris, Bibl. Nat. *11641* (viith–viiith c.); Cambridge, Univ. L. *Add. 3479* [the first part] (ixth c.); Cambrai *567* (ixth c., first half). Cf. *ib.* p. 148 sq.

[2] See above, § I no. 2.

[3] No. *25*: sermon 266.

[4] Nos. *9–11*, published by Sirmond, have been printed by the Maurists among the works attributed to St Augustine (*P. L.* t. xl 1205 sq.: '*De eo quod neophytis . . .*', '*De mysterio baptismatis*', '*De unctione capitis*'), and again by Bruni as 'treatises' of Maximus Taurinensis (*P. L.* t. lvii 771 sq.).

[5] That is, for the part beginning at p. 210.

[6] I should consider the tradition, which connects the volume with St Peter of Wissemburg, as reliable.

[7] See above, § I no. 5, and also the first part of this paper.

[8] Nos. *23–54*, in the total collection, as described by the editor; one of them is repeated: MOR. xix (hereafter no. *11* = no. *31*).

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The value of this collection and also of that of the Denis collection consists, not only in the new material included, but also in the recasting of texts published long before.

[1] MOR. iv [2] MOR. v (221) [3] MOR. vi [4] 230 (and 225 § 4)
[5] 228 [6] 119 [7] MAI xi[1] [8] MOR. vii
[9] DIO. vi (229) [10] 226 [11] MOR. xix [12] MOR. viii
[13] MOR. ix (MAI lxxxiii) [14] MOR. x [15] MOR. xi
[16] MOR. App. 5 [17] MOR. App. 6 [18] MOR. xii (MAI xxxiv) [19] 238[2]
[20] 242 [21] MOR. App. 7 [22] MOR. xiii [23] 243
[24] MOR. xiv [25] MOR. xv [26] 251 [27] 147
[28] MOR. xvi [29] MOR. xvii [30] MOR. xviii [31] MOR. xix
[32] 224 [33] 260

(12) ROME, *Vatic. Lat. 3835*: another important homiliary in two volumes[3]: planned in Rome, perhaps about the middle of the eighth century,[4] by the priest Agimundus, who has included in it many sermons of several authors. St Augustine is supposed to be responsible for nearly all the paschal series,[5] and Card. Mai rashly accepted these pretensions.[6]

[1] 220 [2] 'Exulta caelum' (EUS. xii)[7] [3] MAI clii (= CAIL.[11] lv)
[4] MAI xxxv [5] 'Vna sabbati' (= CAIL.[1] xxv)
[6] MAI xxxvi[8] [7] MAI xxxvii [8] 226
[9] MAI xxxviii (= CAIL.[11] lvi) [10] 230
[11] 'Licet omnes' (LEO App. viii)[9] [12] MAI xxxix [13] 235 [14] 236

[1] Apart from the 'incipit' in the new context (*Siquidem ipse habet . . .*), this item is now well known to be a '*tractatus*' of St Jerome: *In omni quidem psalterio . . .*; cf. *Anecdota Maredsolana* iii 2 p. 416.

[2] Peculiar 'incipit': *Hodierna lectio commendat nobis uerum Christum . . .*

[3] Vatic. *3835* and *3836*; however, two hands are discernible in the second part. See the complete bibliography of Traube–Lehmann *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen* i (1909) no. 261.

[4] Dr E. A. Lowe has kindly written to me that, on the whole, this date is more probable.

[5] In the manuscript nos. *29–48*.

[6] See above, § I no. 4.

[7] This is one of the most popular homilies for Easter known as the work of 'Eusebius Gallicanus'; see the whole collection in *Maxima Patrum Bibliotheca*, Lyons (1677), t. vi p. 619 sq.; the same text with some variants is printed in the '*Appendix*' to St Jerome, no. xxiv (*P. L.* t. xxx 215), as a discourse attributed to St Augustine (*P. L.* t. xlvii 1153), and among the homilies of Caesarius (*P. L.* t. lxvii 1041).

[8] Printed again by F. Liverani *Spicilegium Liberianum*, Rome (1863), p. 24 sq., according to a late manuscript at Florence.

[9] *P. L.* t. liv 495, and again t. lvi 1136 (already in the old Latin editions of Chrysostom's works, Basle 1547, t. iii 861: '*De resurrectione sermo vii*', quite possibly from this Vatican manuscript; see above, § I no. 4).

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[15] 256 [16] "Io. Chrysost." 'Benedictus deus' (CHRYS. LAT. xxxiv)[1]
[17] MAI xl [18] MAI xli (*172*)[2] [19] MAI xlii
[20] "Ambrosii"[3] 'Habuit autem f. K. ammirandi causam Thomas'

(13) ROME, *Vatic. Lat. 4951*: an English product of the twelfth century—shewn to have been the property of Rochester Cathedral by an entry which is also found in many Royal manuscripts in the British Museum[4]—and our most comprehensive homiliary for Eastertide. Several good manuscripts must have been used by a clever hand, especially a homiliary similar to, or derived from, Alan's book,[5] and the fundamental collection used by Roberto. Card. Mai has again taken toll of this volume.

[1] *160* [2] 'Lux hodie clara' [3] MAI lxxxi [4] 'Exulta caelum'
[5] MAI lxxxv[6] [6] *159* [7] *163* [8] *168* [9] 'Non minus'
[10] 240 [11] 241 [12] 242 [13] 252 [14] 251 [15] 243
[16] MAI lxxxvi [17] MAI lxxxvii [18] DIO. iv [19] MAI lxxxii
[20] MAI lxxxiii (MOR. ix) [21] MAI lxxxviii (230) [22] 235 [23] 236
[24] 228 [25] 272 [26] DIO. iii [27] 224 [28] MAI lxxxix [29] 353
[30] 226 [31] 225 [32] MAI xc [33] MAI lxxxiv [34] MAI xci [35] MAI xcii
[36] 256 [37] MAI xciii (= CAIL.[11] lvii) [38] 'Licet omnes' (Ps.-Leo)
[39] 'Dominus rex noster' (= CAIL.[1] xxiii) [40] 147
[41] 148 [42] 260 [43] *161* [44] *172* [45] MAI xli
[46] DIO. viii [47] MAI xciv [48] (259)[7] [49] MAI xcv [50] MAI xlii
[51] 'De lectione euangelica'[8]

(14) TOURS *279*: a small but valuable collection '*de Diuersis*', written at Marmoutier in the ninth century.[9] The first five items seem to be connected with Easter[10]; sermon 151 at least is also found

[1] An authentic discourse of St John Chrysostom in an old Latin translation; cf. *Journal of Theological Studies* xix (1918) p. 323.

[2] The text, as printed by Mai, seems to give the true form of the Augustinian 'Appendix' § 1 (§ 2 being taken from the authentic sermon 210). See both texts following on in the next manuscript (nos. *44–45*).

[3] '*de octaba paschae*'; I am unable to explain the origin of this text.

[4] See the first part of this paper about the seventh sermon. The paschal set fills foll. 101ᵛ–148ᵛ.

[5] Like the *Corbeiensis* (above no. 5); the equivalence is notable: ROF. *1–3* = COR. 1–3; ROF. *6–15* = COR. *4–13*; ROF. *39–44* = COR. *15–19*.

[6] On the other hand, in *P. L.* t. xlvii 1155.

[7] Only an abbreviated form of the authentic redaction.

[8] Foll. 147ᵛ–148ᵛ: *De lectione euangelica quae nobis recitata est, fratres karissimi, solent aliqui quaerere quomodo potuerit dominus apparere—non cum impiis et peccatoribus puniamur, sed cum iustis et deum timentibus peruenire ad aeterna praemia mereamur praestante ipso domino nostro cui est honor . . .*

[9] Foll. 91ᵛ–149ᵛ. Cf. *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* ii (1921) p. 351 sq.

[10] Nos. *4* and *5* have these titles, respectively: '*De quarta feria paschae*', '*De die quinta*',

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in the '*Alleluia*' collection[1]: again, sermon 254, reprinted without references to any manuscript by the Maurists as a paschal text, is here preserved in its true form (§§ 1–4 only) and so betrays a different drift.

[1] 151 [2] 254 (§§ 1–4) [3] 60 (§§ 1–6) [4] 242 [5] 243

(15) BRUSSELS, Bibliothèque Royale *10615–10729*: an abnormal copy of the collection '*De bono coniugali*',[2] into which the long text of sermon 254 (§§ 1–8), as first printed by Dodo, has been inserted[3]; Dodo, however, did not use this particular manuscript.

(16) LONDON, British Museum *Add. 29972*: a very short Gallican homiliary of the seventh or eighth century, written in the so-called 'Luxeuil' script. This booklet, now defective, must have been quite complete in three quires. I am inclined to think that the Maurists have referred to it in the edition of their sermon 395: *ex uetustissimo codice Remigiano*, viz. from St Remi of Rheims. Then, sermon 395, '*de die quadragesima ascensionis*', is preceded by one sermon '*de die paschali*',[4] which is no. 230 of the main series, or no. lxxxviii of Mai.

(17) PARIS, Arsenal Library *471*: seemingly the '*Nauarricus*' of the Benedictines,[5] that is, a made-up homiliary of the twelfth century for the main feasts, from Christmas[6] till the eleventh of July (Translation of St Benedict). Easter is excluded; but sermons 146 and 147, addressed to the '*recens baptizati*' in order to explain the text of St John xxi 15–17, are assigned to the feast of St Peter,[7] among a number of other discourses for the same day.[8] Perhaps sermon 147 comes from the '*Alleluia*' collection[9]; but sermon 146 certainly from the collection '*de Verbis domini*', as will be noticed immediately.[10]

[1] See above, 3 (no. *12*).

[2] This small collection, '*de Diuersis*', well preserved in manuscripts, the best of which is the *Palat. Lat. 210* (vith or viith c., according to E. A. Lowe), does not ordinarily contain Easter sermons.

[3] Foll. 11v–12r. The volume was perhaps written at Treves, in the twelfth century; later it belonged to Card. Nicholas of Cusa. Cf. L. Traube *Poetae Latini Medii Aeui* t. iii (1896) p. 152.

[4] Fol. 30v. (Dr E. A. Lowe tells me he would prefer to assign the writing to the first half of the eighth century.)

[5] Cf. *P. L.* t. xxxix 2001, 2013.

[6] See the first part of this paper.

[7] Foll. 185r, 190r.

[8] Foll. 182v–216r. We may compare this set with other large series for the Apostles' festival: namely, Chartres *42* (from St Père, xiith c.), foll. 57v–106v; Chartres *163* (from the Chapter, xiith c.), fol. 40; Orleans *196* (from Fleury, ixth c.), the whole collection filling 140 pages.

[9] See above, 3 (no. *8*).

[10] The four following numbers—18 to 21—are systematic or promiscuous collections which, except the last one, are represented by several copies (the first and

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(18) ROME, *Vatic. Lat. 474*[1]: a typical manuscript of the most famous collection '*de Verbis domini*', which comprises sixty-six sermons normally; one item only is relative to Easter, no. *63*,[2] the sermon 146 just mentioned.

(19) CHARTRES *129*[3]: a typical manuscript of the collection '*de Lapsu mundi*', thus named from the first of the twenty-five sermons which it ordinarily comprises; no. *17* is the fellow sermon 147 for Easter Saturday; but it is just possible that this item has been taken from the '*Alleluia*' collection, as both collections have nine sermons in common.

(20) PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale *Lat. 12202*[4]: a typical manuscript of another very common and well-known collection '*de Diuersis*', called '*Quinquaginta*' from the number of sermons it contains; no. *20* is a sermon entitled '*de die octauo infantum*', our 353.[5]

(21) TROYES *40*[10]: a single manuscript of Clairvaux, dating from the twelfth century, in which thirty-three Augustinian discourses '*de veteri Testamento*',[6] nearly all authentic, are reunited; no. *4* is our sermon 363 '*de cantico Exodi*' for Easter, published by Sirmond from a collection of Saint-Victor.[7]

(22) TROYES *154*: a somewhat interpolated copy of the second part

third, to be more exact, by a great many); I shall only refer to one typical manuscript of the entire class. Most likely some copies of the collection '*de Veteri Testamento*' still exist. I have come across only a single specimen (no. 21); Sirmond, very probably, used another one, and Roberto possibly.

[1] Written at St Vivant-de-Vergy, Burgundy, in the ninth century, and corrected by the chief scholar of the Carolingian renascence, Lupus, abbot of Ferrières-en-Gâtinais. One might quote as well Lyons *472*, Paris Bibl. Nat. *Lat. 2013*, *2015*, or *2016*, which are fine copies of the ninth century. The favourite '*Colbertinus 821*' of the Benedictines, now *Lat. 2017*, belongs in reality to the eleventh century, and has been much interpolated, like a few other manuscripts of that collection. The printed text, as given by Amerbach and Erasmus, does not exactly agree with the manuscripts as regards the order.

[2] No. *62* in the editions.

[3] Other manuscripts are, for instance, Dijon *163*, Arsenal *239* and *586*, all written in the twelfth century; but the collection must be more ancient.

[4] I think this manuscript dates from the end of the ninth century. For the tenth century must be mentioned the *Phillip.* 1677 at Berlin and a '*Corbeiensis*' (incomplete) at Petrograd *Q. v. I. 24*.

[5] The order is often variable; I have distinguished two traditions, one Gallican, another Italian, represented by the manuscript *11* of Monte Cassino [first part] (xith c.). Amerbach printed a bad copy; cf. *P. L.* t. xxxix 2432. In the paschal series of Roberto (above, § II 2), sermon 353 is no. *50*.

[6] Then 17 sermons '*de Diversis*', in part authentic, complete another collection '*Quinquaginta*'.

[7] No. *2* of Sirmond; also, in the first part of Roberto, devoted to Old Testament history, no. *26*.

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of Paul's Homiliary, which I would refer to the eleventh century.[1] Some new items for the Apostles' festival are clearly borrowed from Alan. For Easter, on the contrary, between nos. *1–4* and *5–13* of Paul occur four peculiar items attributed to St Augustine, and again after no. *15*, '*Exulta caelum*' under its traditional title.[2]

[1] MAI xciii (= CAIL.[II] lvii) [2] MAI cliv (= CAIL.[II] liii)
[3] '*Magnitudo huius diei*'[3] [4] 220

(23) TROYES *188*: a particular homiliary for the summer-time, written at Clairvaux in the twelfth century, so original as to have kept one sermon of St. Avitus.[4] The first four items are as follows:—

[1] "Eusebii Emiseni" '*Exulta caelum*'
[2] MAI xciii (= CAIL.[II] lvii) [3] 353 [4] Mai lxxxix[5]

(24) ROME, *Vatic. Lat. 5758*[6]: an old and promiscuous collection made up of two groups of 22 and 27 sermons respectively.[7] Both parts contain a few liturgical items scattered among biblical and ethical expositions. The whole, much ransacked by Card. Mai,[8] seems to have been referred by the copyist to St Augustine, though, certainly, for several pieces other writers are responsible, and some apocryphal matter has been admitted as well; nevertheless, some sermons are authentic. Nos. *20* to *24* of the second series must have been taken from an ancient paschal book.

[1] AUG. Enarr. in Ps. cxlviii [2] "Origenis de alleluia": MAI xxiv
[3] DIO. ix [4] DIO. viii [5] MAI xi[9]

[1] Its origin is uncertain; like many manuscripts of President Bouhier, it may come from the region of Besançon, Dijon, or Mâcon.

[2] '*Omelia beati Eusebii episcopi.*'

[3] Fol. 13[v]: *Magnitudo huius diei quanta sit audiuimus in recitatione passionis dominicae euuangelista dicente: 'Iudei ergo quoniam parasceue erat . . .' Sicut enim dies ille sabbati in lege magna erat—ita et anima in qua Christus habitat a peccato mortifero et uitiis possideri non debet.*

[4] '*In rogationibus sermo beati Auiti arch. Viennensis*' (foll. 10[r]–12[r]); see the text *P. L.* t. lix 289.

[5] Roberto has similarly associated 353 and lxxxix (see above, § II 2: nos. *50–51*); the homiliary of Rochester reverses the numbers (§ III 13: nos. *28–29*). After these the Troyes manuscript has three sermons 'in nat. martyrum' (that is, for the martyrs' feasts of Eastertide, according to a very old liturgical custom); they are attributed to St Ambrose, as are several others of the collection, but one finds them more frequently under the name of Maximus: '*Dignum et congruum est*', '*Retinet dilectio*', '*Si quantum me necesse est*' (*P. L.* lvii: *Max.* S. lxxxvi, [H. xlviii?], S. lxxxvii; and cf. *P. L.* xvii 603; S. lix, lxi).

[6] This manuscript comes from Bobbio and may date from the seventh or the eighth century.

[7] Perhaps the original number corresponded to another complete book of '*Quinquaginta*' discourses.

[8] The first 26 sermons of the *Noua Patrum Bibliotheca* (= MAI i–xxvi) are taken from this Vatican manuscript.

See no. 7 of the Wolfenbüttel collection (§ III 11).

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(25) BERLIN *Theol. fol. 270*: second part of the great homiliary of Laach,[1] which, on the whole, is most faithful to Paul's tradition, but here and there adds authentic or apocryphal sermons of St Augustine and others. For Easter, the compiler has employed the Gallican collection of Eusebius and, evidently, another collection very similar to the *Corbeiensis*.[2] Thus the sermons of the '*Appendix*' and probably some others are explained ultimately by the book of Alan. Among the authentic sermons one must notice 225 (no. *8*), which is peculiar to the Laach homiliary and seems to be a rare item. In order to be clear I represent the general framework.

[Paul ii *2, 7, 5*] ["Eusebii" 'Exulta caelum' and the eleven other paschal sermons of the same series]
[1] 'Lux hodie clara' [2] *159* [3] *163* [4] 241 [5] 242
[6] 240 [7] 243 [8] 255 [Paul ii *3, 9–11*]
[9] 252 [10] 251 [Paul ii *12–13*, &c.]

(26) VENDÔME *42*: another interesting homiliary, a little more ancient (written in the eleventh century, apparently for the monks of Holy Trinity at Vendôme), and a little more complex. Many Augustinian texts, either genuine or spurious, have been transcribed, some of which are uncommon; meanwhile, the combined influence of Alan and Paul is perceptible, and this is the case in respect of Easter.[3] The Maurists have taken from this collection sermon 238 (no. *6*),[4] which is not usually to be found.[5]

[1] *159* [Paul ii *3–4, 6–8*][6]
[2] *168* [3] 'Lux hodie clara' [4] MAI lxxxi
[5] 'Exulta caelum' (EUS. i de Pascha) [6] 238
[7] 251 [8] 'Haereat adhuc' [9] 243 [10] *161* [11] *162*[7]

(27) PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale *Lat. 12405*: the fine homiliary presented by Gundoinus to St Germain-des-Prés towards the beginning

[1] Complete in two volumes: *269–270* (xiith c.).

[2] Above, § III 5. Equivalence: LAC. *1* = COR. *2*; LAC. *2–3* = COR. *4–5*; LAC. *4–5* = COR. *9–10*; LAC. *6* = COR. 8; LAC. *7* = COR. *13*; LAC. *9–10* = COR. *11–12*.

[3] Equivalence with Alan: VIN. *1* = AL. *5*; VIN. *2* = AL. *7*; VIN. 3–4 = AL. *3–4*; VIN. *7–11* = AL. *9–13*.

[4] But they are wrong, as frequently, about the real date: '800 annorum'. From the same manuscript they have derived their sermon 264.

[5] See the Wolfenbüttel collection, above, § III 11 no. *19*. The Vendôme manuscript begins: *De uero sponso id est Christo et uera sponsa id est ecclesia catholica. Sic sacra perhennisque . . .*

[6] In the preceding part Paul has supplied nearly all the sermons for Lent and Passiontide, about twenty-five in all.

[7] After this the manuscript gives, for the Ascension, an unpublished sermon (= *Ascensus in caelum domini . . .*), AUG. 264 and 263, Paul ii *26–27*.

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of the tenth century.[1] Again Alan's and Paul's collections make nearly the entire book intelligible, though the latter is evidently conceived on a smaller scale. All the Augustinian or so-called Easter sermons are given by Alan.[2] It is to be noticed that the '*Appendix*' items now become conspicuous. Indeed, for that Alan is chiefly responsible.

[Paul i *110*] [1] MAI cliv [2] 'Lux hodie clara'
[3] MAI lxxxi [4] *168* [5] 'Non minus etiam'
[6] MAI cliii (= 242) [Alan ii *22, 32, 33*] [7] *160*

(28) CHELTENHAM *8400*[3]: the much more intricate homiliary of Ottobeuren, written at the end of the eighth century apparently. For Easter, I think the first number, probably a composition of Caesarius, is accounted for by the old homiliary of Fleury,[4] since the six preceding sermons are in both books equally out of their order. Then, the connexion with Alan is almost certain,[5] because the greater number of the following texts are obviously taken from his collection.[6] However, I am not able to identify three items, of which, perhaps, the last one is not an Easter sermon.

[1] *158* [2] *159* [3] 'Corpus et sanguis Christi'
[4] *160* [5] 'O perpetuae felicitatis' [6] *168*
[7] 'Audiuimus f. k. euangelicae lectionis oraculum'

(29) PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale *Lat. 16819*: the huge homiliary of St Corneille at Compiègne,[7] dating perhaps from the end of the ninth century. The part for winter is quite in accordance with Paul's standard, except for a few items borrowed from Haymo; on the other hand, the summer part is very odd, with many pieces mainly accounted for by both homiliaries of Raban and several books of Haymo-Remi. For Easter, there are only three items commonly attributed to St Augustine: the first two are among the most popular

[1] The inscription is written in capital letters on fol. 4[r]: HVNC EGO GVNDOINVS GERMANE TIBI OFFERO LIBRVM. Naturally the Maurists have availed themselves of this book.

[2] Equivalence: GUN. *1* = AL. *1*; GUN. *2–3* = AL. *3–4*; GUN. *4–5* = AL. *7–8*; GUN. *6* = AL. *15*; GUN. *7* = AL. *2*. From *App.* 160 (foll. 117–162 onwards), the items clearly represent a supplementary series.

[3] I do not know whether this manuscript is still at Cheltenham or not. It was one of the best books bought by Sir Th. Phillipps. Mabillon and Gerbert had previously mentioned it. I follow the summary description given by H. Schenkl *Bibliotheca Patrum Britannica* pt. v (1892) no. *1743*.

[4] See above, § III 7 no. *1*.

[5] Equivalence: OTT. *2* = AL. *5*; OTT. *4* = AL. *2*; OTT. *6* = AL. *7*.

[6] Eighteen sermons out of twenty-three: nos. *82–104* of the homiliary (the last ones); the Easter sermons are nos. *75–81*.

[7] On fol. 101[v] is a long notice about the history of the place (xith c.).

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sermons of the '*Appendix*', the last may have come from the '*Quinquaginta*' collection.[1]

[1] *160* [2] *159*
[3] 'Pascha nostrum dil. Christi' (RAB. xvii) [2]
[Paul ii *5* Haymo lxx [3] Paul ii *9–10*, &c.]
[4] 353

(30) EINSIEDELN *143*: a Gallican collection preserved in a manuscript of the tenth century,[4] but very probably derived from a much more ancient model, and ultimately from a Caesarian book. The whole collection of about seventy sermons is explicitly referred to St Augustine[5]; but most of them are apocryphal. Such are the five paschal items. It is quite possible that Alan had at his disposal some homiliary of the same kind.[6]

[1] MAI cliv [2] *159* [3] *168* [4] *93* [5] *172*

(31) PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale *N. Acq. Lat. 1436*: the homiliary used at Cluny in the twelfth century. The main part of the collection is, I believe, explained by that of Alan. Nevertheless, the paschal set seems to be more eccentric and altogether more complex. I must indicate the general order. Here sermon 159 of the '*Appendix*' (no. *2*) retains its true attribution, whilst sermon 160 (no. *3*) derives from an old Caesarian line, and the authentic 233 (no. 7) is connected with a sound Augustinian tradition.

[1] "Hier." 'Hodie f. k. populus Israel'
[2] "Hier." 'Non queo f. k. quod mente' (= *159*) [7]
[3] *160* [4] "Eus. Emiseni" (the twelve paschal homilies)
[5] "Ambr." 'Paschae misterium' (S. xxxv) [8]
[6] "Max." (H. lvii, lviii, lv; S. xxix = Paul ii *3–4*, *6–7*)
[7] 233

(32) MONTE CASSINO *12* (of the end of the eleventh century):

[1] See above, § III 20.

[2] In the collection made for Archbishop Haistulf: *P. L.* t. cx 34. The compiler seems to have considered St Augustine responsible for this sermon.

[3] *P. L.* t. cxviii 445.

[4] We also possess later copies, especially Berlin *Hamilton 56* (xiith c.) and *Theol. Fol. 155* (xvth c.).

[5] Note the general title: '*Omeliae a s. Augustino episcopo editae ad populum anm per circulum*'.

[6] Equivalence: EIN. *1* = AL. *1*; EIN. *2* = AL. *5*; EIN. *3* = AL. *7*; [EIN. *4* = AL. ii *105*]; EIN. *5* = AL. *14*.

[7] Both sermons have been edited again as Hieronymian by D. G. Morin *Anecdota Maredsolana* iii 2 pp. 405, 413. On the complete group, inclusive of the item edited recently again by D. B. Capelle, see *Bulletin d'ancienne Littérature et d'Archéologie chrétiennes* t. i (1911) p. 40 sq.

[8] *P. L.* t. xvii 673.

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a distinctive South-Italian collection of 'Augustinian' sermons, designed for the purposes of the liturgical year. The old familiar ground can still be made out, but is strewn with a wild display of fictitious products. Nevertheless, Abbé Caillau was not afraid to collect these miserable ornaments.[1]

[1] 'Audiat in presenti' (MAX. H. li–lii)
[2] 'Fr. car. ex uirginis terrae limo'[2]
[3] CAIL.[1] xxxix [4] 'Dominus et saluator I. Chr.' (134 § 4, 284 §§ 5–6)[3]
[5] CAIL.[1] xxxvi [6] CAIL.[1] App. 3 [7] CAIL.[1] xxxvii[4] [8] *158*
[9] CAIL.[1] xxxviii (*157*)[5] [10] CAIL.[1] xxxi [11] CAIL.[1] xxviii
[12] CAIL.[1] xxix[6] [13] CAIL.[1] xxxii [14] CAIL.[1] xxvi [15] CAIL.[1] xxx
[16] CAIL.[1] xxvii [17] CAIL.[1] xxiii [18] 256 [19] 'Per istos dies'[7]
[20] 236 [21] 243 [22] MAI xxxv[8] [23] CAIL.[1] xxv
[24] CAIL.[1] xxxiii [25] CAIL.[1] xxxiv [26] CAIL.[1] xxxv [27] (259)[9]

(33) MONTE CASSINO *11* (of the end of the eleventh century): another eccentric and composite collection of fifty-one 'Augustinian' sermons. Nos. *27* to *36*, and nos. *50–51* relate to Easter, and all of them are already known.

[1] *160* [2] 226 [3] CAIL.[11] lv (= MAI clii)[10] [4] CAIL.[11] lvi (= MAI xxxviii)[11]
[5] 230 [6] *163* [7] 'Laetemur ergo dil.'[12] [8] *159* [9] MAI cliii (= 242)
[10] MAI xlii[13] [11] CAIL.[1] xxiv [12] 220

(34) MONTE CASSINO *104* (of the first half of the eleventh century)[14]: a third very complicated homiliary, in which the following items are placed together:—

[1] CAIL.[1] xxii [2] MAI xxxiv (= MOR. xii) [3] MAI xxxvi [4] MAI xxxvii[15]

[1] See above, § I 3.
[2] Published in the *Bibliotheca Casinensis: Florilegium* t. i (1873) p. 167.
[3] A patchwork with a new beginning and many additions.
[4] The first words only coincide with *157*. No. *9* has the same beginning.
[5] The § 1 coincides with *157*.
[6] A text mainly taken from the '*Tract. in Iohannem*', no. x, §§ 10–12.
[7] Published in the *Bibliotheca Casinensis*, *ib.* p. 168 sq. The beginning only coincides with sermon 240.
[8] Nos. *22* and *23* are also in the Agimundus collection, nos. *4* and *5* (above, § III 12).
[9] Only the first part.
[10] No. *3* of the Agimundus collection.
[11] No. *9* of the Agimundus collection.
[12] Published in the *Bibliotheca Casinensis*, *ib.* p. 132.
[13] No. *19* of the Agimundus collection.
[14] The manuscript of Madrid, Bibl. Nat. *B. 3* (of the xth c.) is another typical and interesting homiliary of Monte Cassino. The general framework is explained by Paul's collection. We have here nothing noticeable for Easter except CAIL.[1] xxii (= Leo App. ix: *P. L.* t. liv 497).
[15] Nos. *3* and *4* are also in the Agimundus collection nos. *6* and *7*.

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(35) WÜRZBURG *Mp. Th. fol. 28*: a typical Caesarian homiliary, made seemingly for Bishop Burchard in the eighth century. The Easter festival is provided with three sermons, which seem to be centos made by Caesarius himself.[1]

[1] 'Hodie fr. dil. nova lux' [2] *168* [3] 'Licet nobis omni tempore'[2]

(36) VIENNA *1556* (ninth century): another small homiliary connected more or less closely with the Caesarian collections. Such is also in the main the character of nearly all the following books. In mentioning them briefly, my only purpose is to illustrate in some measure the true traditional '*Appendix*'. It will be seen that only a few sermons are explicitly admitted as 'Augustinian'; for which belief Caesarius appears to be responsible to some extent.

[1] MAI cliv (= CAIL.[II] liii) [2] *158* [3] *168*

(37) ROME, Vatican *Barber. Lat. 671* (eighth century)[3]: with only one sermon for Easter, viz. for 'the vigil' according to the title, identical with MAI cliv just mentioned.

(38) WOLFENBÜTTEL *4183* (eighth century)[4]: with two paschal sermons, namely, the 'Hieronymian' sermon '*de immolatione agni*'[5] and the so-called Augustinian *160*.

(39) PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale *Lat. 12116*: a modern summary of the Caesarian homiliary (now lost) of Longpont,[6] giving again two paschal sermons, very probably Caesarian: *160* and *163*.[7]

(40) PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale *Lat. 10612*: a book of the ninth century (first half), written in the Tours script and probably reproducing a model of the eighth century, where one Easter sermon only was admitted—the most cherished *160*.

(41) PARIS, Sainte-Geneviève Library *127*: a homiliary for summer, nearly akin to the Compiègne homiliary,[8] in which the same sermon *160* has been added to the discourses chosen by Paul.[9]

[1] The supplementary part gives the Hieronymian '*Hodie populus Israhel*' (no. *34*); see above, § III 31 no. *1*.

[2] Edited by D. G. Morin *Revue Bénédictine* t. xiii (1896) p. 194 sq.

[3] From Settimo, see *ib.* t. xxvii (1910) p. 226.

[4] From Wissemburg (no. *99*). The writing is in the so-called Luxeuil script. See several reproductions of E. Zimmermann *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen* (1916) pl. 55–58.

[5] See again, § III 31 no. *1*.

[6] Fol. 147: cf. *Revue Bénédictine* t. xxvii (1910) p. 465 sq.

[7] Nos. *32* and *33* of the 'first Book'.

[8] See above, § III 29. I conjecture that the manuscript *127* may have come from Senlis.

[9] It is worth while to note that this book is not exactly the continuation of St Geneviève *135*, which also belongs to the twelfth century and corresponds indeed to the first part of Paul, but, as a whole, is of a different character.

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(42) Verona *lii* (*50*): an indeterminate small homiliary written about the year 800.[1] At any rate, there is behind the material copy some old model, probably a Caesarian book, which may have been moved to Italy early. Moreover, Alan may have used a similar collection, as nearly all the items are found again in his homiliary. Easter is represented by four sermons; two of them seem to be incomplete, while the others are familiar spurious texts.

[1] 'Verumtamen quia ab inferis' [2] *160*
[3] 'Adpraehensum autem Iudaei' [4] *168*

[1] Traube supposed a Burgundian provenance (cf. *Textgeschichte Reg. s. Benedicti*, 1910², p. 58 sq.); Prof. W. M. Lindsay would rather favour a local origin. The character of the collection suggests more readily an Italian background. But, of course, I should like to examine it before deciding.

TABLES

I. *The Benedictine series of authentic Easter sermons with indication of the main evidence.*

[In this table (and the following one) only the significant authorities are cited, in order to exhibit clearly the real background of the edition. Easy sigla have been adopted to indicate the more complete or continuous collections, and one column is assigned to each witness in this category. In the last column, for economy of space, I have put together diverse peculiar testimonies; these manuscripts are indicated by means of the number attached to each of them in the preceding section. The small figures accompanying sigla or big numbers correspond to the particular numbers given in the above descriptions, and thus shew the proper place of each sermon.]

[*Dd* = Dodo (§ II 1). *Rb* = Roberto de' Bardi (§ II 2). *Al* = Alan (§ II 3). *All* = 'Alleluia' (§ III 3). *Am* = Agimundus (§ III 12). *Di* = M. Denis (§ III 9). *Fl* = Orleans-Fleury 154 (§ III 7). *Gu* = Wolfenbüttel (§ III 11). *Ro* = Vatic. 4951, from Rochester (§ III 13). *Va* = Vatic. 480 (§ III 2). *Vi* = Vitry (§ III 1).]

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I. The Benedictine series of authentic Easter sermons with indication of the main evidence.

CCXIX . . . . . Beatus Paulus apostolus	..	Rb^{3}	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Va^{1}	Vi^{1}	..
CCXX . . . . . Scimus fr. et fide	..	Rb^{4}	..	..	Am^{1}	..	..	..	..	Va^{2}	Vi^{2}	$22^{4}.33^{12}$
CCXXI . . . . . [Dicendum est cur] * Quoniam dns	..	Rb^{5*}	..	..	..	..	..	Gu^{2}	..	Va^{3*}	Vi^{3*}	..
CCXXII . . . . . Cum uos d. ad uigilandum	..	Rb^{6}	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Va^{4}	Vi^{4}	..
CCXXIII . . . . . In libro qui appellatur	..	Rb^{7}	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Va^{5}	Vi^{5}	..
CCXXIV . . . . Hodierno die [Ad omnes quidem]	Dd^{38}	..	..	..	..	..	..	Gu^{32}	Ro^{27}	..	..	..
CCXXV . . . . . Commendat nobis	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(Gu^{4})	Ro^{31}	..	..	..
CCXXVI . . . . . Sicut audistis	..	Rb^{8}	..	..	Am^{8}	Di^{7}	..	Gu^{10}	Ro^{30}	Va^{6}	Vi^{6}	$4^{17}.33^{2}$
CCXXVII . . . . . Memor sum promissionis	..	..	..	..	..	..	Fl^{3}	..	..	Va^{7}	Vi^{7}	..
CCXXVIII . . . . . Post laborem noctis	..	Rb^{15}	..	..	..	Di^{3}	..	Gu^{5}	Ro^{24}	..	..	..
CCXXIX . . . . . [Hoc quod uidetis]	..	..	..	..	..	Di^{8}	..	Gu^{9}	..	..	..	..
CCXXX . . . . . Hic est dies [Sicut domino]	..	$Rb^{14,41}$	..	..	Am^{10}	Di^{18}	..	Gu^{4}	Ro^{21}	Va^{20}	Vi^{32}	16.33^{5}
CCXXXI . . . . Resurrectio dni . . . ex more	Dd^{10}	Rb^{13}	..	..	..	..	Fl^{4}	..	..	Va^{9}	Vi^{12}	..

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CCXXXII Resurrectio dni . . . et hodie	*Dd*[13]	*Rb*[29]	..	..	..	..	*Fl*[5]	..	..	*Va*[12]	*Vi*[17]	..
CCXXXIII Audistis lectionem	..	*Rb*[12]	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*Va*[8]	*Vi*[11]	*8*[1]. *31*[7]
CCXXXIV Resurrectio dni secundum omnes	..	*Rb*[30]	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	*Va*[13]	*Vi*[18]	*8*[2]
CCXXXV Hesterno die	*Dd*[9]	*Rb*[31]	..	..	*Am*[13]	..	..	..	*Ro*[22]	..	*Vi*[19]	..
CCXXXVI Dns n. I. Chr. sicut apostolus	..	*Rb*[32]	..	..	*Am*[14]	..	..	..	*Ro*[23]	..	*Vi*[20]	*32*[20]
CCXXXVII De resurrectione domini	*Dd*[14]	*Rb*[35]	..	..	..	..	*Fl*[6]	..	..	*Va*[15]	*Vi*[22]	..
CCXXXVIII [Sic sacra perennisque] Hodierna lectio commendat	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*Gu*[19]	..	..	..	*26*[6]
CCXXXIX Hodierno die ecce iam	*Dd*[15]	..	..	..	..	*Di*[13]	..	..	..	..	..	..
CCXL Per hos dies	*Dd*[8]	*Rb*[27]	..	*Al*[6]	..	..	..	..	*Ro*[10]	*Va*[10]	*Vi*[13]	*4*[9]. *5*[8]. *25*[6]
CCXLI Propria fides	*Dd*[12]	*Rb*[28]	..	*Al*[8]	..	..	..	..	*Ro*[11]	*Va*[11]	*Vi*[16]	*4*[10]. *5*[9]. *25*[4]
CCXLII Diebus his sanctis [Quantum domino]	*Dd*[16, 27]	*Rb*[33]	*Al*[15]	*Al*[4]	..	..	..	*Gu*[20]	*Ro*[12]	*Va*[16]	*Vi*[23]	*4*[16]. *5*[10]. *14*[4]. *25*[5] *27*[6]. *33*[9]
CCXLIII Narratio resurrectionis	*Dd*[21]	*Rb*[40]	*Al*[11]	*Al*[7]	..	..	..	*Gu*[23]	*Ro*[15]	*Va*[17]	*Vi*[26]	*4*[12]. *5*[13]. *14*[5]. *25*[7]. *26*[9]
CCXLIV Ex euangelio secundum Ioh.	..	*Rb*[38]	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*Va*[19]	*Vi*[28]	*8*[4]
CCXLV Et hodie resurrectio dni	*Dd*[24]	..	..	..	..	*Di*[15]	..	..	..	..	..	..

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I. The Benedictine series of authentic Easter sermons with indication of the main evidence (continued).

CCXLVI Multis modis	..	Rb^{37}	..	..	..	..	Fl^{1}	..	..	Va^{18}	Vi^{27}	..	
CCXLVII Resurrectio dni . . . secundum ueritatem	..	..	..	..	..	Di^{19}	..	..	..	..	..	..	
CCXLVIII Et hodie lectio recitata	Dd^{17}	..	..	..	..	Di^{14}	..	..	..	..	..	..	
CCXLIX Audiuimus euangelium	..	Rb^{45}	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Va^{22}	Vi^{35}	8^{5}	
CCL Dns Iesus infirma mundi	..	Rb^{46}	..	.	..	..	Fl^{8}	..	..	Va^{23}	Vi^{36}	..	
CCLI Liberatoris nostri	..	Rb^{39}	Al^{9}	All^{5}	..	.	..	Gu^{26}	Ro^{14}	Va^{24}	Vi^{37}	4^{13}. 5^{12}. 25^{10}. 26^{7}.	
CCLII Multis et variis	..	Rb^{36}	..	All^{13}	..	..	..	..	Ro^{13}	..	..	5^{11}. 25^{9}	
CCLIII Euangelium sancti Iohannis [Hodie terminatum]	Dd^{18}	Rb^{47}	..	..	..	..	Fl^{9}	..	..	Va^{25}	..	..	
CCLIV Sic se habet	Dd^{20}	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14^{2}. 15	
CCLV Quoniam uoluit	..	..	..	All^{1}	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	25^{8}	
CCLVI Quoniam placuit	..	Rb^{42}	..	..	Am^{15}	..	..	..	Ro^{36}	Va^{21}	Vi^{33}	32^{18}	
CCLVII Quod hebraica	..	..	..	..	..	..	Fl^{10}	..	..	..	..	..	
CCLVIII Quod cantauimus	..	..	..	..	..	..	Fl^{11}	..	..	..	..	..	
CCLIX Hodiernus dies	..	Rb^{16}	..	..	..	..	..	..	Ro^{46}	..	..	(32^{27})	
CCLX Ne moras facimus	..	Rb^{48}	..	All^{10}	..	..	..	Gu^{33}	Ro^{42}	..	..	4^{16}. 5^{17}	

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[It has seemed convenient to retain only sigla for Dodo, Roberto, Alan, and Rochester collections; for the other large collections have but a very few '*Appendix*' items; namely, Agimundus and Fleury collections (nos. *12* and *7* respectively).]

CLVII . . . . Multa sunt et magna	*Dd*[3]	..	..	..	(*32*[9])
CLVIII . . . . Peracta passione	*Dd*[1]	..	..	..	*7*[1]. *28*[1]. *32*[8]. *36*[2]
CLIX . . . . Non queo f. c. quod mente	*Dd*[5]	*Rb*[21]	*Al*[5]	*Ro*[6]	*5*[4]. *25*[2]. *26*[1]. *28*[2]. *29*[2]. *30*[2]. (*31*[2].) *33*[8]
CLX . . . . Passionem uel resurrectionem	*Dd*[6]	*Rb*[1,18]	*Al*[2]	*Ro*[1]	*5*[1]. *27*[7]. *28*[4]. *29*[1]. *31*[3]. *33*[1]. *38*[2]. *39*[1]. *40*. *42*[2]
CLXI . . . . Digne f. c. piis studiis	*Dd*[25]	*Rb*[49]	*Al*[12]	*Ro*[43]	*5*[18]. *26*[10]
CLXII . . . . Retinet sanctitas uestra	*Dd*[30]	..	*Al*[13]	..	*26*[11]
CLXIII . . . . Gaudete f. c. quia redemptionis	*Dd*[7]	*Rb*[22]	*Al*[6]	*Ro*[7]	*5*[5]. *25*[3]. *35*[6]. *39*[2]
CLXIV . . . . Agnus ille legalis	*Dd*[19]	..	..	..	[Max. S. xxx: cf. *P. L.* clvii 594]
CLXV . . . . Sacramentum d. dominicae	*Dd*[22]	..	..	..	
CLXVI . . . . Salutis humanae f. c.	*Dd*[11]	..	..	..	
CLXVII . . . . Deus misericordiae	*Dd*[25]	..	..	..	
CLXVIII . . . . Pascha Christi f. d.	*Dd*[32]	*Rb*[23]	*Al*[7]	*Ro*[8]	*5*[6]. *26*[2]. *27*[4]. *28*[6]. *30*[3]. *35*[2]. *36*[3]. *42*[4]
CLXIX . . . . Lectio euangelica f. c. quae nuper	*Dd*[28]	..	..	..	
CLXX . . . . In horto uoluptatis	..	*Rb*[44]	..	..	*5*[14]
CLXXI . . . . Certissima est fiducia	*Dd*[31]	..	..	..	[Odilo abb. Clun. S. v.: cf. *P. L.* cxlii 1004]
CLXXII . . . . Paschalis solemnitas	*Dd*[26]	*Rb*[52]	*Al*[14]	*Ro*[44]	*5*[19]. *12*[18]. *30*[5]

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III. A list of the manuscripts quoted.

Amiens 144.
Arras 452.
Avranches 68.
Berlin Ham. 56; Phil. 1676, 1677; Theol. fol. 155, 270.
Brussels 14920–14922, 10615–10729.
Cambrai 365, 567.
Cambridge St John's C. 21; Univ. L. Add. 3479.
Charleville 202 (xii).
Chartres 42, 73, 112, 129, 163, 507.
Cheltenham 8400.
Dijon 163.
Einsiedeln 143.
London B. M. Add. 17292, 29972; Harl. 4091.
Lyons 472.
Madrid B. N. B. 3.
Monte Cassino 11, 12, 17, 104.
Montpellier Univ. 59, 152.
Munich 4547, 4564, 14368.
Orleans 145, 154, 155, 196.
Paris, Arsenal 239, 470, 471, 505, 586.
Paris, B.N. 2013, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2030, 2031, 2032, 9427, 10612, 11641, 12116, 12202, 12203, 12405, 16819; N. Acq. 1436, 1598, 1599, 2178, 2322, 2335.
Paris, Ste-Geneviève 127, 135.
Petrograd Q. v. I. 24.
Rheims 296.
Rome, Vatican: Barb. 671; Ottob. 975–978; Palat. 210; Vatic. 474, 479, 480; 3835–3836, 4951, 5758; Vrbin. 77.
St Mihiel 20.
Tours 279.
Troyes 40^{10}, 154, 188, 567, 653, 853.
Valenciennes 517.
Vendôme 42.
Verona lii (50).
Vienna 651, 1556.
Vitry-le-François 3.
Wolfenbüttel 4096, 4183.
Würzburg Mp. Th. fol. 28.

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NOTES AND STUDIES

A TEXTUAL COMMENTARY ON MARK I.

FOR something like forty years I have been interested in the problem of the textual criticism of the New Testament: and for the last seven years I have been devoting special attention to the Gospel according to St Mark, its exegesis, its relation to the other two Synoptic Gospels, and its text. As to the exegesis I am contributing the section on St Mark to a brief commentary on the whole Bible which may, I hope, appear before the end of 1927. But that commentary is confined to the English version, and, as regards any questions of the text, can only deal with them indirectly and incompletely. I am therefore venturing to put before the readers of this JOURNAL a specimen, covering only the first chapter, of what I should like to do for the text of the Gospel as a whole. The specimen is purely tentative; my object has been to comment on all readings that are important in themselves and on any readings where the text that I have constructed differs from the critical texts in use. I have cited regularly the readings of Westcott and Hort, as the edition of the Greek Testament which (in my view) at present holds the field, and frequently, but not exhaustively, the readings of Tischendorf, which are also the readings of Huck's *Synopsis*. But in order to concentrate attention on the things that seem to me really salient, and to find room for discussion and explanation of variant readings, I have had to limit myself in the list of authorities cited to those only that are the oldest and the most important. In any such selection some personal and subjective element must come into play, and the choice may here and there seem arbitrary. Naturally my ruling idea has been to give prominence to those authorities or groups of authorities in which, according to my judgement, a strain of early tradition may be looked for, especially where it may be argued that insufficient attention has been given to that evidence in the critical editions of the past.

Put in other words, this means that, in company with a good many scholars of our day, I should hold that the chief defect in Westcott and Hort's great work lay in their comparative neglect of what is called the Western text.[1] In so far as their purpose was to put the coping-stone to the achievement of the long and slow process of the replacing of the Received Text by a text based wholly on 'pre-Syrian' testimony,

[1] I say 'comparative neglect', because it is well known that, however timidly, they did give the preference to a number of omissions, especially towards the end of St Luke, guaranteed only by D and Old Latin MSS.

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I should have no quarrel with them; nor should I entirely differ from them in their estimate of the individual excellence of the codex Vaticanus, B. But I cannot resist the conclusion that convergent proof from different quarters and of different sorts does compel us to lay very much more weight than they did on the evidence of 'Western' authorities. And here one is naturally faced at once with the question what exactly one means by 'Western'. For as first used in the eighteenth century the word meant just what it said: it was a symbol to represent the evidence of those MSS and writers, whether Greek or Latin, that belonged to the Western half of the Roman Empire. But in the course of the nineteenth century witnesses to a Western type of text—to a text at any rate that had as marked agreements with strictly Western authorities as with Alexandrian or Neutral authorities—began to be detected in an ever-increasing number in the East. In Syria, if the *Diatessaron* of Tatian derives its Western character from the fact that its Greek original was composed in Rome, the Old Syriac 'Separate' Gospels must have been rendered from a local Greek text. In north-eastern Asia Minor the late uncial codex Θ testifies to the survival in remote corners of a pre-Byzantine, more or less 'Western' text, some centuries after the Lucianic or Byzantine text had come into official use at Antioch and Constantinople. And Dr Streeter, following out indications given by Prof. Lake, would combine the evidence of Θ with the evidence of various important cursives such as the Ferrar group (13–69–124–346 etc.) and the MSS 565 and 700, and would refer this whole branch of the tradition to an original home in Caesarea and Palestine. Finally, Egypt itself, the one district which provides the whole evidence for Hort's Neutral text, does not speak in this respect with a consentient voice. There are divergent witnesses: 'Western' elements can perhaps be detected in the earliest vernacular version of Egypt, the Sahidic, and more markedly in the newly discovered Freer MS of the Gospels (W) and also, as Prof. Burkitt shewed, in Clement of Alexandria.

Now if all these types of so-called Western text are united against the Alexandrian or Neutral text, it is obvious that, whether we regard its age or its wide diffusion, it makes a very strong claim for consideration, and a claim that is stronger now, owing to fresh discoveries, than it was in the days of Dr Hort. But to speak in this sense of a Western text seems to me now so entirely misleading that I prefer to revert to Griesbach's usage, and mean by Western the authorities that are Western geographically. If the word is used in the other and wider sense, it is better to be careful to put it into inverted commas as 'Western': it is better still, I think, to drop 'Western' in this sense as far as possible, and to group these types of text, whether Western or Eastern, under the common heading 'unrevised'. Such a heading

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admittedly implies a contrast with a type of text that is revised, and I feel no doubt that the text contained in the codex Vaticanus is the fruit of a revision—a revision very carefully and very skilfully done, so that B stands out as our best witness to the text of the Gospels, but a revision for all that.

But since B may be said, since the publication of Westcott and Hort's edition in 1881, to hold the field, some brief summary must be given *in limine* of the sort of reasons which seem to me to qualify its sureness as a guide, and to reduce it to a lower pedestal than that on which Hort placed it. If B is, as I think it is, a product of the highest kind of Alexandrine scholarship, we have to begin by asking ourselves on what lines Alexandrine criticism was accustomed to treat classical authors. And among classical authors Homer is for our purpose supreme, because Homer presents the nearest parallel, in the temper of veneration with which his writings were approached, to the Bible of Christians. This temper almost inevitably led to 'recension', to the omission for instance of anything that seemed ἀπρεπές or ἀπίθανον. Do we not see just the same temper at work in Mc. i 41 when ὀργισθείς is replaced by σπλαγχνισθείς, in Mc. xv 34, where ὠνείδισας has made way for ἐγκατέλιπες, or again, to cite a case where Bℵ stand alone save for a small handful of cursives, in vii 4, the emendation of βαπτίσωνται—as being consecrated in Christian usage to the sacrament of Baptism—into ῥαντίσωνται. Once more, Alexandrian scribes or editors, with a great inheritance of Greek culture to live up to, were under a strong temptation to correct even an evangelist (to them it would seem the corrupted text of an evangelist) into accord with Greek grammar and literary usage: in viii 2 ἡμέραι τρεῖς προσμένουσίν μοι is emended into ἡμέραις τρισίν, in viii 3 ἥκασιν is turned into εἰσίν, in ix 8 οὐδένα εἶδον ἀλλά becomes (with Matthew) οὐδένα εἶδον εἰ μή, while the preposition εἰς, which Mark frequently uses for ἐν, is regularized by the insertion of εἰσελθεῖν or the like, as in Mc. i 21, viii 26. Less common, but still worthy of notice, are the indications that alternative readings with an introductory ἤ had been jotted down by some scholar in the margin of some early Alexandrian ancestor of B (and other MSS), and in the next copy incorporated in the text, e.g. Lc. x 41 ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία ἢ ἑνός, Lc. xii 47 καὶ μὴ ἑτοιμάσας ἢ ποιήσας. And finally the tradition represented by B is unfortunately not quite exempt from the temptation to supplement one Gospel from another, or to assimilate it to another even by a process of omission. Mark is perhaps the Gospel which has suffered most in this way: compare the additions in i 34 χριστὸν εἶναι (from Lc. iv 41), or in iii 14 οὓς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὠνόμασεν (from Lc. vi 13), and the omission in x 19 of μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς (in accord with Mt. xix 18, Lc xviii 20).

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As to the date and place of origin of B, Dr Ropes in his new edition of the Acts (*The Beginnings of Christianity*, Part III) has drawn out very persuasively, following Rahlfs, the arguments which bring it into relation with St Athanasius: and as it is quite certain that so sumptuous a MS can only have been written for a great person or a great church, I am disposed to regard with favour the conjecture which identifies it with a copy prepared under Athanasius about A. D. 340 for the emperor Constans.

Similar considerations convince me that codex ℵ, a no less sumptuous MS, must also have been written with some similar purpose: and I want to ventilate the hypothesis—I do not propound it as more than a hypothesis—that its origin should be brought into connexion with the known activity (twice mentioned by Jerome) of the bishops Acacius and Euzoius of Caesarea, about the middle of the fourth century, in causing the worn out papyri of the famous library of their church to be copied on the more durable material of vellum. If it is objected that the text of ℵ is of an Alexandrian type rather than of the type which Dr Streeter has adduced reasons for calling Caesarean, I should meet the point by asking further whether ℵ may not have been, in part or in whole, transcribed from the papyrus rolls which Origen, rather more than a century earlier, may be presumed to have brought with him when he left Egypt to settle in Palestine. I cannot pretend to have made more examination of the available material than covers the first twenty-four verses of Mc. i: but in these verses there are seven significant readings where Origen *in Jo.* sides with ℵ against B, and the first of them is the highly important omission of υἱοῦ θεοῦ in Mc. i 1, where ℵ Origen stand nearly alone. There is here at least, I am sure, a case for inquiry. And I cannot think it open to question that Jerome had had access to ℵ before he published his edition of the Vulgate Gospels.

But something must also be said, however briefly, in support of the stress which it seems to me should be laid on the evidence of D and of the best of the Old Latin MSS. When D stands alone, it cannot indeed be safely trusted as a guide: but the case is different when it has the support of any one of the three leading Old Latins, cod. Bobiensis (*k*), cod. Palatinus (*e*), or cod. Vercellensis (*a*). I will not attempt on this occasion to do more than enumerate three objective tests which, as I think, combine to recommend these authorities to our close attention.

(i) The use of *Nomina Sacra*. Of Greek MSS D comes next to B in its sparing use of any but the four universal abbreviations of θεός, κύριος, Ἰησοῦς, Χριστός. Of Latin MSS *k* stands alone in never abbreviating the word which was first added to these four, namely πνεῦμα = spiritus: one hand of B is the only parallel to this

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(ii) The supposed agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark in those parts of their Gospels which are taken from Mark: by 'agreements' in this sense is meant of course agreements in changes which do not look as though Mt. and Lc. would have hit on them independently. In comparison with Tischendorf's edition, Westcott and Hort by help of B had already removed a certain number of these, e. g. Mc. ii 9 *ἆρον τὸν κράβαττόν σου καὶ ὕπαγε* Tischendorf, where Mt. and Lc. for *ὕπαγε* have *περιπάτει*, and W-H read *περιπάτει* also in Mc. with A B C *b c e*: *περιπατεῖν* is a specially Marcan word. But on Western evidence (and as often without D as with it) we can take a long step further in abolishing other supposed agreements: four instances will illustrate this, Mc. vi 43, ix 19, xii 8, xiv 72. (1) In vi 43 Mt. Lc. and Jo. all appear to agree against Mc. in giving some form of the verb *περισσεύω*, while the editors give in Mc. *ἦραν κλάσματα* [or *κλασμάτων*] *δώδεκα κοφίνων πληρώματα*. But *a ff i* [neither *e* nor *k* is here extant] have 'reliquias fragmentorum', with 33 *τὰ περισσεύματα*. Read *ἦραν* [*περισσεύματα*] *κλασμάτων* and all is clear: a line was lost in a very early copy, not so early however but that the archetype of the oldest Latin version had escaped the loss. (2) In ix 19 Mc. has *ὦ γενεὰ ἄπιστος*, the parallels in Mt. and Lc. are printed as *ὦ γενεὰ ἄπιστος καὶ διεστραμμένη*, and it would be in the highest degree unlikely that Mt. and Lc. had independently added the second adjective from Deut. xxxii 5. But then we find that in Lc. it is omitted by Marcion (on the testimony of both Tertullian and Epiphanius), by *a* and by *e*. Once more Western witnesses solve the difficulty for us. (3) In Mc. xii 8 *ἀπέκτειναν καὶ ἐξέβαλον*, the heir is murdered in the vineyard and the body thrown outside: in our texts of Mt. and Lc. the two verbs are inverted, and the heir is first ejected and then killed. But in Mt. xxi 39 we ought to replace *ἀπέκτειναν καὶ ἐξέβαλον* on the testimony of D Θ *a b c e ff h* Iren. Lucif. (4) For Mc. xiv 72 *ἐπιβαλὼν ἔκλαιεν* the other Synoptists are edited as giving *ἐξελθὼν ἔξω ἔκλαυσεν πικρῶς*. But the phrase in Lc. (xxii 62) is omitted by *a b e ff i l** and is bracketed by W-H. Omit it as an interpolation from Mt., and once more all is plain sailing.

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TEXT OF MARK 1.

[1] ΑΡΧΗ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Υἱοῦ Θεοῦ [2](καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ

Ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδόν σου·

[3] φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ

Ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν Κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους [αὐτοῦ])

[4] ἐγένετο Ἰωάνης ὁ βαπτίζων, ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. [5] καὶ ἐξεπορεύετο πρὸς αὐτὸν πᾶσα ἡ Ἰουδαία χώρα καὶ οἱ

3. [τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν]

1–4. Ἀρχὴ . . . ἁμαρτιῶν: to be constructed, with Origen, Basil, and Victor of Antioch, as a single sentence, verses 2 and 3 being parenthetical. See *J. T. S.*, Jan. 1925 (xxvi 146). Υἱοῦ Θεοῦ: omitted by ℵ* Θ, two cursives and some patristic quotations. But these quotations are in all cases directed to the comparison of the different openings of the four Gospels, in particular to their appropriateness to the respective evangelic symbols: and with this view they tend to omit as much intervening matter as possible. Thus Irenaeus, to whom Mark is the eagle of the four, finds the point of appropriateness in the prophetic afflatus from on high, and hurries on to the prophetic reference: Victorinus, making Mark the lion, omits not only 'Son of God' but also the quotation from Malachi, in order to put the 'vox clamantis in deserto' as near the forefront as possible: the words *υἱοῦ θεοῦ*, not conferring anything to the purpose of either father, are simply dropped. To conclude that the words did not stand in their copies of the Gospel would not be warranted: Irenaeus in fact twice gives the words in other citations. Origen indeed stands in another category, for as he omits the words five times it must be presumed that they were absent from his text: but in view of his close relation to ℵ we have in ℵ Origen really not two witnesses to deal with but only one. And it is (against Tischendorf and W-H text) infinitely more probable that in two early authorities $\overline{\text{ΙΥ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΘΥ}}$ had dropped out after $\overline{\text{ΙΥ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΧΥ}}$ than that the majority of good texts (including B D) are wrong in retaining words which correspond so entirely to the contents of the Gospel (cf. i 11, iii 11, viii 38, ix 7, xii 6, xiv 61, xv 39). 2. *ἀποστέλλω* (without *ἐγώ*) B D Θ 28 latt. Iren. W-H: *praem.* *ἐγώ* ℵ W most Greek MSS Orig. *ἐγώ* is an assimilation to Mt. iii 10 and Mal. iii 1 (ℵ^{c} A Q Γ). 3. *αὐτοῦ*: *τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν* D Old Latins and apparently Iren. This may be, and perhaps is, an assimilation to Isa. xl 3, but the alternative that *αὐτοῦ* is an assimilation to the parallels in Mt. Lc. cannot be quite excluded. 4. Ἰωάνης: here and in verses 6, 9, B only; see below on verse 29 (B D). *ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ κηρύσσων* B 33 W-H: *praem.* *καὶ ante κηρύσσων* Tisch. with the other MSS. A good example of the excellence of B: scribes did not realize that in Mark's usage (vi 14, 24) *ὁ βαπτίζων* meant 'the Baptist', for they were only familiar with *ὁ βαπτιστής*. So they regarded *βαπτίζων* and *κηρύσσων* as two participles in the same construction 'John who was baptizing and preaching', and connected them with *καί*. They forgot that, strictly speaking, it was the preaching that was done 'in the wilderness'; the baptizing was 'in the river Jordan', verse 5.

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Ἱεροσολυμεῖται πάντες, καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ ἐξομολογούμενοι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν. [6] καὶ ἦν ὁ Ἰωάνης ἐνδεδυμένος ⌈δέρριν⌉ καμήλου ⊤καὶ ἔσθων ἀκρίδας καὶ μέλι ἄγριον.

[7] Καὶ ἐκήρυσσεν λέγων Ἔρχεται ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου ὀπίσω [μου], οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς κύψας λῦσαι τὸν ἱμάντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ· [8] ἐγὼ ἐβάπτισα ὑμᾶς ὕδατι, αὐτὸς δὲ βαπτίσει ὑμᾶς πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.

[9] Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἦλθεν ⊤Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ Ναζαρὲτ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ὑπὸ Ἰωάνου· [10] καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναβαίνων ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος εἶδεν σχιζομένους τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ὡς περιστερὰν καταβαῖνον εἰς αὐτόν· [11] καὶ φωνὴ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν

6. ⌈τρίχας⌉ ⊤καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ 9. ⊤ὁ

6. *δέρριν* D (δερρην) *a* (pellem) : *τρίχας* (Tisch. W-H) the rest (*def. e* to i 20). It is so difficult to account for *δέρρις*—a rare word, meaning 'skin' of an animal—that the agreement of D (not *d*) with *a* claims for it more than a place in the margin. Assimilation to Mt. *ἀπὸ τριχῶν καμήλου* would account for supersession of a rare, probably vulgar, word by the more familiar word of the more familiar Gospel. Moulton and Milligan *Vocabulary* s.v. *δέρρις* assert that in the 'Western text' here *δέρρις* 'has been transferred from Zech. xiii 4' *ἐνδύσονται δέρριν τριχίνην ἀνθ' ὧν ἐψεύσαντο*—which is surely very improbable—and quote Hesychius *δέρρεις· τὸ παχὺ ὕφασμα, ᾧ εἰς παραπέτασμα* [= a hanging] *ἐχρῶντο*. It is a not unlikely word for Mark, and I suspect that it is genuine. *καμήλου* D *a b d ff*[1] *t* : *add. καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ* the rest, with Tisch. W-H. I have treated the shorter reading as a 'Western non-interpolation', because it is not unlikely in itself that Mt. (iii 4) should have supplemented Mark's description by drawing from the description of Elijah, the Baptist's prototype, in 4 Reg. i 8 the words *καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην* [*περιεζωσμένος*] *τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ*, and that scribes should have assimilated Mark's text to Mt. Mark depends less on O.T. language than the other Synoptists. In Mt. *ζώνην* has a proper construction (*εἶχεν*), and so too in Apoc. i 13 (*περιεζωσμένον*). 7. *μου* : *om.* B Orig., a much stronger combination than ℵ Orig., and I have (though with much doubt) followed W-H against Tisch. in bracketing the word. 8. *ὕδατι . . . πνεύματι ἁγίῳ* B vg W-H. A variation where the other Synoptic texts are bound to have had influence on the scribes of Mark : Mt. gives *ἐν ὕδατι . . . ἐν πνεύματι* without variant (and cf. Jo. i 26, 31, 33), Luke *ὕδατι . . . ἐν πνεύματι* practically without variant (so Acts i 5, xi 16, and this must be definitely taken as the Lucan usage), and in view of the wide divergence of the witnesses in Mark, a reading like *ὕδατι . . . πνεύματι*, unsupported elsewhere in N.T., has strong claims.

9. *Ἰησοῦς* Tisch. W-H : I have given *ὁ Ἰησοῦς* (D Δ Θ etc.) a place in the margin, because, just as we have in verse 6 *ὁ Ἰωάνης*, so it seems natural to expect the article here. And *ὁ Ἰησοῦς* seems to be Mark's usage : cf. i 14, i 17, i 25, ii 17, ii 19, etc. 11. *φωνή*, without verb (W-H margin Tisch.) ℵ* D *ff*[1] *t* ; *φωνὴ . . . ἠκούσθη* Θ 28 is evidence on the same side, as also Mt.'s *φωνὴ . . . λέγουσα* : *add. ἐγένετο* ℵ[c] A B L W sah etc. W-H text, but the verb has probably come from Luke iii 22 *φωνὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γενέσθαι*. In the corresponding episode at the Transfiguration the textual phenomena are much the same : Mt. as here *φωνὴ . . . λέγουσα*, Luke apparently *φωνὴ ἐγένετο . . . λέγουσα*, Mark (ix 7) *ἐγένετο φωνή* ℵ B C L Δ, *ἦλθεν φωνή* A D Θ and most Old Latins with syr-sin, *φωνή* alone W *fam.* 1 and *k* : the rival verbs in Mark, with

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Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός· ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα.
12 καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτὸν ἐκβάλλει εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, 13 καὶ ἦν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρας πειραζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ· καὶ ἦν μετὰ τῶν θηρίων, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι διηκόνουν αὐτῷ.

14 [ΜΕΤΑ ΔΕ] τὸ παραδοθῆναι τὸν Ἰωάνην ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον [τῆς βασιλείας] τοῦ θεοῦ, 15 [λέγων ὅτι
Πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ·
μετανοεῖτε καὶ πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ.

14. [καὶ μετὰ] 15. [καὶ

the omission of verb in Mt., seem to me to point to omission (evidenced by three good authorities) as right in Mark. ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός: I have printed these words without comma after μου (against Swete), and in quotation type (against W-H), because I believe that they are an echo of Gen. xxii 2 λάβε τὸν υἱόν σου τὸν ἀγαπητόν, 12, 16, οὐκ ἐφείσω τοῦ υἱοῦ σου τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ δι' ἐμέ, and that the meaning of ἀγαπητός in connexion with υἱός is the same here as there, namely not 'beloved' but 'only'. St Paul also gave a Christian application to the passage in Genesis, and also interpreted ἀγαπητός as 'his own son', Rom. viii 32 τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο (where the verb seems decisive of the reference to Gen. xxii 12, 16). See the discussion of the phrase in *J. T. S.* xxvii (Jan. 1926), especially the passages of Ath. *Or. c. Ar.* iv 24, 29, loc. cit. p. 126, where the equivalence of τὸ μονογενές and τὸ ἀγαπητόν is emphasized: the idiom was unfamiliar in Athanasius's day, but he appeals to pagan scholars Ἕλληνες ἴσασιν οἱ δεινοὶ περὶ τὰς λέξεις.

14. Μετὰ δέ ℵ A L Δ Θ W, most O.L. MSS and vg, Tisch.: Καὶ μετά B D (not *d*) *a* syr-sin W-H—so good a combination that one relegates it to the margin with diffidence. As we know, St Mark's normal way of commencing a new paragraph is with καί, while the other Synoptists, Luke especially, prefer δέ: what are we to say when the authorities in Mark are divided? Let us look at the other instances where a paragraph begins with δέ. They are (if we except xv 16, where I am sure a smaller division than a paragraph should be made) only three in number in W-H, vii 24, x 32, xiv 1, and they are each significant of a great break in the story. At vii 24 our Lord passes for the first time outside the confines of Palestine: at x 32 Jerusalem is for the first time mentioned as the objective of our Lord's movements: at xiv 1 the Ministry is over, and the Passion story commences. Is there any similar emphasis at i 14? W-H imply that there is not, for they print the first words of verse 9 in capitals, and make no break beyond an ordinary paragraph at verse 14. If καί is right, their arrangement may be right, though in that case καί must be wrong (and B right to omit it) in verse 9. But I cannot think that this absence of break at verse 14 corresponds with the intention of the Evangelist: I think the commencement of the Ministry must have been marked by him as a crucial moment, while on the other hand the previous verses belong to the Preparation. John the Baptist was but a precursor: he pointed to one who was to follow, and his baptism of the Christ was the culmination of his work, after which he passes out of the story. So though there is a break between verses 8 and 9, there is also still a connexion between John and Jesus: and the greater break comes when the Preparation is complete, and the Ministry of John is succeeded by the Ministry of Christ. Moreover this is the commencement of Peter's continuous story as an eye-witness. On internal grounds then I prefer δέ in verse 14. τὴν

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16 Καὶ παράγων παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἶδεν Σίμωνα καὶ Ἀνδρέαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Σίμωνος ἀμφιβάλλοντας ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ (ἦσαν γὰρ ἁλεεῖς), 17 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς Δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου· καὶ ποιήσω ὑμᾶς γενέσθαι ἁλεεῖς ἀνθρώπων. 18 καὶ ⌜εὐθὺς⌝ ἀφέντες τὰ δίκτυα ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ. 19 καὶ προβὰς ὀλίγον εἶδεν Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου καὶ Ἰωάνην τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καταρτίζοντας τὰ δίκτυα· 20 καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκάλεσεν αὐτούς, καὶ ἀφέντες τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν Ζεβεδαῖον ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ μετὰ τῶν μισθωτῶν ἀπῆλθον ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ. 21 καὶ εἰσπορεύονται εἰς Καφαρναούμ.

Καὶ εὐθὺς τοῖς σάββασιν ἐδίδασκεν εἰς τὴν συναγωγήν· 22 καὶ ἐξεπλήσ-

18. ⌜εὐθέως⌝

βασιλείας A D W Γ *a r* vg : *om.* ℵ B L Θ 1 28 33 *b ff t* syr-sin sah Orig. Tisch. W-H. External evidence is no doubt stronger for omission : internal evidence tells the other way, for τὸ εὐαγγέλιον is a favourite phrase of Mark's, and as a rule absolutely 'the good news'. In i 1 τοῦ εὐ. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ means 'the good news of', i. e. about, 'Jesus Christ' : he is in fact the good news. You could therefore say 'the good news of the kingdom', i. e. the establishment by Jesus Christ of the Kingdom of God upon earth : but it is difficult to see that 'the good news about God' is a natural phrase. On the whole I think it probable that a line ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ— 11 or 12 letters are the size of a line in a papyrus roll of the primitive Gospel type —dropped out of a very early copy. We should then have in the Evangelist's summary the two phrases which he immediately repeats in our Lord's own words, the 'kingdom of God' and the 'good news', i. e. of the coming of the Kingdom. 15. λέγων ℵ[a] A D *a b ff r t* sah : καὶ λέγων B L W Θ W-H text : *om.* ℵ* *c* syr-sin Orig. Tisch. W-H marg. Omission can appeal to evidence in i 25 ℵ* A*, i 27 *e*, ii 12 B W *b* : but the more or less pleonastic ὅτι is thoroughly characteristic of Mark's style, and is always preceded by a verb like λέγων (see *J. T. S.*, Oct. 1926, xxviii 9–15). The real question is the genuineness of καί. There is a parallel in i 40 παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ γονυπετῶν, [καὶ] λέγων : and in both cases it is perhaps easier to understand the insertion of καί than its omission.

18. εὐθύς. On this occasion the evidence for εὐθύς (against εὐθέως) drops to its lowest : ℵ L 33 (add here Θ) are the only constant quantities. The critical texts assume, probably with justice, that εὐθύς is Marcan usage, and should be read even in doubtful cases. εὐθέως is the regular Κοινή word, and is largely preponderant over εὐθύς in the texts of Matthew and Luke as given by modern editors : in Mark it is given throughout by A D, and B C Δ only rally to εὐθύς after some hesitation on the earlier occasions of its use. Why Mark should have preferred εὐθύς we cannot tell. Perhaps we should refer both the frequency and the form of the word to a mannerism of St Peter in his oral Gospel teaching.

21. ἐδίδασκεν εἰς τὴν συναγωγήν. So ℵ C L Δ syr-sin Orig. Tisch. W-H mg. If it were not for Mc.'s habitual use of εἰς for ἐν, the authority for this reading would be inadequate, and we should prefer to follow A B D W Θ O. L. and add εἰσελθών with W-H text. But this is a good case of the coincidence of the more difficult reading with well-established Marcan usage (see *J. T. S.*, Oct. 1924, xxvi 15), and I have little doubt that εἰσελθών was put in to ease the construction, as in viii 26 (εἰσέλθῃς for εἴπῃς), i 39 (ἦλθεν for ἦν). 22. οὐχ ὡς οἱ γραμματεῖς D Θ *b c d e* (*def. a*) : the rest with the editors prefix καί, but the asyndeton before οὐχ is in Mc.'s jerky style

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σοντο ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ, ἦν γὰρ διδάσκων αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, οὐχ ὡς οἱ γραμματεῖς.

[23] Καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ αὐτῶν ἄνθρωπος ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ, [24] καὶ ἀνέκραξεν λέγων Τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί, Ἰησοῦ Ναζαρηνέ; ἦλθες ἀπολέσαι ἡμᾶς· ⌜οἶδά⌝ σε τίς εἶ, ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ. [25] καὶ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων Φιμώθητι καὶ ἔξελθε ⌜ἐξ αὐτοῦ⌝. [26] καὶ σπαράξαν αὐτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀκάθαρτον καὶ φωνήσαν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. [27] καὶ ἐθαμβήθησαν ἅπαντες, ὥστε συνζητεῖν αὐτοὺς λέγοντας Τί ἐστιν τοῦτο; διδαχὴ καινὴ κατ' ἐξουσίαν· καὶ τοῖς πνεύμασι τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις ἐπιτάσσει, καὶ ὑπακού-

24. ⌜οἴδαμεν⌝ 25. ⌜ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου⌝

(cf. x 14), and the addition of *καί* with Mt. is easier to explain than its omission. See *J. T. S.*, Oct. 1926, xxviii 15–19.

24. λέγων ℵ* B D W Θ 565 Old Latins and Vulg., syr-sin (*def.* sah) : + ἔα (from Luke) practically all others. I note this variant reading simply to illustrate (i) the enormous influence a parallel passage in the other Synoptists can exert, (ii) the value of our new witnesses W Θ, (iii) the agreement of a very few of the best or oldest Greek MSS with the best and oldest versions. ἦλθες ἀπολέσαι ἡμᾶς. A statement or a question? Mc.'s command of Greek particles is so inadequate that here and elsewhere (e. g. xvi 6) he leaves us in doubt. Lc., our only parallel account (iv 34), copies Mc. literally: but I incline to think that the words should be constructed closely with what follows, and that Tisch. is right against W-H in printing it as a statement. οἶδα : οἴδαμεν (Tisch. and W-H margin) ℵ L Δ only among MSS, and only the Memphitic, Armenian, and Ethiopic among versions. So far the case seems clear: doubt arises only on two grounds, (i) that Luke has certainly οἶδα, (ii) that many fathers, Greek and Latin, have οἴδαμεν (scimus), and as they can hardly have found it in Luke, might be presumed to derive it from Mark. But apart from Origen derivation from Mark cannot be proved: and that Origen is once more in agreement with ℵ can cause no surprise. Internal evidence is neutral, if indeed it does not favour the singular (there is an equally curious alternation of plural and singular in Mark v 7–13), compare verse 25 αὐτῷ . . . Φιμώθητι. οἴδαμεν may well have arisen out of mere assimilation to the preceding plurals ἡμῖν, ἡμᾶς. 25. ἐξ αὐτοῦ : ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου D W (Θ) Old Latins and vg., apparently by assimilation (which in most of the group extends further than this phrase) to Mc. v 8; yet αὐτοῦ may equally well have been borrowed from the parallel in Lc. iv 35. Tischendorf is in error if I understand him rightly as suggesting that 'de homine' in Latins suggests ἀπό rather than ἐκ : 'de' is the representation of ἐκ in the earliest Christian terminology, e. g. 'deum de deo' in the Nicene Creed. 26. φωνῆσαν ℵ B L 33 only : rightly, for if κράξαν had stood in the text, no one would have altered it. φωνεῖν φωνή seemed inappropriate in a δαιμόνιον (Luke transfers the noun to the man possessed, iv 33), though all four Gospels use the verb of the cock crowing. 27. συνζητεῖν αὐτούς ℵ B and the Old Latins *b e ff*; rightly, for συνζητεῖν is a rather favourite word of Mark's and his rule is to use it absolutely, viii 11, ix 10, xii 28 (in ix 14, 16 συνζητεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς is 'to discuss with them', i. e. the disciples, not 'with one another'): συνζητεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτούς the rest, influenced by the Lucan parallel συνελάλουν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Τί ἐστιν τοῦτο; διδαχὴ καινὴ κατ' ἐξουσίαν· καὶ τοῖς πνεύμασι κτλ. Text ℵ B L 33 (Θ *fam.* 1) : but Luke, and most scribes of Mark following Luke, make the three clauses into one. Mark is fond of such triple co-ordinate clauses, cf. i 24, ii 7, xiv 63, 64, xvi 6, one

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ουσιν αὐτῷ. [28] *καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἡ ἀκοὴ αὐτοῦ εὐθὺς πανταχοῦ εἰς ὅλην τὴν περίχωρον τῆς Γαλιλαίας.*

[29] **Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς ἐξελθόντες ἦλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Σίμωνος καὶ Ἀνδρέου μετὰ Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωάνου.** [30] *ἡ δὲ πενθερὰ Σίμωνος κατέκειτο πυρέσσουσα, καὶ εὐθὺς λέγουσιν αὐτῷ περὶ αὐτῆς.* [31] *καὶ προσελθὼν ἤγειρεν αὐτὴν κρατήσας τῆς χειρός· καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτὴν ὁ πυρετός, καὶ διηκόνει αὐτοῖς.* [32] *ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης, ὅτε* ⌜*ἔδυσεν*⌝ *ὁ ἥλιος, ἔφερον πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντας τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας καὶ τοὺς δαιμονιζομένους·* [33] *καὶ ἦν ὅλη ἡ πόλις ἐπισυνηγμένη πρὸς τὴν θύραν.* [34] *καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν πολλοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας ποικίλαις νόσοις, καὶ δαιμόνια πολλὰ ἐξέβαλεν· καὶ οὐκ ἤφιεν* ⌜*τὰ δαιμόνια λαλεῖν*⌝*, ὅτι ᾔδεισαν αὐτόν.*

[35] **Καὶ** *πρωὶ ἔννυχα λίαν ἀναστὰς ἐξῆλθεν, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς ἔρημον τόπον*

32. ⌜*ἔδυ*⌝ 34. ⌜*λαλεῖν τὰ δαιμόνια*⌝

of them at least (but never all of them) being interrogative. The central clause is generally the briefest, as ii 7 *βλασφημεῖ*, and one would like with W-H to punctuate after *καινή* : but verse 22 connects *κατ' ἐξουσίαν* with *διδαχή*, and I punctuate accordingly. 28. *πανταχοῦ εἰς ὅλην τὴν περίχωρον τῆς Γαλιλαίας* : a redundant expression quite in Mark's style, but because redundant altered by Luke to *εἰς πάντα τόπον τῆς περιχώρου*, and by most authorities in Mark by the omission of *πανταχοῦ*. Luke's *πάντα τόπον* shews that he read *πανταχοῦ* in Mark with ℵ[c] B C L W *fam.* 13 *b e*.

29. *ἐξελθόντες ἦλθον* ℵ A C L Γ Δ vg. (*def.* sah) Tisch. W-H text, and so Marcan usage (*J. T. S.*, April 1925, xxvi 228) : *ἐξελθὼν ἦλθεν* B W Θ *fam.* 1 *fam.* 13 (D Old Latins : *def. a*) with the singular of Matt. and Luke. The whole phrase in Mark is so odd that change was tempting : it inevitably suggests 'we left and came into our house with James and John' as the original from which it was derived. Ἰωάνου B D W-H : I follow this spelling which is almost universal in B D, and the agreement of our two most primitive MSS seems all but decisive. If indeed Hort were right in supposing that the spelling Ἰωάνης points to a Roman origin for B, the agreement would lose most of its force : but it is now universally, I think, admitted that B was written in Alexandria. 32. *ἔδυσεν* B D W-H : *ἔδυ* the rest and Tisch. *ἔδυ* is the older classical form, *ἔδυσεν* came into more frequent use later on. I follow B D, if with more hesitation than in the last note : in Lc. iv 40 D has *δύσαντος*, and Origen and most of the Latins bear witness to a past tense, so that the same aorist form may be genuine there as well. 34. *τὰ δαιμόνια λαλεῖν* B, and the order is so far supported by Lc. (and D Θ and the Latins and syr-sin in Mc.) *αὐτὰ λαλεῖν* : *λαλεῖν τὰ δαιμόνια* the rest with Tisch. W-H. *ᾔδεισαν αὐτόν* ℵ* A D etc., the Latins, syr-sin, Victor's catena, Tisch. : + *Χριστὸν* (or *τὸν Χρ.*) *εἶναι* ℵ[c] B C L W Θ *fam.* 1 *fam.* 13 28 33, W-H text, from Lc. iv 41. A clear example of assimilation, to which most of our Alexandrian authorities, even the best, have succumbed.

35. *ἐξῆλθεν καὶ ἀπῆλθεν* ('he left Capernaum and went away to a desert place') : *ἐξῆλθεν* only B 28 565, *ἀπῆλθεν* only W *b d e ff*. The double phrase is very Marcan, and either accidental omission of a line or a conscious intention to prune away the apparent redundancy will account for the reading of B : versions hardly count, for an early Latin translator e. g. might easily have contented himself with a single verb. But *a* syr-sin have two verbs. *κἀκεῖ* ℵ B C L Δ Θ, and so in verse 38 ℵ D L, xiv 15 ℵ D 565 : *καὶ ἐκεῖ* the rest, but in xiv 15 many authorities have *ἐκεῖ* without *καί*. I incline to think that Mark may have been the more likely, scribes of Mark

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κἀκεῖ προσηύχετο. [36] καὶ κατεδίωξεν αὐτὸν ⌜Σίμων⌝ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, [37] καὶ εὗρον αὐτὸν καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ ὅτι Πάντες ζητοῦσίν σε. [38] καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς Ἀγωμεν ἀλλαχοῦ εἰς τὰς ἐχομένας κωμοπόλεις, ἵνα ⌜κἀκεῖ⌝ κηρύξω· εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐξῆλθον. [39] καὶ ἦν κηρύσσων εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν εἰς ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια ἐκβάλλων.

[40] Καὶ ἔρχεται πρὸς αὐτὸν λεπρὸς παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ γονυπετῶν,

36. ⌜ὅ τε Σίμων⌝ 38. ⌜καὶ ἐκεῖ⌝

the less likely, to prefer the contracted form. 36. *κατεδίωξεν* ℵ B Θ 28 vg. : rightly, for Mark is fond of a singular verb where mention of more than one person follows, e. g. iii 31 *καὶ ἔρχεται ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ* (so ℵ D *fam.* 1 565 Old Latins), viii 27 *ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Ἰ. καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ* (no variant), xiii 3 *ἐπηρώτα αὐτὸν . . . ὁ Πέτρος καὶ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωάνης καὶ Ἀνδρέας* (again of Peter : so ℵ B L *fam.* 13 28 33). No doubt the singular contains the implication that the person first mentioned stands out from the rest. *Σίμων* ℵ B L W 33 : *ὅ τε Σίμων* Θ *fam.* 1 28 (and presumably the archetype of D : D* has *τε*, D[2] *τότε*) : *ὁ Σίμων* A C Δ and the mass of MSS. The article with *Σίμων* is so unusual that one looks about for a reason : and perhaps the reason may be found in the desire to emphasize the first name after the singular verb, see last note. I think therefore that it must at least be given a place in the margin. 37. *καὶ εὗρον αὐτὸν καὶ λέγουσιν* ℵ B L *e*, and this is characteristically Marcan : *καὶ ὅτε εὗρον αὐτὸν λέγουσιν* D Latins (except *b c e*) syr-sin sah (but versions may be deferring to the idiom of their own language) ; *καὶ εὑρόντες αὐτὸν λέγουσιν* A C Δ Θ and the mass of MSS ; *λέγοντες* alone W *b c*. The three verbs co-ordinated with *καί* presented an irresistible temptation to scribes to introduce a subordinate or participial construction. 38. *ἀλλαχοῦ εἰς τὰς ἐχομένας κωμοπόλεις* ℵ B C* L 33 Egyptian versions and arm : but (just as in verse 28 *πανταχοῦ εἰς ὅλην τὴν Γ.*) the adverb seemed redundant, and *ἀλλαχοῦ* is omitted by A C[3] D W Δ Θ Latins and Syriac. *κἀκεῖ* : see on verse 35. *ἐξῆλθον* ℵ B C L Θ 33 sah (the meaning is 'I left Capernaum', referring back to verse 35) : *ἐξελήλυθα* of A D etc., *ἐλήλυθα* of W Δ 28 *fam.* 13, are both probably derived from Jo. xviii 37 *εἰς τοῦτο ἐλήλυθα εἰς τὸν κόσμον*. But *ueni* of the Latins must not be quoted for *ἐλήλυθα* : *ueni* could hardly be used in this sense. [It is possible that St Jerome wrote for *ἄγωμεν . . . ἐξῆλθον* 'exeamus . . . ueni'—that at least appears to be the reading of the St Gall MS—intending to represent the *ἐξ-* of the latter verb in his rendering of the former one.] 39. *ἦν κηρύσσων εἰς τὰς σ.* A C D W Δ *fam.* 1 *fam.* 13 : rightly, for this is good Marcan usage, see on verse 21 ; and the Latin and Syriac versions should be cited on this side, for both give 'was preaching', and if they render *εἰς τὰς σ.* 'in their synagogues' they could hardly do otherwise, since 'into their synagogues' would for them be nonsense : *ἦλθεν κηρύσσων εἰς* ℵ B L Θ sah, improving the colloquial Greek of Mark.

40. *παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ γονυπετῶν λέγων αὐτῷ*, with *e* 'obsecrans eum et genibus uolutans dicens illi'. There are here one important and three less important variations : (1) are we to omit *καὶ γονυπετῶν* ? (2) if not, are we to add *αὐτόν* after it ? (3) are we to read *λέγων* or *καὶ λέγων* ? (4) are we to omit *αὐτῷ* ? Let us take them separately and in this order. (1) A very strong body of witnesses omit *καὶ γονυπετῶν*, B D W *a b c ff* and the Sahidic. But the words were in the copies of Mc. used by both Mt. *προσεκύνει αὐτῷ* and Lc. *πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον*, and besides it would be very difficult to account for their insertion by ℵ A C L Δ Θ *fam.* 1 565 *e* syr-sin and the rest : whereas omission may have been due either to the desire to

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λέγων αὐτῷ ὅτι Ἐὰν θέλῃς, [δύνῃ] με καθαρίσαι. 41 καὶ ὀργισθεὶς ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἥψατο καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ Θέλω· καθαρίσθητι. 42 καὶ εὐθὺς ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα, καὶ ἐκαθερίσθη. 43 καὶ ἐμβριμησάμενος αὐτῷ

40. [δύνασαι]

avoid so violent a word (note that both Mt. and Lc. have changed it here, just as they drop it in the passages parallel to Mc. x 17) or, perhaps more probably, by the accidental omission of a line in a very early copy of Mc.: the words *καὶ γονυπετῶν* do in fact occupy just a line in ℵ and Θ. (2) Of the authorities that preserve *καὶ γονυπετῶν*, A C Δ and others (versions hardly count here) add *αὐτόν*, and this is the normal construction, Mc. x 17, cf. Mt. xvii 14. But even Mc. might shrink from *αὐτὸν . . . αὐτὸν . . . αὐτῷ* in the limit of seven words, and we may suppose that the preceding *αὐτόν* is governed by both *παρακαλῶν* and *γονυπετῶν*. (3) *καί* before *λέγων* is omitted only by ℵ* B 69* *e* sah, but *λέγων* is not really parallel to the two preceding participles, and I suspect omission is right. (4) *αὐτῷ* is omitted only by D W, the Latins other than *e*, and sah: there are numerous cases up and down the Gospel, where after *λέγει* (*λέγων*) some good authority, even sometimes B, omits *αὐτῷ* (*αὐτοῖς*). It is often no doubt pleonastic, but that is no reason against it in Mc. [Compare for instance in the next verse *λέγει αὐτῷ*, where ℵ W *fam.* 1 *cff* omit *αὐτῷ*, with Mt. and Lc., as redundant, against A B C D Θ and the best Latins. Inadequate as the omitting authorities are—clear as Marcan usage is—Tisch. follows them.] Note then that the 'African' Latin, represented by *e*, is the only text that in all four points gives what seems to be the right reading. *δύνῃ* B: *δύνασαι* the rest, with the parallel passages in Mt. (viii 2) and Lc. (v 12), and so too Mt. v 36, Lc. vi 42, Jo. xiii 36. Apart from Lc. xvi 2, the only books of N.T. where *δύνῃ* is found are Mc. (ix 22, 23), Apoc. (ii 2), and also Hermas: see Blass *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch* [1896, p. 48], § 23. 2. Clearly therefore it was the more vulgar or colloquial form, and likely to be used by Mc.; and as B is re-inforced in ix 22, 23 by ℵ D Δ *fam.* 1 28, I feel little hesitation in following it here, even W-H desert it. 41. *ὀργισθείς* D *aff r*: *b* omits: *σπλαγχνισθείς* the rest. The considerations that here dictate decision are: (1) If *σπλαγχνισθείς* were original, it is hardly conceivable that any scribe should have substituted *ὀργισθείς*: (2) Mt. and Lc. have nothing corresponding to either word; they had a strong motive for omitting *ὀργισθείς*, just as they both omit *ἐμβριμησάμενος* of verse 43, and *μετ' ὀργῆς* of iii 5, but there was none for omitting *σπλαγχνισθείς*. (3) *ἐμβριμησάμενος* of verse 43 shews that there was, in the working of this miracle, for whatever reason, indignation on our Lord's part against the man, perhaps because of his doubt of the will to heal, *ἐὰν θέλῃς*. *ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἥψατο* ℵ B L: *ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἥψατο αὐτοῦ* D: *ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἥψατο αὐτοῦ* the rest, with Mt. and Lc. Versions could hardly avoid the natural rendering 'stretched out his hand and touched him', and D, the only authority which gives a Greek that corresponds to this, has presumably Latinized here. But our other Greek witnesses, though they are divided into two camps over the position of *αὐτοῦ*, mean all of them to connect *αὐτοῦ* with *ἥψατο*. *τὴν χεῖρα* is the Greek for our 'his hand' (so Mc. iii 5, where W-H, wrongly I think, desert B to read *τὴν χεῖρά σου*, v 23, vi 5, vii 3, vii 32, viii 23, 25, ix 43 *τὰς δύο χεῖρας* 'your two hands', x 16, xiv 46): would not *τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ* be the other man's hand? As between *αὐτοῦ ἥψατο* and *ἥψατο αὐτοῦ*, ℵ B L are shewn to be right by Marcan usage, see iii 10, (v 30), v 31, viii 22, x 13 (vi 56 would be an exception, but *a b ff i* omit *αὐτοῦ*): Mt. and Lc. habitually put *αὐτοῦ* after *ἅπτεσθαι*. *αὐτῷ*: see on verse 40. 42. *ἐκαθερίσθη* A B* C L Δ 1 (cf. *τεσσεράκοντα* in i 13, where also

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εὐθὺς ἐξέβαλεν αὐτόν, [44] καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ Ὅρα μηδενὶ [μηδὲν] εἴπῃς, ἀλλ' ὕπαγε, σεαυτὸν δεῖξον τῷ ἱερεῖ καὶ προσένεγκε περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου ἃ προσέταξεν Μωϋσῆς εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς. · [45] ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν πολλὰ καὶ διαφημίζειν τὸν λόγον, ὥστε μηκέτι [αὐτὸν] δύνασθαι ⌜εἰς πόλιν φανερῶς⌝ εἰσελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔξω ἐπ' ἐρήμοις τόποις [ἦν· καὶ] ἤρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν παντόθεν.

45. ⌜φανερῶς εἰς πόλιν⌝

the second hand of B substitutes the more correct form): a solecism for ἐκαθαρίσθη, perhaps genuine only in Mc. 44. μηδενὶ μηδὲν εἴπῃς B C Θ and the mass of Greek MSS: μηδενὶ εἴπῃς ℵ A D L W Δ 33 (*fam.* 13) Latins sah, with Mt. and Lc. On the one side we have Mc.'s tendency to pleonasm: on the other side the parallels in Mc. vii 36, viii 26 (where the true text has μηδενὶ εἴπῃς εἰς τὴν κώμην), viii 30; I think the longer reading is right. 45. αὐτὸν δύνασθαι εἰς πόλιν φανερῶς: the order of these words varies in a puzzling way in the MSS, but (i) αὐτόν is omitted by D W, and, if omission is right, we can understand why ℵ inserts αὐτόν after δύνασθαι and the rest before δύνασθαι: (ii) the order εἰς πόλιν φανερῶς ought to be correct, for the emphasis is rather on εἰς πόλιν than on φανερῶς; but desire on the part of scribes to avoid the hiatus δύνασθαι εἰς may perhaps account for the change in A B W Δ Θ etc. to δύνασθαι φανερῶς εἰς πόλιν. ἐπ' ἐρήμοις τόποις ℵ B L W Δ (*fam.* 13) 28: ἐπί is changed to ἐν by the other MSS and by Lc. The more unusual preposition is doubtless right: but ἐπί c. dat. in a local sense meaning neither 'on' nor 'at' is unusual, and I know of no exact parallel in N.T. Moulton and Milligan *Vocabulary* s.v. cite however from a papyrus (140 B.C.) ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ χώρᾳ. ἦν καὶ ἤρχοντο: *b e* omit ἦν καί, and it is possible to translate their reading 'they came to him outside the city in the open country from all sides': B omits ἦν retaining καί, which seems untranslateable, though W-H give B's reading a place in the margin.

Variations of the text above printed from the text or margin of Westcott and Hort.

i 1 υἱοῦ θεοῦ (so W-H margin): *om.* W-H text 6. δέρριν: W-H τρίχας with my margin καμήλου: W-H *add.* καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ with my margin 11. φωνή: W-H *add.* [ἐγένετο] 14. μετὰ δέ: W-H καὶ μετά with my margin [τῆς βασιλείας]: *om.* W-H 15. λέγων: W-H [καὶ λέγων] with my margin 21. ἐδίδασκεν εἰς τὴν συναγωγήν (so W-H margin): W-H text εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐδίδασκεν 22. ἔχων, οὐχ: W-H ἔχων καὶ οὐχ 25. λέγων: W-H [λέγων] 27. αὐτούς (so W-H text): πρὸς ἑαυτούς W-H margin 29. ἐξελθόντες ἦλθον (ἐξελθόντες ἦλθαν W-H text): W-H margin ἐξελθὼν ἦλθεν 34. τὰ δαιμόνια λαλεῖν: W-H λαλεῖν τὰ δαιμόνια with my margin ᾔδεισαν αὐτόν: W-H *add.* [Χριστὸν εἶναι] 35. καὶ ἀπῆλθεν: W-H [καὶ ἀπῆλθεν] 38. κἀκεῖ: W-H καὶ ἐκεῖ with my margin 39. ἦν κηρύσσων: W-H ἦλθεν κηρύσσων 40. καὶ γονυπετῶν: W-H [καὶ γονυπετῶν] δύνῃ: W-H δύνασαι with my margin 41. ὀργισθείς (so W-H margin): W-H text σπλαγχνισθείς 45. εἰς πόλιν φανερῶς (so W-H margin): W-H text φανερῶς εἰς πόλιν with my margin [ἦν καί]: W-H [ἦν] καί In all, sixteen differences between my text and that of W-H: but in six of these the margin of W-H agrees with my text, and in eight their text agrees with my margin.

C. H. TURNER.

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SOME NOTEWORTHY USES OF εἰ OR εἴ IN HELLENISTIC GREEK, WITH A NOTE ON ST MARK viii 12.

THE Homeric εἰ δ' ἄγε suggests that εἰ was originally εἶα, an interjection comparable with the Latin *eia* or *heia*. For Homer also uses εἰ without ἄγε, but with an equally emphatic meaning, to introduce other imperatives, cf. *Iliad* ix 46 εἰ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ φευγόντων, 262 εἰ δὲ σὺ μέν μευ ἄκουσον; and v. Ebeling's *Homeric Lexicon* i 347. The Latin *si* is now generally believed to have been evolved from the stronger *sic*. And the hypothetical particles אִם and εἰ in Aramaic and Greek probably had a similar origin, for they appear to have been interjections in the first place. As the paratactic construction is simpler and older than the more complicated syntax of highly developed language, so the conditional sentence seems to have arisen from an interjectional statement (afterwards subordinated as the protasis) placed side by side with a parallel statement (afterwards the apodosis).

The purpose of this article is to inquire whether in later times εἰ occasionally reverted to type and was used interjectionally even without a strengthening particle.

Apart from Homer Classical Greek would seem to know εἰ only as a hypothetical particle or as a conjunction to introduce an indirect question.

The latter use may be said to cover those occurrences of εἰ with the indicative after verbs denoting strong emotion, especially wonder or surprise. In these cases Liddell and Scott say that εἰ expresses a fact 'in a less positive manner'. Sometimes, however, εἰ appears to have all the force of a strong ὅτι, and the linguistic tendency would be to strengthen the meaning of εἰ as thus used.

Analogous to this use is that of conditional εἰ when the assumption is certain. This is perhaps the best explanation of Acts xxvi 23, cf. Knowling's note 'εἰ = Heb. vii 15, i. e. as is most certain from the authority of scripture'. We may add a reference to 1 Clem. xxvii 7[1] where a quotation of Ps. xix 1–3 is simply introduced by εἰ, possibly with the force of εἴγε or ἐπεί implying an argumentative element; but more probably, since the quotation closes the chapter, εἰ has the force of closing all argument by appeal to the infallible testimony of Scripture. May we assume an almost technical use of εἰ to suggest proof by

[1] A few lines above 1 Clem. xxvi 1 shews an instance of θαυμαστόν followed by εἰ.

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Scripture, and to be distinguished from the ordinary examples of certain assumption given by Abbott-Smith's *N.T. Lexicon* s. v. εἰ, viz. 'Mt. xii 28, Jn. vii 4, Rom. v 17 al.'?

Before the discovery of the form εἰ μήν in the papyri one might have been tempted to suppose that such affirmative uses of εἰ as those just mentioned prepared the way for the εἰ of the strong statements and asseverations of the Greek Bible. But we now realize that in these cases εἰ is an itacism for the classical adverbial particle ἦ and is not a natural growth from εἰ = ὅτι. We have only to consult Deissmann, Moulton, Thackeray, Mayser, and the evidence of the papyri, to know that εἰ μήν (for ἦ μήν) is common from ii/B.C. It used to be supposed that the Hellenistic form εἰ μήν which occurs about nineteen or twenty times in the Greek O. T. was directly due to a confusion between the Hebraistic εἰ μή (= אִם לֹא) and the classical ἦ μήν. But the LXX εἰ μήν sometimes represents other Hebrew asseverations besides אִם לֹא. Indeed, there is more in common between εἰ μήν and εἰ = ὅτι than between εἰ μήν and εἰ μή. Itacism, however, offers the only possible clue to the understanding of many occurrences of ει in the LXX. The papyri have still something to teach us in the spheres of itacism and semantics.

It is true that εἰ is mostly strengthened by the addition of one or two other particles, but to quote Liddell and Scott, ἦ is 'not seldom put alone'. Therefore it would not be surprising to find εἰ standing alone in Hellenistic Greek. And the LXX supplies us with a number of cases where εἰ ought certainly to be printed with the circumflex accent. The present writer considers that these occurrences of εἰ standing alone as an adverb of solemn affirmation, usually at the beginning of a statement *in oratione recta*, have been overlooked. Very often they are mistaken as interrogative particles. There seems to be no mention of them in Hellenistic grammars which pay due attention to the form εἰ μήν and to the Hebraistic εἰ used with negative force in implied oaths.

It is often difficult to decide how εἰ is to be interpreted in the LXX, and the text is not always beyond suspicion. By consulting the concordance of Hatch and Redpath and referring to the Hebrew in each case I have counted some forty-nine instances of negative εἰ. This is a peculiar Biblical use implying a suppressed apodosis such as 'God do so to me and more also'. The strangest thing about it is that a strong negation is effected without a negative. In writing free Greek no one would use εἰ to express a negation. It would be surprising and unthinkable to discover such a foreign idiom in colloquial Greek papyri of any date. It is quite definitely a Hebraism.

Now it happens that the very same word, consisting of the same two

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letters, is used about twenty times in the LXX, where the Hebrew particle has generally been translated by 'Behold' or 'Verily' or 'Doubtless'. The presumption is that the LXX translator believed εἰ to be capable of expressing such a meaning.

There is, however, the bewildering fact that the Hebrew particle הֵן which appears in eleven of these passages becomes in Aramaic a conjunction meaning 'if' or 'whether'. And it is a well-established fact that even in Hebrew הֵן is sometimes a hypothetical particle (equivalent to אִם) as well as a demonstrative adverb or interjection. Further, the demonstrative particle הִנֵּה which appears in seven of the passages ought sometimes, though rarely, to be translated by 'if'. But in the eighteen passages referred to הֵן and הִנֵּה have always been interpreted as emphatic and not as hypothetical. It is quite possible that the LXX translator has made a mistake in regarding the Hebrew particle from an Aramaic standpoint. On the other hand he may be right in some of the passages, for when הֵן or εἰ is taken as conditional the subsequent context may be said to supply an apodosis. But can this be the explanation of *all* these passages? For in some cases the variant reading ἰδού is found. When we consider the possibilities of εἰ in the κοινή period of Greek there is the chance that these occurrences of εἰ represent ἦ. Passage 19 below seems to point that way, since the Hebrew adverbial particle אָנָּה can only mean 'surely' and the LXX εἰ ἄρα is therefore more probably an itacism for ἦ ἄρα Confirmative than for ἦ ἄρα Interrogative. Swete prints a question mark, but older editions are probably correct in not doing so. It is true that here εἰ has a strengthening particle as in the case of εἰ μήν. So we have to decide whether εἰ alone in the first eighteen passages printed below may be read as an emphatic adverb or interjection. The normal interpretation of the Hebrew would favour this.

In the following passages εἰ represents הֵן:

1. Gen. iv 14 Εἰ ἐκβαλεῖς με σήμερον ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς . . .

2. Gen. xxvii 37 Εἰ (v. l. Ἰδοὺ) κύριον αὐτὸν ἐποίησά σου . . .

3. Gen. xxxix 8 Εἰ (v. l. Ἰδοὺ) ὁ κύριός μου οὐ γινώσκει δι' ἐμὲ οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ.

Conybeare and Stock regard εἰ as interrogative. But if the strong meaning of εἰ is rejected it would be better to take εἰ as hypothetical and argumentative and to regard καὶ πῶς ποιήσω in *v.* 9 as apodosis.

4. Gen. xliv 8 Εἰ τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον ὃ εὕραμεν ἐν τοῖς μαρσίπποις ἡμῶν ἀπεστρέψαμεν . . . πῶς ἂν κλέψαιμεν;

Here a conditional sentence is possible with the apodosis introduced by πῶς.

5. Lev. x 19 Εἰ (𝔏 *ecce*) σήμερον προσαγιόχασιν τὰ περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν.

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6. Prov. xi 31 Εἰ ὁ μὲν δίκαιος μόλις σώζεται, ὁ ἀσεβὴς καὶ ἁμαρτωλὸς ποῦ φανεῖται;

7. Job iv 18 Εἰ κατὰ παίδων αὐτοῦ οὐ πιστεύει . . . 'Even on his (heavenly) servants he does not rely.' The Hebrew of *v.* 19 opens with אַף = 'How much less', but *v.* 19 in the Greek seems to be unconnected with 18.

8. Job xv 15 Εἰ κατὰ ἁγίων οὐ πιστεύει . . . Although the Hebrew of *v.* 16 has אַף כִּי, the Greek opens with ἔα δέ.

9. Job xxv 5 ἢ σελήνη συντάσσει, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιφαύσκει· B reads η, ℵC read ει.

10. Isa. xl 15 Εἰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ὡς σταγὼν ἀπὸ κάδου καὶ ὡς ῥοπὴ ζυγοῦ ἐλογίσθησαν, ὡς σίελος λογισθήσονται.

The previous verses are questions, but Swete does not print a question mark here.

11. Isa. lviii 4 Εἰ εἰς κρίσεις καὶ μάχας νηστεύετε . . . ἵνα τί . . .; B reads ει. ℵAQ omit it before εις. Q^{mg} has ιδου. Brown, Driver, and Briggs regard הֲ as hypothetical here.

In the following passages εἰ represents הֲגַם:

12. Judges xiv 16 Εἰ τῷ πατρί μου καὶ τῇ μητρί μου οὐκ ἀπήγγελκα, σοὶ ἀπαγγείλω; This is the text of B adopted by Swete. Lagarde reads ἰδού which has the support of AMN a b c g h k—p t v—y a$_2$ b$_2$ 𝔄𝔈𝔏𝔖.

13. 3 Kings viii 27 ὅτι εἰ ἀληθῶς κατοικήσει ὁ θεὸς μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; εἰ ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οὐκ ἀρκέσουσίν σοι, πλὴν καὶ ὁ οἶκος οὗτος ὃν ᾠκοδόμησα τῷ ὀνόματί σου; The first εἰ represents הֲ a question, the second translates הֲגַם.

14. 2 Chron. vi 18 parallel to 3 Kings viii 27.

15. Job iv 3 Εἰ γὰρ σὺ ἐνουθέτησας πολλούς . . . Here εἰ γάρ seems to mean 'Why surely!'

16. Esther viii 7 Εἰ πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα Ἀμὰν ἔδωκα . . . σοι, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκρέμασα . . . τί ἔτι ἐπιζητεῖς; The last three words are added by the LXX, there is no question in the Hebrew.

17. Jer. vii 8 Εἰ δὲ (Q* ει δε και) ὑμεῖς πεποίθατε ἐπὶ λόγοις ψευδέσιν ὅθεν οὐκ ὠφεληθήσεσθε . . .

18. Ezek. iv 14 Εἰ ἡ ψυχή μου οὐ μεμίανται ἐν ἀκαθαρσίᾳ . . . Here εἰ must mean 'Seeing that' or 'Indeed'.

In the following passages εἰ represents אַף and אַף כִּי:

19. Ps. lvii 12 (lviii 11) Καὶ ἐρεῖ ἄνθρωπος Εἰ ἄρα ἐστὶν καρπὸς τῷ δικαίῳ; ἄρα ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς κρίνων αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ γῇ. אַף occurs twice in the Hebrew = 'Certainly' or 'Yea'. It is very doubtful whether the Greek should be printed with a question mark.

20. Joshua ii 5 καταδιώξατε ὀπίσω αὐτῶν, εἰ καταλήμψεσθε αὐτούς.

Hebrew usage seems often to have given כִּי an asseverative force, and opinion is divided between the meanings 'for' and 'surely' in

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such passages as the above. In either case, certainty and not doubt is the idea suggested by the conjunctive particle. 'Pursue after them, you will be certain to overtake them' is the probable meaning of the Hebrew, and the Greek appears to have the same meaning. To interpret εἰ as hypothetical ('to see if') or as interrogative would be impossible in this context.

A consideration of the above passages should convince us that some of the Septuagint translators were familiar with ει as an asseverative particle. To admit this would get rid of such unsatisfactory explanations as that of R. R. Ottley. In his *Isaiah according to the Septuagint*, after considering Isa. xl 15 (no. 10 above) as a conditional sentence of a very irregular type, he suggests that 'perhaps εἰ is interrogative' (vol. i 44–45). Again in vol. ii 299 'It seems simpler to take εἰ as interrogative, in which case הֵן, behold, may have been read as the interrogative prefix'. In his *Handbook to the Septuagint* (p. 183) he says 'εἰ has had its use extended from indirect questions, and becomes a simple interrogative particle perhaps with some remnant of hesitation in asking the question, though this tends naturally to disappear'. A foot-note adds 'This seems the easiest explanation; but the analogy of εἰ μήν suggests the possibility of its arising from ἦ'. The evidence of the papyri confirms this last suggestion, but ἦ may be asseverative as well as interrogative. It causes unnecessary difficulty to regard as questions the twenty passages quoted above. There may be other cases of affirmative εἶ which have been unrecognized, such as:

21. 1 Chron. xii 21 εἰ (B καὶ αὐτοὶ) συνεμάχησαν τῷ Δαυείδ.

The Hebrew is emphatic וְהֵמָּה.

22. Eccles. ii 19 b καὶ τίς οἶδεν εἰ (ℵA ἦ) σοφὸς ἔσται ἢ ἄφρων; καὶ εἰ ἐξουσιάζεται ἐν παντὶ μόχθῳ μου . . .

The first εἰ expresses the Hebrew interrogative ה, and the second translates Waw Final, although Barton considers the second εἰ to be a mistake representing השלט instead of וישלט.

23. 1 Esdras iv 7 καὶ αὐτὸς εἰ (B^{ab}A εἰς) μόνος ἐστίν . . .

The fact that there are about twice as many instances of negative εἰ in implied oaths ought not to dismiss affirmative εἶ from our recognition. Indeed, apart from ordinary conditional sentences and indirect questions, εἰ is mostly used as an interrogative particle (= ἦ interrogative). The context in most of the passages which I have quoted demands a strong adverbial meaning for εἶ, though in some of them an hypothetical meaning is possible; an interrogative meaning is difficult where it is not impossible. Evidently then, the LXX was made when εἰ could bear several different meanings. There must have been some means of distinguishing adverbial εἶ from the more common uses of εἰ, and the more weighty utterance of it should be represented in the

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printed text of the LXX by a circumflex accent. One can easily understand why this use would soon die. It only came into being through itacism, it caused confusion with other uses of εἰ when put into writing, and literary influences would tend to kill it. Besides there were several other adverbial substitutes which were common in Hellenistic Greek.

Note on St Mark viii 12.

It is an interesting possibility, but perhaps no more, that St Mark viii 12 ἀμὴν λέγω [ὑμῖν] Εἰ δοθήσεται τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ σημεῖον may be read as a strong affirmation.

This would exonerate our Lord from using the implied oath involved in the accepted Hebraistic interpretation of Mark viii 12. Elsewhere He condemns the use of the oath formula (Matt. v 34–37, cf. xxiii 16–22). St Mark was quite well acquainted with the exceptionally strong negation οὐ μή followed by the aorist subjunctive (or the future),[1] and it is difficult to see why he did not use it here. It may be argued that he has instead preserved the actual Aramaism used by our Lord as he has in several other places transliterated the Aramaic. But the two later Synoptists almost deny the negation by making allowance for a sign, the sign of Jonah.

The Synoptic problem as to these sayings used to be settled by supposing that the First and Third Evangelists are using St. Mark; that they interpret his barbarous Semitism by the equally strong negative οὐ μή which is characteristic of O. T. quotations and of the sayings of Christ, but which is otherwise rare in the N. T. and papyri; that they add from some other source of information (Q) the excepting clause referring to Jonah.

In recent years, however, the theory that the Q material is more primitive than St Mark has gained in favour. A. E. J. Rawlinson, in the new 'Westminster Commentary' on St Mark, adopts the view that the fuller form of the saying as found in Q is the earliest version of our Lord's reply and that it was known to St Mark, but that he omits all reference to Jonah because he believes that the true 'sign' is the sign of the Broken Bread.

Now besides the omission of reference to Jonah there are five positive peculiarities in St Mark: (1) ἤρξαντο συνζητεῖν, (2) καὶ ἀναστενάξας τῷ πνεύματι αὐτοῦ λέγει, (3) τί, (4) ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, (5) εἰ or εἴ. It may be noted too, that according to the Second Evangelist σημεῖον occupies the final and emphatic position in our Lord's reply.

[1] The future and subjunctive are close in meaning, but such futures may be really subjunctives by itacism.

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These are not secondary features. And it is difficult to conceive of a deliberate omission of the name of Jonah by St Mark for the reason given by Dr Rawlinson. It is more likely, if St Mark consciously omitted the name, that he did so because he knew that Jonah was a local hero in Galilee, where his tomb was to be seen near Nazareth, whereas the (? Roman) readers of the Gospel could not be expected to have the same interest in the name.

A still better reason for St Mark's silence is to suppose that the saying was current in two or more traditional forms, and that the form in which it came to St Mark was devoid of any name. A reference by our Lord to Jonah would be telling in Galilee, but perhaps not so appropriate in Jerusalem.

The Fourth Gospel brings additional evidence that our Lord allowed a sign: 'What sign shewest thou? ... Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up' (ii 18–22). In a later chapter (vi 30–59) the demand is repeated and again is not refused. He points back to the sign of the loaves with a threefold emphasis: 'I am the bread of life (or "the living bread").' All this may be later interpretation, but it is not inconsistent with St Mark.

All the N. T. passages would be satisfied if we may suppose that our Lord, in refusing the popular demand, yet insisted upon some truth connected with His own teaching and destiny.

For instance, the Jonah reference points to His own prophetic ultimatum to that generation; in Jerusalem He may have spoken of some connexion between His own destiny and that of the temple; while 'I am the bread of life' suggests a veiled reference by Jesus to the Sign of the Loaves.

What is very noticeable is that σημεῖον seems to be used in the Synoptic Gospels by our Lord's contemporaries and by the evangelists themselves in an apocalyptic sense, whereas He appears to use it in the old prophetic sense with the addition of a more mysterious apocalyptic reference than the crude expectations indulged in by the populace.

At the end of the first century the Fourth Evangelist can look back and apply the word to the works of Christ as signs of His eternal significance to the church and to the world. During the earthly ministry of Jesus the word would not have been so applied. There is, however, evidence that some followers of Jesus regarded the feeding of the multitude as a kind of preliminary sign, somehow connected with the Person of Jesus: 'When therefore the people saw the sign which he did, they said, This is of a truth the prophet that cometh into the world ... they were about to come and take him by force, to make him king' (John vi 14–15). That this was by no means the universal

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opinion is shewn by the subsequent context: 'Upon this many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him' (vi 66).

To admit that St Mark writes from a later standpoint than that of the days which he describes does not involve a complete acceptance of the latest 'formgeschichte' and 'kultgeschichte' method of gospel criticism. It may well be that, writing a generation afterwards, he can now understand that the feeding of the multitudes was a sign. At any rate he emphasizes the consistent obtuseness of the disciples: 'For they understood not concerning the loaves, for their heart was hardened' (vi 52) and cf. the whole passage under discussion ending 'Do ye not yet understand' (viii 1–21).

If for argument we may assume a positive statement by our Lord; 'Why does this generation demand a sign? I tell you truly, there shall indeed be given to this generation a sign!', His reply would be characteristic; it would be a piece of Divine paradox.

The demand for a sign was never far from our Lord during His ministry, and the Temptation narratives shew His considered refusal to satisfy the popular demand. Both the First and Third Gospels give an explicit rejection of that demand, the rejection being duplicated in the First (Matt. xii 39, xvi 16; Luke xi 29). But in all three passages the sign of Jonah is retained as an exception. In other words, our Lord always reserved to Himself the sign of the true prophet. The emphasis upon His own Personality was veiled, it is true, but even a careless reader of the Marcan Gospel could not fail to grasp that an answer to the questions 'Who do men say that I am?' and 'But who say ye that I am?' (Mark viii 27 and 29) must have been provoked by the career of Jesus. It is clear that He looked for the Father's vindication of Himself. The underlying assumption of the Fourth Gospel that Jesus is God's Eternal Sign finds justification in the Marcan and Synoptic narratives. Prof. Burkitt's discussion[1] of the Marcan parable of the Wicked Husbandmen shews that the death of the Son is the signal for God's action and man's repentance.

If then we may postulate a Roman reader of Mark viii 12 who was ignorant of Hebraistic Greek, he would find in the rhetorical question 'Why doth this generation seek a sign?' a rebuke to the popular demand. The rest of the reply would be interpreted as a characteristic warning that the hearers would live to see a Sign which would be entirely contrary to their expectations.

Jewish readers and those familiar with the Jewish Scriptures would naturally interpret εἰ as a negation. The idiom would be well known from the liturgical use of Psalm xcv 11 (*the Venite*). This verse is

[1] F. C. Burkitt in *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religion* ii 321–328.

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twice quoted in the Epistle to the Hebrews. But it is very unlikely that the author of Hebrews would have used such an idiom as εἰ εἰσελεύσονται in his own Greek. Apart from this quotation of the LXX and Mark viii 12, the Hebraistic εἰ does not occur in any N. T. writer. One gathers that the idiom was already archaic. Moreover, neither the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount nor the genius of the Greek language was favourable to its use. Finally, the general witness of the papyri to the itacism ει for η makes it just possible that even a Hellenistic Jew like St Mark may have been familiar with the interjectional use of εἰ in the Septuagint. But Hellenistic Greek generally does not seem to have used interjectional εἰ without a strengthening particle.

N. D. COLEMAN.

'BEES' IN CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

AMONG the many topics on which Clement touches, a few scattered references to bees and honey hardly challenge attention. They deserve it, however, because of the symbolic associations which bees possessed. And the aim of the present article is to interpret the passages from this point of view.

μέλιττα.

Early in the Protrepticus, Clement says κακία μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβόσκεται φθοράν, ἡ δὲ ἀλήθεια, ὥσπερ ἡ μέλιττα, λυμαινομένη τῶν ὄντων οὐδέν, ἐπὶ μόνης τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀγάλλεται σωτηρίας.[1]

He does not explain the phrase 'Truth, like a bee'. The passage says that the innocuous and profitable bee symbolizes Truth, which is directed solely towards man's salvation. In contrast seem to be the loathsome creatures that prey on corruption and live by men's deaths, in their turn symbolical of κακία. We have previously had a comparison of Christ and Orpheus, in which Christ, the Logos, stands for Truth,[2] while Orpheus, the father of idolatry,[3] who 'under pretence of poetry, corrupted human life',[4] represents κακία.[5] On this, and on the other passages, light is thrown by consideration of the symbolic associations of the bee current proverbially in Greek circles. The subject has been

Refcrences are to the Edition of Stählin in *Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*, Leipzig, 1905.

[1] *Protrepticus* bk. i c. vi (vol. i p. 7 l. 1).

[2] *Ibid.* c. ii (vol. i p. 4 l. 8).

[3] *Ibid.* c. iii (vol. i p. 4 l. 26). Orpheus, Amphion, and Arion are described as τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τὰ εἴδωλα χειραγωγῆσαι πρῶτοι.

[4] *Ibid.* c. iii (vol. i p. 4 l. 24) προσχήματί μουσικῆς λυμηνάμενοι τὸν βίον.

[5] The three poets are δαιμονῶντες εἰς διαφθοράς, corresponding to κακία, which in our passage feeds upon φθορά.

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treated at some length in an article by Dr A. B. Cook in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1895,[1] supplementing a monograph by W. Robert-Tornow, Berlin, 1893.[2] We may summarize as follows:—

The bee was regarded by the Greeks with an esteem that amounted to reverence, as being a numinous creature.[3] It was connected with the Muses,[4] was held to possess reason like men and gods,[5] and even to have knowledge of the future.[6] For the latter reason bees were observed for omens.[7]

The Muses were said to have sent them to feed with honey infants who were to be distinguished for eloquence, or poetry, or other wonderful qualities.[8] Thus Plato was reputed to have been suckled by them upon honey.[9]

Bees also, as winged creatures of the air,[10] took a place, with birds[11] and butterflies,[12] as symbols or forms of souls in separation from the body.[13] This appears to be a late developement, and rather vague in outline. But it may possibly represent a connecting up of the idea of the soul as a flying thing, with the associations of honey, as invested with supernatural virtues[14] and connected with the cult of the dead.[15] An ancient and widespread idea about honey was that it was a celestial dew.[16] And

[1] Vol. xv pp. 1–24. The present article owes much to Dr Cook's kind help and suggestion.

[2] Reference may also be made to a summary by Olck in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Biene (iii pp. 431–450, especially pp. 446 ff). Also W. H. Roscher *Lexicon*, s.v. Melissa (ii col. 2645). For honey, Roscher's *Nektar und Ambrosia*, Leipzig, 1883, is important. A wonderful collection of matter, largely reproduced in the later works, is contained in S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* vol. iii (1796 edition) pp. 352–401.

[3] Petronius 56 'Apes . . . ego divinas bestias puto' (quoted, Cook, p. 1).

[4] Varro 'Apes . . . musarum esse dicuntur volucres' (quoted, Robert-Tornow, p. 102).

[5] Robert-Tornow, pp. 103–105.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 172. Homeric hymn to Hermes (quoted, Cook, p. 7).

[7] *Ibid.* pp. 35–39, 43–60.

[8] Cook, pp. 7–8; Robert-Tornow, pp. 99–101.

[9] Robert-Tornow, p. 100.

[10] Roscher *Nektar und Ambrosia* p. 4.

[11] Georg Weicker *Der Seelenvogel*, a Vittorio Macchioro in *Napoli Memorie della R. Accademia de Archeologia*, 1911, vol. i.

[12] See especially the inscription 'Heredibus mando etiam cinere ut (mera vina ferant), volitet meus ebrius papilio . . .' *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*. Bücheler, 1851. The cabbage white butterfly was called *πετομένη ψυχή*. Macchioro l.c. and s.v. *φάλλαινα* Steph. *Thes.*

[13] Cook, p. 17.

[14] Robert-Tornow, pp. 75–76 and 85–86.

[15] *Ibid.* pp. 135–142. Cf. Porphyry *de antro Nympharum* 18 *μέλιτος σπονδὰς τοῖς χθονίοις ἔθνον*. Compare also H. Usener *Kleine Schriften* vol. iv p. 406.

[16] Roscher *Nektar und Ambrosia* c. I A.

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bees were sometimes supposed to gather it from the upper air, and only visit flowers for wax.[1] In this circle of associations is the idea of honey as a food of health and life,[2] and so of deathless life.[3] Apiculture was practised,[4] and bees were regarded, on the whole, as friendly creatures.[5] But it cannot be said that anything in pagan literature ascribes to the bee the character of universal benevolence that Clement assigns to it. It is reminiscent of his characterization of the true 'gnostic'.[6] Finally, the bee was regarded as dainty and virginal, abhorring alike unchastity[7] and filth.[8] Hence the appropriateness of the contrast drawn by Clement between the bee and the carrion-worm, in the passage quoted. And the association of the bee with knowledge, understanding, reason, and inspiration, fits it to be the symbol of Truth, considered as an active principle working in human life.

The passage in which Clement calls his teacher (Pantaenus seems to be meant)[9] a 'Sicilian bee',[10] is famous. It runs Σικελικὴ τῷ ὄντι ἡ μέλιττα, προφητικοῦ τε καὶ ἀποστολικοῦ λειμῶνος τὰ ἄνθη δρεπόμενος ἀκήρατόν τι γνώσεως χρῆμα ταῖς τῶν ἀκροωμένων ἐνεγέννησε ψυχαῖς.[11] Pantaenus, working as an exegete upon the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, culls from them the pure stuff of gnosis, as a bee wins honey from the flowers. It is actually the principle of Truth in his mind that is at work, but it is naturally identified with the man himself.

[1] Robert-Tornow, pp. 75–79.

[2] Roscher *Nektar und Ambrosia* c. IV a. Also V. Macchioro *Napoli Memorie* vol. i, 1911, pp. 56 et seq, where the bee is described as a 'very ancient and important symbolic manifestation of life'. And Bochart *Hieroзoicon* vol. iii p. 370. We note σωτηρία (= life) in the passage of Clement under discussion.

[3] Cook, p. 20.

[4] Robert-Tornow, pp. 8, 9.

[5] In spite of some stories of men and beasts being stung to death by bees (as see Robert-Tornow, pp. 60, 61), the good aspect of bees is generally in view.

[6] Compare Porphyry *De antro Nympharum* 18, where elect souls that live righteously and return whence they came after fulfilling the will of heaven are called μέλισσαι (Cook, p. 17).

[7] Robert-Tornow, pp. 12–18.

[8] *Ibid.* p. 14. And see Bochart *Hieroзoicon* vol. iii p. 355, quoting the mediaeval Byzantine poet Phile on animals (drawn from classical sources) καὶ ζῇ μὲν ἁγνὸν ἡ σοφὴ σχεδὸν βίον, ἄγευστος οὖσα νεκρικῶν σπαραγμάτων.

[9] Eusebius *H. E.* bk. vii c. xiii; compare bk. v c. xi.

[10] Not an unprecedented phrase; see Suidas (Gaisford, col. 2627), s.v. Ξενοφῶν αὐτὸς δὲ Ἀττικὴ μέλιττα ἐπωνομάζετο. Pindar, Fourth Pythian Ode l. 106 calls the priestess of the oracle μέλισσα Δελφίς; and the priestesses of Demeter were called μέλισσαι. Aristophanes *Birds* ll. 749 ff gives us ἔνθεν ὥσπερεὶ μέλιττα Φρύνιχος ἀμβροσίων μελέων ἀπεβύσκετο καρπὸν, ἀεί φέρων γλυκείαν ᾠδήν—rather specially close in parallel to the passage under discussion.

[11] *Stromata* bk. i c. i (vol. ii p. 9 ll. 1–3). Dr A. B. Cook notes a reminiscence of Euripides *Hippolytus* ll. 76 ff, the free-roaming bee culling pure honey from the flowers of a virgin meadow.

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Again, the phrase about begetting τι γνώσεως χρῆμα in the souls of the hearers presents us with just the idea that inspires such fables as that of the bees that fed the infant Plato.

The passage has generally, and no doubt rightly, been taken as evidence that Pantaenus came from Sicily. Sicilian honey was famous enough[1] to make 'the bee' a fitting sobriquet for a native of Sicily. And that might have been enough to give rise to the whole passage. But in the light of the association in Clement's mind of 'a bee' with the active principle of Truth, as it works in the mind of a 'gnostic' Christian, this name for Pantaenus is felicitous.

τῷ ὄντι also explains itself, since Pantaenus is 'a bee' figuratively, but Sicilian literally.

Again, ethnic epithets are frequently employed in poetry,[2] and not infrequently in prose, to convey a suggestion of quality. Such use occurs in Clement. 'No one is a Cimmerian in respect of the Logos'[3]; 'the paternal Logos is the only Paeonian physician'[4]; 'Stout and Olympic adversaries',[5] may be quoted as instances. It is consequently probable that where an ethnic epithet is used which carries an apt suggestion of quality, it is meant to do so. And 'Sicilian' in connexion with bees or honey would carry the thought of 'superlative'.[6] It is particularly likely to have done so in Alexandria, where the luxury market, about which Clement waxes so eloquent, drew upon Sicily for lampreys[7] (as he tells us) and almost certainly also for honey, as being a staple product of the island. 'Sicilian bee' is therefore a singularly happy name for Pantaenus. It is also characteristic with Clement to give people their ethnic epithet.[8] He would think of 'Pantaenus the Sicilian', no doubt, habitually.

Twice Clement refers to the 'lesson from the bee' in the LXX

[1] Sicilian honey was good because of the abundance and quality of thyme in the island. Varro *de re rustica* iii 16. 14 'propter hoc Siculum mel fert palmam, quod ibi thymum bonum est'.

[2] The first Ode of Horace, short as it is, contains no less than eight instances of this use of the ethnic epithet.

[3] *Protrepticus* c. ix (vol. i p. 65 l. 27).

[4] *Paedagogus* bk. i c. ii (vol. i p. 93 l. 12).

[5] *Stromata* bk. ii c. xx (vol. ii p. 178 l. 16). One would include with strict ethnic epithets those formed from the name of a legendary personage or other particular association.

[6] To give this suggestion it was not necessary for the epithet to be inevitable, but only suitable. Thus in the Ode quoted above *Libycis areis* is clearly meant to convey the idea of superlative wealth of corn. Libya was not, however, unique as a corn-growing country. And similarly with other epithets used in the same ode.

[7] *Paedagogus* bk. ii c. i (vol. i p. 155 l. 7).

[8] In the *Protrepticus*, for example, a majority of the references to Greek characters qualify them by their ethnic epithet.

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version of Proverbs vi 8. The 'lesson from the bee' follows the 'lesson from the ant', in verses 6–8. In the Hebrew there is present only the 'lesson from the ant'. And the presence of the additional sentences in the Greek seems likely to have resulted from the incorporation of a gloss in the text.[1] The LXX reads, as an insertion in the middle of verse 8, *ἢ πορεύθητι πρὸς τὴν μέλισσαν καὶ μάθε ὡς ἐργάτις ἐστιν, τήν τε ἐργασίαν ὡς σεμνὴν ποιεῖται· ἧς τοὺς πόνους βασιλεῖς καὶ ἰδιῶται πρὸς ὑγείαν προσφέρονται, ποθεινὴ δέ ἐστιν πᾶσιν καὶ ἐπίδοξος·* and concluding with what forms the conclusion of the 'lesson from the ant', *καίπερ οὖσα τῇ ῥώμῃ ἀσθενής, τὴν σοφίαν τιμήσασα προήχθη*, which is thus made to refer to the bee. There is a moralizing character about this saying that is not represented in pagan bee-lore,[2] and offers explanation of the moral tendency in Clement's treatment of the subject.

On neither occasion does Clement quote the whole of the LXX passage on the 'lesson from the bee'. On the first, he cites the opening sentence only, and concludes with a reflexion of his own, *καὶ αὐτὴ γὰρ πάντα τὸν λειμῶνα ἐπινεμομένη ἐν κηρίον γεννᾷ*,[3] a comment very reminiscent of the passage about Pantaenus. *κηρίον* is one of the titles which Clement mentions as applicable to collections of choice thoughts.[4] Again, the thought is of an activity that brings together, from far and wide, one harvest of superlative value.

The other citation of the 'lesson from the bee' occurs in a passage proving that the supreme glory of man is his power to respond to God. Clement quotes 'God talked with Moses as a friend with a friend',[5] and explains this converse as consisting in the fact that *τὸ ἀληθές* in the Mind of God proceeds forth, begetting an answering principle in the mind of man. The experience of this belongs to the mystic, or, as Clement would call him, the 'gnostic'. He feels it in himself as love for Truth. *τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀληθὲς τῷ θεῷ σαφὲς αὐτίκα τὴν ἀλήθειαν γεννᾷ, ὁ γνωστικὸς δὲ ἀληθείας ἐρᾷ.*[6] Solomon was a 'gnostic' man, and he expressed his feeling for Truth in the proverb *ἴθι πρὸς τὸν μύρμηκα, ὦ ὀκνηρέ, καὶ μελίττης γενοῦ μαθητής*. Men need the lesson because their nature is not single, but Centaurlike, compounded of rational and irrational. They are tempted to divide their interests. The 'gnostic', nevertheless, must reproduce the characteristic tirelessness of the bee in

[1] C. H. Toy *International Critical Commentary* (*Proverbs*) p. 124.

[2] Porphyry, and the Neo-Platonic writers generally, stand on a distinct footing in this respect, and are left out of count in this judgement. For the moral aspects of the bee in pagan bee-lore, see Olck, in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. iii p. 446. Porphyry *de antro Nympharum* moralizes on the bee.

[3] *Stromata* bk. i c. vi (vol. ii p. 22 l. 14).

[4] *Ibid.* bk. vi c. i (vol. ii p. 423 l. 2).

[5] Exodus xxiii 11.

[6] *Stromata* bk. iv c. iii (vol. ii p. 252 l. 10).

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its single quest. The 'gnostic's' quest is for an apprehension of Truth. And so, once more, it is the active principle in the mind by which such apprehension is possible that is really the thing compared to the bee.

Clement credits the bee with enjoyment of the scent of flowers, and this gives him another 'lesson from the bee'. He is condemning the wearing of garlands of cut flowers as offending against his principle of contentment with the simple joys that nature presents. The proper place to enjoy the scent of flowers is in the fields where they grow. The bees know that, *αὐτοφυεῖ καὶ εἰλικρινεῖ τινι εὐωδίᾳ . . . τρεφομένους*.[1]

Similarly, in deprecating the excessive use of scented unguents, although unwilling to ban such things altogether, at any rate in the case of married women, he notes that bees do not like them. *Καίτοι καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον αὐτὸ ταῖς μελίτταις καὶ τοῖς ἐντόμοις ἐστὶ πολέμιον ζῴοις*.[2]

The associations which bees possess with Clement are uniformly good. When he has to choose a stinging insect, as for example to symbolize the natural passions that attack the soul, it is wasps,[3] or gad-flies,[4] that he selects, and not bees.

σμῆνος.

It is not, of course, necessarily a reference to bees, when we meet with the word *σμῆνος*.[5] But it so happens that both the passages in which Clement uses the word gain in significance when it is taken in its literal sense.

Thus, in one passage,[6] Clement has been accusing the Greek philosophers of plagiarizing from the Jews. He names a number of virtues the teaching of which they have appropriated, in this way, without acknowledgement. But he breaks off the list with a phrase that seems to sum the matter up: *σμῆνος ἀτεχνῶς τῶν ἀληθείας ἀρετῶν*. 'Ever so many of the virtues of Truth' will possibly translate it. But if the 'ever so many' be visualized as a swarm *ἀτεχνῶς* is easier to understand; each several bee is then one virtue, and Truth is perhaps the King-bee (as we should say, the Queen). In that case, however many virtues the Greeks take one by one, so long as they do not make Truth their own, the swarm is not really theirs. And that seems to be just the point that Clement wants. The representation of Truth as the Queen-bee, to

[1] *Paedagogus* bk. ii c. viii (vol. i p. 199 ll. 16–17).

[2] *Ibid.* (vol. i p. 197, ll. 11–12).

[3] *Stromata* bk. ii c. xx (vol. ii p. 178 l. 16).

[4] *Quis Dives* § 25 (vol. iii p. 176 l. 11). So, too, when the *host* of evil passions is in question, Clement does not use *σμῆνος*, but *ἔγκυος*. *Quis Dives* § 20 (vol. iii p. 173 l. 11).

[5] For the metaphorical use of *σμῆνος* see Blaydes, Aristophanes *Clouds* l. 297; *Wasps* l. 425: cf. Plato *Crat.* 401 E.

[6] *Stromata* bk. ii c. i (vol. ii p. 113 l. 11).

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whom the whole swarm of virtues belongs, accords well with ἡ ἀλήθεια ὥσπερ ἡ μέλιττα.

The character of the other passage[1] is perhaps less dubious. It is about the νέφος μαρτύρων in Heb. xii 1, which Clement understands to be the same as the σμῆνος ὑποδειγμάτων θείων mentioned earlier in the same chapter. He qualifies the 'cloud' as ἅγιον καὶ διειδές. The second adjective indicates visualization. The holy souls, whose example has been cited, are pictured as enveloping the living like a cloud. νέφος and σμῆνος are both capable of meaning 'an indefinite great number'. And it is reasonable to suppose that, in this passage, this figurative sense applies either to both, or to neither. The use of the epithet διειδές shews that νέφος is used *sensu proprio*. And this gives a presumption that σμῆνος is also used in its literal sense. The modern reader would most readily think of the νέφος διειδές as an invisible crowd of human presences.[2] But we are not justified in concluding that Clement is doing that. The ancients continually appear to represent to themselves the immortal and bodiless state of the soul under the symbolic form of a small flying creature.[3] Clement seems to be thinking on those lines when he applies to himself the phrase from a lost work of Euripides, χρύσεαι δή μοι πτέρυγες περὶ νώτῳ,[4] and prays that Christ will grant him to wing his way to the heavenly city. It is possible, therefore, that the νέφος μαρτύρων is visualized by Clement as a swarm of bees on the wing,[5] of which νέφος διειδές is no inapt description. The likelihood of this interpretation is greatly increased by a fragment from a lost play of Sophocles, βομβεῖ δὲ νεκρῶν σμῆνος

[1] *Ibid.* bk. iv c. xvi (vol. ii p. 293 l. 20).

[2] Mrs Oliphant's *Beleaguered City* is a classical expression of this form of thought, which has its own long history of developement.

[3] Georg Weicker *Der Seelenvogel*; Vittorio Macchioro in *Napoli Memorie della R. Accademia di Archeologia*, 1911, vol. i. On the Athenian white Lekythoi of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. souls are represented as tiny winged naked human figures. A 'swarm' of such little souls are shewn on a vase depicting Hermes bringing a dead woman to Charon's boat. They flit round the life-sized figures. W. Riezler *Weissgrundige Attische Lekythen*, Plate 44. A. Fairbanks *Athenian White Lekythoi*, New York, 1901, p. 307, describes a vase, no. 461 in Jena University Museum, shewing little souls flitting out of a half-buried pithos, beneath the wand of Hermes. It may represent the souls exercising their liberty to return to this world on the Festival of Anthesteria, the first day of which was called Pithoigia. See also R. Hirsch *De animarum apud antiquos imaginibus*. Also s. v. Schmetterling in Pauly-Wissowa, 2nd Series, vol. ii A, p. 571. And for bees as representing souls, Cook, p. 23, and Robert-Tornow, pp. 134 ff.

[4] *Stromata* bk. iv c. xxvi (vol. ii p. 324 l. 19). Confirmed by Plutarch *Morals*; see A. Nauck *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Leipzig, 1889, p. 655.

[5] See Vergil *Georgics* bk. iv l. 557 for description of bees issuing from a bull's carcase as 'immensae nubes'.

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ἔρχεταί τ' ἄνω.[1] If this be Clement's thought, we may note that it is 'gnostic' souls (the Old Testament heroes of faith) that he here symbolizes by bees.[2] We may compare a similar limitation of the older and more general pagan symbolism by Porphyry, who will call μέλισσας only τὰς μελλούσας μετὰ δικαιοσύνης βιοτεύειν, καὶ πάλιν ἀναστρέφειν εἰργασμένας τὰ θεοῖς φίλα.[3] And it is reasonable to suggest that once more the bee is carrying in Clement's mind associations with the active principle of Truth.

μέλι.

References to honey are frequent in Clement. His sumptuary rules for 'gnostics' allow 'those who feed according to the Logos' to regale themselves with dried fruits and honeycombs.[4] These are pleasant foods, having what is to Clement so great an advantage, that they need no cooking or garnishing, but are partaken in the state in which God gives them. His feeling in this respect is the same that meets us so strikingly in St Francis, when he gives special thanks for a frugal meal beside a spring because the whole provision came directly from the hand of God. 'Hoc reputo magnum thesaurum', says St Francis, 'ubi nihil est de iis quae praeparet humana industria; sed quidquid aliud est totum a providentia divina ministratur.'[5] Honey is commended for 'gnostic' use also by the example of the Baptist.[6]

Again Clement observes that honey, though sweet to the healthy, is bitter to those who are sick of fever.[7] And similarly τὸ μὲν οὖν μέλι γλυκύτατον ὂν χολῆς ἐστιν γεννητικὸν,[8] an observation which Clement interprets symbolically as meaning that goodness, in incurring contempt through mildness, may become the cause of sin. He thinks that it is for this reason that the Logos 'likens Himself to a grain of mustard seed',[9] as intimating that He combines 'the pungency and purifying virtue of punishment' with the sweetness of love. This harsher side,

[1] See *Fragments of Sophocles*, A. C. Pearson, 1917, vol. iii, p. 75. It survives by quotation in Porphyry *de antro Nympharum* c. 18, R. Hercher, Paris, 1858. Compare *Aeneid* vi. 707, of Aeneas entering a valley of the dead, 'Hunc circum innumerae gentes populique volabant | ac velut in pratis ubi apes aestate serena | floribus insidunt variis, et candida circum | lilia funduntur: strepit omnis murmure campus.'

[2] We have already noted Clement as confining himself to good associations, as opposed to bad, concerning bees.

[3] Porphyry *de antro Nympharum* c. 19 (R. Hercher, Paris, 1858).

[4] *Paedagogus* bk. ii c. i (vol. i p. 165 ll. 4–5).

[5] *Actus B. Francisci et Soc.* c. xiii § 8, edn. P. Sabatier, Paris, 1902, p. 47.

[6] Mk. i 6; *Paedagogus* bk. ii c. i (vol. i p. 165 l. 15).

[7] *Stromata* bk. viii c. ix (vol. iii p. 100, l. 24).

[8] S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* (1796 edn.) vol. iii p. 389 quotes 'an old epigram' καὶ μέλιτος τὸ πλέον ἐστὶ χολή.

[9] *Paedagogus* bk. i c. xi (vol. i p. 147 l. 11).

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however, is an 'economy'. In Himself, the Logos is symbolized by honey.[1]

Special interest attaches to a reference by Clement to the mingling of milk and honey. It might indicate that he knew the liturgical custom prevailing in Africa in his time,[2] of administering milk and honey to the newly baptized. Usener, in a monograph that has attracted considerable attention,[3] has used this passage to argue that the Christian rite derived from pagan origins, assuming that it is a reference to the rite. Both the assumption and the argument will bear re-examination.

Towards the beginning of chapter vi of the first book of the Paedagogus (an unusually long chapter), Clement expounds 1 Cor. iii 2 'I have fed you with milk'. He first contrasts the opening stage of the Christian life, characterized by the Apostle in the words 'milk, not meat', with the final stage, symbolized by the attainment of the 'land flowing with milk and honey'. He then becomes absorbed in the subject of milk, and after delivering himself of some amazing physiology of lactation, comes to consider the substances with which milk will mix. First is water, and that mixture suggests the connexion of baptism (water) with the Logos (milk). Next is honey, *καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ καθάρσει πάλιν μετὰ γλυκείας τῆς τροφῆς.*[4] 'For the Logos blended with love at once cures our passions and cleanses our sins; and the saying *μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή* (*Iliad* i 249) seems to me to have been spoken of the Logos, Who is honey. And prophecy oft extols Him *ὑπὲρ μέλι καὶ κηρίον.*'[5] There follow passages on the mixtures of milk with sweet wine, and butter with honey. Usener sums the situation in the words 'Milch als die Nahrung nach der leiblichen Geburt, Milch und Honig als Speisung nach der geistigen Wiedergeburt in Vergleichung setzt'. It is only necessary to look at the chapter to see that no such antithesis is present. On the other hand, the passage about the milk and honey is in such juxtaposition with the passage that contains the reference to baptism, that had the former also had liturgical allusion, it is hardly credible that that fact should not shew itself.

[1] *Ibid.* c. vi (vol. i p. 120 l. 23). For the likening of the word or wisdom of the Lord to honey we have scriptural precedent in Ps. xix 10, cxix 103; Prov. xxiv 13, 14; Sirach xxiv 20.

[2] Tertullian *de Corona* c. iii 'Inde suscepti lactis et mellis concordiam praegustamus'.

[3] H. Usener *Kleine Schriften* vol. iv p. 406. It cannot, of course, be denied that the associations of milk and honey as a mystic food of life would be certain to attach themselves to the Christian liturgical use of the mixture. It is a different matter, however, to say that those associations were responsible for the origination of the rite in the Christian Church.

[4] *Paedagogus* bk. i c. vi (vol. i p. 120 l. 20).

[5] LXX. Ps. xviii 11.

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But another consideration increases certainty. Clement regards the mixture of milk and honey as ἐπὶ καθάρσει. And it cannot have had that purpose in the Christian liturgical use. For it was administered at the one moment in the life of the believer when he had no need of cleansing, the moment of his emergence in spotless innocence from the waters of baptism. The associations which Clement here connects with the mixture of milk and honey doubtless derived from pagan sources.[1] But also they are quite inappropriate to the Christian liturgical use.

The earliest reference to the rite is Tertullian's,[2] and he does not explain its bearing. Old Testament symbolism is so marked in African Latin Christianity that the probabilities are on the side of a symbolic entry into the Promised Land as the original motive of the rite. We may compare the experience related in the Passion of St Perpetua,[3] in which she visits Paradise: 'Ascendi, et vidi spatium immensum horti, et in medio sedentem hominem canum, in habitu pastoris, grandem, oves mulgentem: et circumstantes candidati milia multa.' The Good Shepherd gives her 'quasi buccellam' of the result of His milking, which she receives sacrament-wise 'et universi circumstantes dixerunt Amen'. Waking, she finds herself still tasting something sweet, and recognizes that she received this foretaste of the Promised Land to strengthen her for her coming passion.

It is true that St Jerome, referring to Tertullian, says that the rite of administering milk and honey 'signifies infancy'.[4] There is nothing in Tertullian to suggest this. And St Jerome is as likely to be reinterpreting as stating a traditional explanation. In any case, it need not have any reference to the associations of honey, as a life-giving food, given to infants for quasi-magical ends. For St Jerome (following St Basil and St Cyril) comments on Isa. vii 15 'Cibis utitur infantiae. Butyrum comedet et mel'. And in *Ep.* ix *ad Eustochium* he takes honey to typify sense-pleasure, which the more advanced Christian must renounce.[5]

Further, were Greek pagan associations responsible for the origination of the rite, it might have been expected to shew itself first among Christians more dominated by Greek culture than those of Africa. If, therefore, we can assume (as we have seen reason to do) that the

[1] S. Eitrem *Opferritus und Voropfer* p. 104 'Milch und Honig . . . einen ausgesprochen hilastisch-apotropäisch-kathartischen Character trugen'.

[2] *de Corona* c. iii. So dominating was the thought of the purity resulting from baptism, that for a week after the newly baptized did not bathe.

[3] Ch. iv. See *Text and Studies* vol. i p. 68, J. Armitage Robinson.

[4] *Adv. Luciferum* c. viii.

[5] Quoted (all three) in S. Bochart *Hieroeoicon* (1796 edn.) vol. iii p. 388. St Basil *Commentary on Isaiah* c. vii (edn. J. Garnier, 1721, Paris, tom. i, p. 329) regards the mixture simply as παιδικὴ τροφή.

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liturgical custom in question was unknown at this time in Alexandria, the balance of probabilities is against the pagan and for the Old Testament derivation of the rite.

This is supported by the Verona MS of the *Didascalia*, which describes the administration of milk and honey, and explains it in the words 'lac et melle mixta simul ad plenitudinem promissionis, quae ad patres fuit, qua(m) dixit terram fluentem lac et mel'.[1]

For the rest, Usener's case is rather naïvely given away by Eitrem in the remark 'Das nächstliegende antike Vorbild[2] (wohl irgend ein Mysterienritus, wie Usener meint) bleibt noch zu suchen'.[3] There is no cause for surprise, however, if the Christian rite developed from a Scriptural idea, and not from a pagan mystery rite.

Conclusion.

Honey, for Clement, symbolizes the sweet and profitable knowledge of the Logos, which is to be culled from all over the varied garden of the universe. The bee symbolizes the active principle of Truth in man, which enables him to do this; or, by a derived use, it symbolizes a 'gnostic' soul as actualizing this principle.

Because the sweets of the Logos are to be found everywhere, the 'gnostic' will be *πολυμαθής*.[4]

It was this wide-ranging, industrious study that produced the *Stromata*, which Clement presents to his readers as 'figs, olives, dried fruits, honey, as from a fruitful field'.[5] And he himself is like a bee, gathering divine sweets from all over the garden (by no means prim and orderly) of his encyclopaedic knowledge.[6]

The bee-symbolism brings out vividly the fact that Clement, though bearing so many of the marks of the mystic, differs from the more usual mystic types. He knows nothing of any stillness save that of the passions. He does not see the way to God in silence of the mind, in

[1] Edn. E. Hauler, Leipzig, 1900, p. 112.

[2] i. e. to the Christian rite.

[3] S. Eitrem *Opferritus und Voropfer* p. 107. Eitrem's remark shews consciousness that it is a long step from any of the pagan uses of milk and honey cited by Usener to the thing described by Tertullian.

[4] *Stromata* bk. vi c. x (vol. ii p. 472 l. 25).

[5] *Ibid.* bk. iv c. ii (vol. ii p. 250 l. 25).

[6] *Ibid.* bk. vii c. xviii (vol. iii p. 78 ll. 23–29). With more limited scope the whole idea is summed up in St Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechetical Lecture IX, quoting Prov. vi 8 :—'Go to the bee and learn how industrious she is; how hovering about all kinds of flowers, she culls the honey for thy use, that thou also, ranging over Holy Scripture, mayest lay hold on thy salvation, and being satisfied with it may say, How sweet are thy words unto my taste; yea, sweeter than honey and the honeycomb to my mouth.'

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the negation of thought, or in voiceless contemplation. On the contrary, nothing seems to him so profitable as tireless study and discursive thought. For by these he hopes to taste, here and now, the sweetness of the Logos.

W. TELFER.

ON LUKE xxii 17–20

THE 'various readings' in St Luke's description of the Last Supper are of more than ordinary importance, because the clauses omitted by some ancient authorities include the only injunction to repeat the ceremony found outside St Paul's account. It is obvious that in this matter, as in the somewhat similar case of the text of the Lord's Prayer, ordinary canons of textual criticism should not be applied without scrutiny: in the rest of the Gospels we may assume some measure of ignorance on the part of scribes and therefore of dependence upon the exemplar before them, but in the case of the Lord's Prayer and the 'Words of Institution' the text must have been too familiar for merely careless mistakes to be perpetuated and transmitted by whole groups of MSS. To take the simplest instance, some Churches inserted a Doxology at the end of the Lord's Prayer in St Matthew, some omitted it. I can conceive an Ecclesiastical authority becoming convinced that the Doxology should be omitted, or *vice versa*, but I should be surprised if a scribe left it out by mere carelessness in copying. The Canon of the greater probability of a longer (or shorter) reading simply does not apply.

All the more therefore in these passages is it probable that we ought to adopt the unconventional reading—perhaps it would be better to say the unliturgical reading. All our MSS, without exception, were penned by Christians,[1] many of them (I should suppose) by clergymen, and the various readings actually found in these passages in ancient groups of MSS must, I think, be explained by efforts to produce something which seemed to be more edifying and nearer the *consensus fidelium* than the rival reading.

An obvious instance is afforded by the Peshitta text of Lk. xxii: no one supposes that it was the result of mere accidents of transcription. It is a nice question what text exactly may be supposed to have stood before the editor, but whatever it was it must have been a text describing a ritual which it was difficult to reconcile with that in Mark and Matthew on the one hand or the still more familiar words of

[1] Cod. Bobiensis (*k*) is a possible exception, for the scribe seems not to have known his *Paternoster*.

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1 Corinthians on the other. The remedy applied was to assimilate the whole to 1 Corinthians by leaving out altogether the mention of the first Cup, peculiar to the Lucan narrative.[1]

No one defends the Peshitta text here: I only mention it, because every one properly condemns it on the ground that its rivals are each in their way more unconventional, more unliturgical. St Luke's first Cup cannot have arisen out of a transcriber's blunder; whatever our interpretation of it, the clause that mentions it must be a genuine part of the text.

Our decision, of course, has to be between the text of B and the text of D: the former is what is printed in Westcott and Hort, the latter is obtained by leaving out Westcott and Hort's double brackets, i. e. *vv.* 19^{b} and 20. It is this latter text that is defended in Dr Hort's Note.

The attestation for the shorter text is in Greek, Codex Bezae (D); in Latin, *a ff i* and *l*, while *b* and *e* put *vv.* 17 and 18 after *hoc est corpus meum*; in Syriac, syr. *C* has the same transposition as *b* and *e*, but adds 19^{b} as well, while syr. *S* incorporates the two halves of *ver.* 20 also, producing a narrative which mentions only one Cup, almost exactly as is done in the Arabic Diatessaron. The facts are not in dispute and are well set out in Hort's Note and in Tischendorf, except for syr. *S*: what should be noticed is that no genuine Old-Latin MS, and neither Cureton's MS nor the Sinai Palimpsest, has a text of Lk. xxii that speaks of two Cups.[2]

There are many variants in which D stands on one side and all the rest of our Greek MSS on the other. But when in such variants none of the ante-Nicene versions (i. e. the various forms of the Old-Latin and the Old Syriac) supports the mass of Greek MSS, and these versions do more or less support D, then external authority can say no more. It is a division of the witnesses in which the original authentic reading is found sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, and only internal probabilities can guide us.

The rival texts can be tested in two ways, (1) Intrinsic Probability, and (2) correspondence or otherwise with St Luke's ascertained methods of composition. On (1) it may suffice to give a quotation from Dr Hort: 'the extreme improbability that the most familiar form of

[1] It may be remarked that the wording of Lk. xxii 19–20 and of 1 Cor. xi 23–25 is not identical in the Syriac, which seems to indicate that the harmonistic recension now represented by the Peshitta was not a Syriac manufacture. I do not suggest that it follows the wording of some early Syriac liturgy, for the Words of Institution very probably formed no part of the Syriac Liturgy till later.

[2] It is to be noted that throughout Lk. xxii and xxiii *e* deserts the 'African' text and agrees generally with *b*. The archetype of *e* had evidently here lost a quire.

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the Words of Institution, agreeing with St Paul's record, should be selected for omission; while the vaguer, less sacred, and less familiar words, in great part peculiar to Luke, were retained.' As for (2), if the Longer Reading be regarded as St Luke's work, then the whole text is a conflation of Mark, of St Luke's special source (which supplied *vv.* 17 and 18), and of 1 Corinthians. In particular the clause *τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου* comes from *τοῦτο τ. ποτ. ἡ καινὴ διαθ. ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι* in 1 Cor. xi 25. Now Prof. Cadbury in his exhaustive work on the Style and Method of Luke, p. 149, gives nine passages where Luke has added a copula, or similar verb, to complete the grammatical sense of his source, and adds 'The omission of the copula in Lk. xxii 20 is therefore difficult to understand as all the parallels have it'. It is of course difficult to understand on the assumption that it *is* Luke's work. But by a really Providential slip Prof. Cadbury had forgotten that the passage was omitted by D *a ff i l* and Dr Hort, so that he cannot be accused of having formulated this rule of Lucan style in order to favour the shorter reading! The natural inference is that the evidence of style shews that the Longer Reading does *not* come from Luke's pen.[1]

It may perhaps not be out of place to add here a conjecture as to the date and origin of the Longer Reading. *Habent sua fata libelli*, and in the fated career of what we call 'St Luke's Gospel' the most critical event was clearly when it was separated from its own Second Volume to form a partnership with Matthew, Mark, and John. It is only likely that this double process of amputation and new association should have left some mark on the text. And that is indeed what we find, just in the place where we might expect to find it, *viz.* in the last chapter of Luke, now no longer the middle of a longer work. I refer, of course, to the series of readings generally known in England by the clumsy title of 'the Western Non-Interpolations'. These are a set of eight or nine passages in Lk. xxiv, where D and the Old-Latin MSS, generally but not uniformly supported by the Old-Syriac, omit clauses found in all other authorities. Internal evidence shews that the passages are not likely to be original, i. e. Lucan, but their addition becomes more comprehensible if we regard them as editorial touches inserted to adapt 'Lucas *ad Theophilum*, Vol. I' to its new company. Thus 'He is not here, but is risen' (xxiv 6[a]) links the narrative with Mk. xvi 6, while the words about Peter running to the empty Tomb (xxiv 11) and the additions to xxiv 36 and 40 link it similarly with John xx 4–6 and 26 ff. The final parting of our Lord and the Apostles had been reserved by St Luke for the opening section of his

[1] See *J. T. S.* xxiii 303.

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Second Volume, but this was now separated from its predecessor, so a short allusion to the Ascension was inserted in Lk xxiv 51, 52.

We see then that these editorial changes are marked by a desire to complete the narrative by simple verbal additions, without any attempt at historical criticism, very much in the manner that the Diatessaron itself was compiled. It seems to me that the same hand added xxii 19ᵃ–20 (*τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν—ἐκχυννόμενον*). The genuine Lucan account of the Last Supper might well seem glaringly defective: it contained no express reference to the Blood of Christ, no mention of a new Covenant. What more natural than that the editor who had touched up the last chapter of the Gospel to fit it for public reading in Christian assemblies along with 'Matthew' and 'John' should supplement Luke's meagre narrative with the apostolic words of St Paul?

On this view, then, the shorter text, both in Lk. xxii 17–20 and in Lk. xxiv, preserves the true Lucan wording, while the longer text dates from the formation of the Church's official Canon of Four Gospels.

F. C. BURKITT.

Τὰ στοιχεῖα IN PAUL AND BARDAIṢĀN.

MANY modern scholars think that by *τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου* in Gal. iv 3, 9 and Col. ii 8, 20 Paul means personal powers or elemental spirits. Elsewhere he refers to similar beings as *οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*[1] and as *ἀρχαί* and *ἐξουσίαι*.[2] The world is the sphere in which they have authority and operate. Στοιχεῖα in 2 Pet. iii 10, 12 is also interpreted in this way by a few scholars.

In the Syriac work entitled *The Book of the Laws of the Countries* there are four passages in which ܣܛܘܟܝܐ, the Syriac equivalent of *στοιχεῖα*, is used of personal cosmic powers. They are not completely free, but they enjoy a certain measure of freedom. These passages seem to have been overlooked by New Testament scholars, and it is the purpose of the present writer to call attention to them. They are as follows: (1) 'On this account, let it be manifest to you, that the goodness of God has been great towards man, and that there has been given to him free-will more than to all these Elements of which we have been speaking'—i. e. the sun, the moon, the stars, the sea, the hills, the winds, and the earth (p. ٩ ll. 8 ff = p. 4).[3] (2) 'I say to him (i. e.

[1] 1 Cor. ii 6, 8. [2] Col. i 16.

[3] The Syriac letters refer to the pages of the Syriac text in Cureton's *Spicilegium Syriacum*. The second Arabic numeral designates the page of Dr Cureton's English translation. I have followed this translation in the main, making only a few unimportant changes in it.

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Bardaiṣān), "And how will those things which are fixed be judged?" He said to me, "Not in so far as they are fixed, O Philip, will the Elements be judged, but in so far as they have power; . . . and in so far as they are subject, they will not be judged, but in that which is their own"' (p. ܕ ll. 20 ff = p. 5). (3) 'But I (i. e. Bardaiṣān) say that God and the Angels and the Powers and the Governors and the Elements and men and animals have this power; but to all these orders of which I have spoken power is not given in everything' (p. ܘ ll. 20 ff = p. 11). (4) 'But let us therefore speak and shew concerning Fate, that it has not power over everything; because this very thing itself which is called Fate is an order of procession which is given to the Powers and to the Elements by God' (p. ܝ ll. 21 ff. = p. 12 f.).

The Book of the Laws of the Countries, under the title Περὶ εἱμαρμένης, is ascribed to Bardaiṣān by patristic writers, but it is really the work of one of his disciples named Philip. It seems to have been written near the end of the second century after Christ, or more probably early in the third century. The passages quoted above shew clearly what meaning was attached to the term 'elements' by the inhabitants of Mesopotamia in the second or third century of our era. I believe that Paul in writing to the Galatians and Colossians meant by τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου personal powers or elemental spirits similar to those mentioned in *The Book of the Laws of the Countries*, and that the recipients of his letters understood the words in this sense. When Syriac-speaking Christians of a later day read ܐܣܛܘܟܣܘܢܝܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ in the Pauline epistles, it can hardly be doubted that they thought instinctively of the same kind of beings.

WILLIAM H. P. HATCH.

NOTE SUR LES MANUSCRITS ET LES ÉDITIONS DU COMMENTAIRE DE BÈDE SUR LES PROVERBES.

TOUTES les éditions du commentaire de Bède sur les Proverbes ont un texte défiguré par une transposition remarquable.

Voici le texte authentique que j'emprunte au manuscrit Vatic. Reg. 238 du xe siècle. La double barre indique l'endroit où l'inversion a eu lieu.

Dans l'explication de 22, 27: *habitum iustitiae quo indutus esse uidebaris,* || *ac nudus ab ornamento uirtutum existere conproberis, quia quod, domino teste, pollicitus es, implere nequiueras. Hoc autem dictum est, non quo curam regendarum animarum, cum tibi regulariter inposita fuerit, suscipere non debeas, sed ne passim, nullo iubente, doctoris tibi ac praesulis officium temerarius usurpes. Ne transgredieris* etc. (= 22,

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28).—Dans l'explication de 25, 13 : *inter furores persequentium, de quo dictum est : messis quidem multa,* || *operarii autem pauci. Frigus niuis* etc. (= 25, 13).—Dans l'explication de 28, 28 : *scriptum est : pestilente flagellato sapientior erit paruulus* || *Homo qui blandis* etc. (= 29, 5).

Ce bon ordre se retrouve seulement dans l'édition de ce commentaire sous le nom de saint Jérôme. J'ai vérifié sur l'édition de Plantin 1578. Sous le nom de Bède, son véritable auteur, le commentaire fut imprimé pour la première fois à Paris en 1545, mais dans l'ordre suivant. La double barre marque le passage où commence l'inversion ; les crochets renferment une interpolation de l'éditeur.

Dans l'explication de 22, 27 : *habitum iustitiae quo indutus esse uidebaris* || [*Unde et dominus : messis quidem multa,*] *operarii autem pauci. Frigis nivis* etc (= 25, 13). Puis, le chapitre 26 s'appelle xxiii, 27 xxiv, 28 xxv. Dans l'explication de 28, 28 : *scriptum est : pestilente flagellato sapientior erit parvulus.* || *Ab ornamento virtutum nudus existere comproberis* etc. . . . *usurpes. Ne transgrediaris* etc. (= 22, 28). Il n'y a pas de nouveau chapitre à 23, 1 *Quando sederis,* mais le chapitre 24 s'appelle xxvi. Au chapitre 25 commence, comme de juste, le troisième livre, mais ce chapitre est appelé xxvii. Dans l'explication de 25, 13 : *persequentium, de quo dictum est : messis quidem multa.* || *Homo qui* etc. (= 29, 5). A 29, 9 commence le chapitre xxviii, le chapitre 30 devient xxix, 31 est divisé en deux, et ainsi l'éditeur obtient enfin le chiffre adopté partout depuis le xiiie siècle. Les éditions de Bâle 1563 et de Cologne 1688 reproduisent le texte de Paris 1545 avec tous les bouleversements indiqués ci-dessus. Sans nul doute, les éditions de Paris 1554 et Cologne 1612, que je n'ai pas vues, ont les mêmes transpositions, car on dit que Paris 1554 est une réimpression de 1544–1545 et Cologne 1688 une réimpression de 1612.

Le désordre des chapitres était trop grand pour qu'à la longue il ne fût pas remarqué et corrigé. L'édition de Giles (Londres 1843–1844 en 12 volumes) a rétabli en ordre le texte biblique, mais pas le commentaire. Dans l'explication de 22, 29 *indutus esse videbaris.* || [*Unde et dominus : messis quidem multa,*] *operarii autem pauci. Ne transgrediaris* etc. (= 22, 28). Dans l'explication de 25, 13 : *persequentium, de quo dictum est : messis quidem multa.* || *Frigus nivis* (= 25, 13). Dans l'explication de 28, 28 : *sapientior erit parvulus* || *Ab ornamento virtutum nudus existere comproberis . . . usurpes. Homo* etc. (= 29, 5). Migne reproduit le texte de Giles.

Conclusions : (1) L'édition princeps est basée sur un manuscrit où un cahier de 8 feuillets avait été déplacé. Le premier éditeur ajouta par conjecture les mots : *unde et dominus : messis quidem multa* pour obtenir une transition. (2) Aucun des éditeurs postérieurs n'a revu le texte sur un manuscrit. Il était aisé de rétablir en ordre le texte biblique ;

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mais Giles a gardé l'interpolation: *Unde et dominus: messis quidem multa* qui se trouve sous sa forme authentique à 25, 13; il a gardé aussi la phrase: *ab ornamento virtutum nudus . . . usurpes* qui n'est pas à sa place. Les éditeurs de ce commentaire (et probablement faut-il dire la même chose des autres commentaires de Bède) n'ont pas fait preuve de grande intelligence et ne se sont donné que peu de peine. Malgré le grand nombre d'éditions, un seul manuscrit a été examiné, et cela une seule fois, vers 1545!

D. DONATIEN DE BRUYNE.

CUNEIFORM AND OLD TESTAMENT: THREE NOTES.

I. *Sakkūt in Amos.*

THE difficulties in the threat that Israel shall take up Sakkut their god and go into exile (Amos v 26) are well known. (1) The reference to idolatry seems to be irrelevant to the scope of the prophecy: (2) anyway, it does not appear why Amos selects for reprobation an obscure cult of Ninurta under a Sumerian title that is rare even in cuneiform[1]; this particular superstition can hardly have been the outstanding scandal of the popular religion: (3) the point of ונשאתם is not clear; we should expect the conquerors rather than the conquered to bear off the national idols.

I suggest that a motive for the allusion may be found in the complimentary *v.* 25 if the common interpretation of that verse be abandoned and that of van Hoonacker adopted. In accordance with the preceding discourse *v.* 25 condemns superstitious confidence in sacrifices. 'Did you bring me sacrifices and oblations in the desert for forty years?' The answer is: '*Yes*; and yet for forty years you wandered in the desert'.[2] This leads on naturally to *vv.* 26–27: 'So it shall be now; in spite of all your sacrifices you shall go on your wanderings once more'. The motive for the curious allusion to the carrying of Sakkut is the desire to make a parallel between the new exile and the old by means of a play on the word *Sakkut*,[3] which suggested *Sukkat* [the name may have received this pronunciation by popular etymology: cf. versions] = *hut*, pejorative equivalent to *taber-*

[1] Sakkud (sa-ak-ka-ud, sak-kud-da), one of the many Sum. titles of Ninurta; but not precisely a proper name, being used also for Etalak (*Keil. aus Assur, Versch. Inh.* 46, 12; 63, 1, 46; cf. *Zeits. f. Ass.* 1921, 145), a doorkeeper of the Sun (Deimel *Pantheon* 858).

[2] Possibly the prophet's audience had appealed to Moses.

[3] Cf. the plays on Gilgal and Bethel in *v.* 5 of this chapter.

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nacle (cf. *vv.* 9, 11). The sense of *vv.* 26–27 will be: This time you shall carry during your wanderings Sakkut or Sukkat instead of the tabernacle of the God of Hosts. The obscurity of the divinity in question added point to the contrast.

II. The two *ardat lilî*.

In Prov. xxx 15 is the saying—'ʿAlūqa has two daughters: Give! Give!' *ʿAlūqa* might certainly mean *leech*, but then the point of the 'two daughters' would not be clear. The word is reasonably compared with عَوْلَق,[1] a sort of vampire: the two daughters would be similar beings. In Sumerian demonology the demon *Lil* has two 'maids': *Kiskil-lilla* and *Kiskil-é-da-kar-ra* (or the like), in Semitic *lilîtum* and *ardat lilî* according to Haupt *Akk. u. Sum. Keil.* p. 91, 63; *Cun. Texts in B. M.* 17, 34, 19; while in 5 Rawlinson 50, 59–62 the first is called *ardat lilî*. It is not unlikely that these two *maids of Lilû* correspond to the two daughters of ʿAlūqa. The former are evidently *succubae* (S. A. Smith *Misc. Ass. Texts* p. 14, iv c. 4–6; Haupt *loc. cit.* p. 88, 30; Rawlinson *loc. cit.*): either, therefore, ʿAlūqa's two daughters would be similarly *succubae* (rather than vampires), or Prov. xxx 15 would represent a variant of the Babylonian notion, or the two kinds of demon were not distinguished.

III. *Bakîtu mušēniḳtu* (C. T. 16, 10, 26).

The introduction of *Rachel weeping* in Jer. xxxi 15 is rather surprising. Allusions to the patriarchs are rare in this period; references to their interest in human affairs are hardly found; and the figure of Rachel weeping on earth (in the neighbourhood of her tomb) is without parallel. Probably the allusion had a point which has escaped us.

There is evidence for a Semitic belief that mothers who died in child-birth became weeping ghosts: see the list of haunting ghosts in *Cun. Texts in the British Museum* 16, 10, col. v, 24–26 lu-u mu-š[e-niḳ-tu . . .], lu-u ba-ki-tu m[u-še-niḳ-tu . . .], and Sumerian (*ibid.*, and C. T. 16, 12, col. i, 52–53) = 'or a nursing mother . . . or a weeping one, nursing mother' (cf. R. Campbell Thompson *Devils* . . . pp. xxxii, 41, 45; *Semitic Magic* 19). Rachel died in child-birth, and lamenting. Probably Jeremias alludes to a popular belief in a weeping mother whose voice one heard about Rama, and then applied this poetically to his theme.

Eric Burrows, S.J.

[1] Or عَلَق. Correcting proofs in Iraq I find that this is the word now used of a long-tailed red or black cat-like creature which haunts cemeteries and sucks the throats of corpses.

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OXYRHYNCHUS LOGION (1907) V.

THE metaphorical designation of wisdom, precious doctrine, or the like, as a *pearl* is frequent in Jewish literature. Amongst other pearl-similes in the Talmuds is one whereby a hidden truth is likened to a pearl that must be extracted from its shell:—Yeb. 92 b, אי לאו דרלאי לך חספא מי משכחת מרגניתא תותיה, *Had I not raised for thee the shell, how wouldst thou have found the pearl thereunder?*; Yeb. 94 b, הוה ליה לר' אלעזר למדרש ביה מרגניתא ודרש ביה חספא, *R. Eleazar might have found therein the pearl, but he found the shell.* A similar sentence in T. J. Ma'as. (at the end): מן דגלייתּ לך חספא אשכחת מרגניתא, *When I had opened for thee the shell, thou didst find the pearl.* A saying of this kind may be the ultimate origin of the logion ἔγειρον τὸν λίθον κἀκεῖ εὑρήσεις με. If חספא is substituted for *stone* we have one more example of the shell-and-pearl saying, with Christ (perhaps as Wisdom) in place of the pearl. Since חספא means not only *shell* but also *sherd* and *clay*, λίθον in the Greek Logion may well be due to a mistaken interpretation. That *stone* is not an impossible mistake is shewn by the fact that Buxtorf, Lex. s. v. מַרְנְלִית, makes this very error, rendering אי לאו דלינא חספא si non elevassem *lapidem* (cf. also the transl. of Ma'as. *loc. cit.* in Ugolini Thes. vol. 20, DXCV; postquam tibi detexi *terram*).

It is true that the scope of the existing Oxyrhynchus Logion is the presence of Christ in man and in nature, but it seems quite likely that texts of diverse origin have been put together to illustrate that doctrine. Further, as has been observed, in the Greek Logion as it stands ἔγειρον *raise* is something of a difficulty; it would seem more natural to speak of the divine presence as *in* a stone than as *under* a stone: but a derivation from the Aramaic pearl-and-shell simile would account for the verb being *raise*.

It would be easy to credit the authenticity of the Saying as restored. An antithesis between hidden treasure of wisdom and its hard shell would be in harmony with the ordinary parabolic teaching of our Lord. Moreover in both places where the pearl is mentioned in the gospels it denotes wisdom, or the like, as not given to or not found by all: the logion would give the complementary half of the same truth—Only raise the shell and you shall find the pearl.[1]

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[1] Possibly it is significant that Mt. vii 6 on the pearl as an arcanum is immediately followed by 'Seek and you shall find', the Matthaean counterpart to 'Raise the shell and you shall find'.

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REVIEWS

Traité de Philosophie, par GASTON SORTAIS, S.J. Cinquième édition revue et augmentée. (P. Lethielleux, Paris, 1923.) Tome premier: Introduction, Psychologie, Logique, pp. xxii, 876. Tome second: Morale, Esthétique, Métaphysique, Vocabulaire philosophique, pp. xvi, 981.

THIS treatise of almost two thousand large and closely printed pages covers the whole philosophical field. It consists, strictly speaking, of six treatises, each of which would make a considerable volume. The Psychology, for example, occupies 495 pages, and the shortest—The Philosophical Dictionary—250 pages of still smaller print. How far the new edition has been revised could only be determined by comparing it with the former editions which are not at hand, but, judging by the extent to which it has been influenced by recent work, one would not infer a very extensive revision. More recent French writers like Bergson are dealt with, and the lists of authorities include several newer books in English, but, on the whole, the general type of the work gives the impression of having been done some twenty years ago. Up to that date the writer had evidently read everything of importance in French and English, and all that was translated from German. From a historical point of view this does not detract from its value, because it contains an account of just what modern writers constantly overlook, forgetfullness of which not only limits their gratitude to their predecessors, but limits also their own outlook. Modern psychology, for example, is constantly supposed to have made all earlier psychology a back number, a view which makes it less balanced and also less precise in its terminology than it need be. This book shews how much sound work had already been done, especially it shews that the present voluntarist psychology, valuable as it is, can be one-sided, and that the precision with which terms are defined could be imitated by modern writers with great profit. Even the scholastic method has its advantages. A position is stated in clear definite propositions, almost always quite fairly. Then the reasons in support of it are given, usually adequately as well as fairly, and then the objections, in definite and usually convincing propositions.

Large as the book is, this method admits of an even larger field being covered than would have been possible by any other method of treatment, and that with great simplicity and clearness as well as compactness. The criticisms are naturally from the author's own point of view, which certainly has its limitations, but there is a shrewd common sense

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which makes them always valuable, and the fact that it is very definitely the point of view of the Roman priest, with a rather scholastic training, but for all that with an able and open mind, makes it all the more valuable for those who have another kind of training and other presuppositions, and perhaps other prejudices.

The chief limitation is that our author does not always see that a position which cannot be maintained, often sets forth an aspect of a problem which has to be faced, and that the importance of a philosophical system may be in raising the problem in a way which makes it impossible to be satisfied with former solutions. The treatment of Kant is a marked example. The Kantian philosophy probably will have to be revised even more radically than it has ever been, but no revision of it will ever make it possible to start again where Kant did, or go back in any way, say to Thomas Aquinas. But for all that, the book is remarkably fair in presenting opinions not acceptable to the author, with a comprehensiveness determined by the importance of the subject and not by the author's preferences, and with a very adequate learning which is not mere citing of multitudes of books, but a real understanding of what is most important in all that has been written on the subject.

De Kant à Ritschl: une siècle d'histoire de la pensée chrétienne, par H. DUBOIS. (Secrétariat de l'université, Neuchâtel, 1925; pp. 115.)

THE latter part of this book covers much the same ground as Kattenbusch's *From Schleiermacher to Ritschl*, and the studies of Kant and Hegel of the earlier part do not go much beyond the usual treatment in histories of philosophy. But there is manifest gain for the student to have all the elements in the religious thought of the important epoch from 1750 to 1850 treated as one subject and in proportion to the relative importance of all the parts. The method of treatment, moreover, combines accuracy in detail with a general and rapid sketch in a very high degree. A careful selection of passages is made from the authors discussed, which are valuable as texts by themselves, and these are made the basis of the general exposition and criticism. The only drawback is that it requires from the reader a knowledge of German as well as French. But, although the passages are not translated, a sufficient account of them is given in French to serve the reader's purpose.

Kant is expounded, as he ought to be, as an essentially positive thinker, seeking an assured place for freedom in man and in the

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universe, for whom God is no mere condition of thought, but for whose reality the negative criticism even of the critique of Pure Reason is to make room, because the evidence of all ultimate reality is ethical: and this is Kant's supreme influence upon later religious thinking.

The largest space given to any writer is given to Schleiermacher. The reason is the usual one, which is fully recognized among all German theologians—that his emphasis on actual religious experience has been the most important of all influences in modern religious thinking. Yet our author rightly maintains that in this very thing Schleiermacher is nearer to Kant than he recognizes. Hegel he regards as also occupied in the first place with the religious order. His philosophy is expounded as purely *a priori* in contrast to Kant and Schleiermacher. The laws of logic are the explication of things: rational data the perfect expression of truth. This, while only a few theologians like Biedermann fully accept it, had deep and wide influence on most parties, even were it only negatively, as with Ritschl.

Most of the later theologians of any consequence are mentioned, usually with some suggestive, even if slight, characterization, but Rothe, Strauss, Christian Ferdinand Baur, and Ritschl, are treated more fully. A slight sketch of their lives and works is followed by an exposition of their thought, and this is followed by an appreciative yet discriminating criticism. For example, the very great influence of Baur on the historical study of Christian origins is not missed because it is plain that he often lost history in Hegelian presuppositions. The author to whom perhaps least justice is done is Rothe. The criticism that nothing can be got *a priori* out of the mere idea of absoluteness is right, but Rothe's theory of an evolution which requires the creature as well as the creator is profound and illuminating. The discussion of Ritschl is specially sympathetic, but the criticism is somewhat less certain. Kattenbusch maintains that, in spite of a vehement contrast of temper, Ritschl works on Schleiermacher's basis of experience. Our author makes it his chief criticism that he does not. But it is Kattenbusch who is right. Nor is the denial of mystical elements the chief weakness. We must always remember what Ritschl meant by mysticism. His greatest weakness is where he seems strongest. His ethic never quite escapes pharisaic righteousness.

To sum up: the book is a sketch, but it is a lucid and proportioned sketch, useful for any one who desires a general knowledge of the subject, a bird's-eye view of one of the most important movements of human thought in the whole history of the race.

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Les Contradictions de la pensée religieuse: Recherche d'une méthode dogmatique, par JEAN DE SAUSSURE. (Georg et Cie, Genève, 1926, pp. xvi, 316.)

THE purpose of the book is given at the end. It is to justify the non-rational character of dogmatic thinking, by shewing how the spirit accepts it though the intellect cannot comprehend it, and thereby to provide for it beforehand an apologetic by a theory of knowledge which separates entirely the facts, laws, and methods of ethical-religious and scientific thought. Non-rational does not, however, mean what it does, for example, with Otto, but the conception of religion is much more akin to Kant and Ritschl. For Otto ethics is rational, for our author ethics is the essential of all religion. As reason can be used to include this, he prefers to distinguish between intellect and conscience, rather than between reason and faith. If the spirit is concerned with what is an obligation for the will, it interprets by the categories of the good and the evil, by judgements of value of this special order, and is conscience: if it is concerned with facts of the senses, it interprets by the categories of the true and the false, and is intellect. Both methods are logical in the formal sense of a hypothetical judgement; that is to say a judgement which does not concern itself with whether our thought corresponds or not with reality, but only with its freedom from contradictions. Even this, however, is not purely subjective as our author thinks, but depends on the very important objective fact that, as Butler says, 'everything is what it is and not another'. But in our author's view we only come to reality with the criterion of a categorical judgement, and as this is good and bad in the one case and true and false in the other, from that moment we are on separate roads which no more touch. There is a great deal of logical paraphernalia to demonstrate this, but it can be passed over without much loss.

The main contention is that the moral judgement of value is objective because obligation is an experience imposed on us, whereas it would almost appear as though other judgements of value could be anything we like. But when we look far enough back, the scientist also starts with judgements of value, which are as much the same for normal experience as judgements of obligation. Moreover, it is a question whether we can interpret objectivity merely as purely passive reception in either. It is in both cases understanding and interpretation. This is sometimes admitted, but its importance is never appreciated. Surely it is important for the meaning of reality as ethical that reality has meaning everywhere, and that science is merely an abstraction of certain relations of quantity. It cannot be of no importance for religion that science should reduce all ordinary values to a law of inertia. If any

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quality is real, there is no reason why all should not be. Therefore, this distinction is not accurately drawn: 'There are only two sorts of knowledge—scientific knowledge founded on facts of the senses which are in principle subjective, and ethical-religious knowledge bearing on transcendent facts which are objective in principle.' In the first place, no values are subjective merely which are normal; and, in the second, science is not knowledge in the sense of the second clause, but explanations, and the parallel to science in the second member is theology, which may also be a true or false explanation. What we should insist upon is a full and objective awareness of all reality, and that this should determine the validity of all explanations and that no explanation may ever be used to determine the validity of it. Moreover, while science is not concerned with the ethical aspects of any fact, it works with a form of truth and an obligation of it which is absolute and therefore from religion. It is true enough that religious people often feel very little the obligation of it, but that is their defect not their virtue.

The author's general application is that the primary facts of morals and religion are immediate obligations of conscience, and every secondary principle should be a logical deduction from them. This may be true of morals, but is not religion something larger, both before and after? Religious beliefs no doubt require absolute obligation, but is the moral form first? Then the highest religion in a very real sense transcends conscience. Again, What is belief in God? Is it a logical deduction? In that case do we not raise the intellectual question of existence? It is true that there is a vast difference between the way in which Amos arrives at the belief in one universal God and Aristotle's unity, and the main difference can be expressed as between consecutive reasoning and right living, but can it be expressed fully as between intellect and conscience? Take another—immanence and transcendence. Conscience we are told, demands both, and does not care a rush whether intellect finds them contradictory or not. But does conscience do anything of the kind? It has a right to stick to its experiences. The rest is explanation: and all it can insist on is that the explanation is wrong. Or take the argument about the Fall. Apparently it depends on an immediate judgement of conscience that God is the source of good and cannot be the source of evil. One would imagine that there is a good deal of reasoning in this: while it is an immediate judgement of conscience that, as the prophet says, Every man shall die for his own iniquity. This leads to the other singular assertion that it is an immediate testimony of conscience that Christ dies as the substitute for our sins, however repugnant this be to intellect. But is it repugnant to intellect at all? There is nothing disproveable as fact. What it is repugnant to is a conscience that has passed beyond the tribal stage.

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What is behind is an experience no doubt, but substitution is merely wrong explanation of it.

This way of seeking peace between religion and science is not new. It goes a very long way, most of the way indeed in which both attend to their own business. Perhaps that is all the way of morals, though science suffers when ethics does not create a devotion to truth which is more than concern with facts, and ethics when science imagines that it has established naturalism. But it certainly does not go all the way in religion: if by religion all things are ours, things secular as well as things sacred.

The author has accepted much too uncritically Heim and Frommel, but for all that his work is an interesting and stimulating piece of close and consecutive reasoning on its own lines, and if the result is a long way from being the whole truth, it discusses an aspect of it which is of sufficient importance to deserve careful consideration.

J. OMAN.

Atonement, by H. MAYNARD SMITH, D.D. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1925.)

What is the Atonement? A Study in the Passion of God in Christ, by H. MALDWYN HUGHES, D.D. (London: James Clarke and Co.)

IN so far as the distinction between religion and theology is valid, Dr Maynard Smith's book is concerned with the former rather than with the latter. It is not primarily a contribution to doctrine, or an attempt to expound and defend one particular tradition, but a comprehensive survey of the religious results and inspirations which proceed from the general idea that Christ in His death did what was needed to bring about a new and lasting union between God and man. The words with which students of the doctrine of the Atonement are familiar—sacrifice, satisfaction, propitiation, expiation—are accepted and justified, but no special emphasis is laid upon any one of them, nor does one dominant conception shape the character of the book and control it from end to end. In this respect Dr Maynard Smith's work differs greatly from Dr Moberly's *Atonement and Personality*: for while Dr Moberly extended his treatment of the subject-matter beyond what was usual in discussions of the atoning work of Christ, he achieved a unity which was one of the most remarkable features of his book. That is not equally the case with *Atonement*, which suffers from an abundance of topics, not indeed irrelevant, but not related to one another with sufficient coherence. As a result, the book is less impressive in its total effect than it might have been; for there is

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certainly room for a study of the Atonement which shall bring out its many-sided religious values, and shew how it is connected with the experiences, the moral efforts, and the sacramental characteristics of the Christian life. And Dr Maynard Smith has much to say that is important, and says it clearly and with feeling. There is a curious mistake on p. 241, where, with reference to Romans viii 11, St Paul is said to tell us 'that the Spirit raised up Jesus from the dead'.

With Dr Maldwyn Hughes we pass into the familiar region of soteriological theory. The author examines the penal doctrine of atonement in relation to its Scriptual presuppositions and its intellectual and moral implications, and condemns it. But he does not, therefore, range himself with the upholders of a purely Abelardian conception. Insisting on the redemptive value of vicarious suffering, he goes on to develope the thought which has found a place in a number of treatises on the Atonement in recent years that Christ's suffering on behalf of men mirrors on the plane of time what is true of God in His eternity: 'the Cross reveals and reflects the sacrifice which is eternal in the heart of God'. All that is involved in the Atonement, as expressed in the great historic theories with their abiding religious values, is interpreted through this notion of the suffering of God; sin could not be overcome except by the payment of a price: reconciliation between God and man could not be effected unless at the same time God's condemnation of sin were pronounced; man's guilt could be wiped out only through an act of God's love which by its character revealed God's perfect righteousness and holiness. In the Cross all these needs were satisfied, and the age-long travail of God for the souls of men manifested 'in one supreme act of love and sacrifice on the field of history'.

Dr Maldwyn Hughes writes with more restraint on the subject of the suffering of God than has always been common with those who have made much of this idea; he is particularly concerned to shew that he is putting forward no doctrine of a finite God of limited resources, whose victory is uncertain. But a more extended critical survey of what is involved in the idea, of the measure of its coherence with other aspects of the doctrine of God, and of the issues to which it leads, is necessary before we can say how far it is compatible with Christian theism and is applicable in soteriology. And in his desire to fit it in with whatever of permanent worth resides in former conceptions Dr Maldwyn Hughes might have devoted some space to the question whether what can be said of the Cross as an atonement in time can be said with profounder truth of the eternal atonement. Dr Robert Mackintosh's objection to the transference of atonement 'from the Cross of Calvary to the throne of heaven' is more formidable than the

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brief comment on his criticism recognizes, for even if the Cross enables man to know that the Lamb was slain from the foundation of the world, and is itself a 'supreme actualisation in time and history' of God's eternal sacrifice, one still has to ask whether according to this notion of the suffering of God that sacrifice was not in its essential character and value all that was necessary for atonement long ages before Christ died on Calvary, and if so whether the Cross was not an illustration rather than an actualization, a view which would not come up to the level of New Testament thought, even if the illustration were the most perfect of pictures.

I would end by expressing my complete agreement with Dr Maldwyn Hughes's most valuable passage on the connexion between Christian ethics and the Cross. How holy love and self-sacrifice as revealed in the Cross provide the foundations on which the Christian ethical thinker must build in his effort to shew that the needs of the present age with all its manifold difficulties can be supplied through Christianity and the Christian Church, must be the central theme of 'the book on Christian Ethics which has yet to be written'.

J. K. MOZLEY.

The Beginnings of Christianity: Part I, The Acts of the Apostles. Vol. iii, *The Text of Acts*, by J. H. ROPES. (Macmillan & Co., 1926.)

THE Editors of *The Beginnings of Christianity* are much to be congratulated on having secured Professor Ropes for their volume on the text of the Book of Acts. As is well known, the first two volumes of the First Part of this very elaborate study of the sources of Church History were occupied with Prolegomena, a fourth volume is to contain a Commentary on 'Acts', but the editors wisely decided to treat the complicated question of the text separately, and the result is now before us. It may be, literally, centuries before so elaborate a study of the question is published again, and much as has been written on the subject since Dr Rendel Harris's *Study of Codex Bezae* appeared in 1891 this new work supersedes it all. Prof. Ropes gathers up almost all that has been useful in the labours of his predecessors, his volume contains new matter of very high importance, and, above all, this great book of reference is so clearly and sensibly arranged that it will be useful and convenient alike for those who subscribe to Prof. Ropes's conclusions and for those who differ from him. I do not know if this sounds like faint praise, but I mean it as very high praise. Any one who has to use the impracticable volumes of von Soden will know how hard it is for those who are unfamiliar with his notation and who distrust his theories to

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extract the valuable information which is really contained in them: I cannot better characterize Prof. Ropes's arrangement than by saying that it is the very antithesis of von Soden's.

The open page of Ropes's text is arranged thus:—

Left-hand page.	*Right-hand page.*
Text of Cod. Vaticanus (B).	Text of Cod. Bezae (D).
1st set of Notes, containing the readings which the three sets of editors, Ropes (JHR), Westcott and Hort (WH), and v. Soden (Soden), prefer to those of B.	1st section, containing the text of *d*.
2nd set, containing the Old Uncial readings that differ from B.	2nd sect., containing *h*, i. e. the Fleury Palimpsest (in full).
3rd set, containing the Antiochian readings, i.e. the old *Textus Receptus* and allied variants.	3rd sect., important Latin Fathers.
	4th sect., the Harclean margin, &c.

Below all is a short textual commentary, indicating where necessary the reasons for Prof. Ropes's preferences.

A discussion on the text of Acts divides itself naturally into two parts, one concerned with new material or the grouping of old material, the other with the great question of 'the Western Text', its origin and value.

In the grouping and description of the materials the account of Codex Bezae (pp. lvi–lxxxiv) naturally occupies a prominent position. Ropes thinks D was written in the 5th century in Sicily, a country where a strong Greek element persisted, which would explain the presence of liturgical annotations in Greek written in the Codex during the 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries; then in the 9th century D was brought to Lyons in the time of Bishop Florus and so was used for the Martyrology of Ado (pp. lxvii f, lx ff). The account of the Old-Latin version and its revisions, founded chiefly on the researches of Jülicher and of Capelle (pp. cxviii–cxxvi), is very full and instructive.

In the account of the Syriac versions (pp. cxlviii–clxxxi) the chief interest centres in the Harclean and its various readings. Here we come on more controversial ground, not so much as to the intrinsic character and value of the readings, but as to their origin. The Harclean is an excessively literal translation of the New Testament into Syriac, made by one Thomas of Harkel or Heraclea in the year 616 near Alexandria. It is a piece of the Syriac Monophysite exile-literature, produced by Monophysites who had taken refuge in Egypt, the general aim of which was to make known to Syriac-speaking ecclesiastics important Greek Church writings in their most accurate form. This school of translators followed the Greek idiom, both in expression and the

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order of words, with such servility that it is a wonder that their work was ever comprehensible to Syrians. It is in a style exactly the opposite of early Christian Syriac literature, in which the true Semitic idiom is allowed full play, and it has at least this advantage to the modern investigator that it can be identified at once, even in the most fragmentary quotations. From a textual point of view it is not surprising that this 7th-century translation (or thorough-going revision of a previous translation) should follow very closely the Antiochian or Byzantine text: what is surprising is that a series of various readings entered on the margin of the Harclean codices or indicated as such by critical signs in the text itself should be found to be strongly 'Western' in character, often agreeing minutely with D and the Old-Latin. Of the value of these readings, especially for reconstituting the Western text where D is defective, there is no doubt: the problem is how they came into Thomas of Harḳel's ken.

One thing is quite clear to every Syriac scholar. The most plausible solution, viz. that they are survivals of the Old-Syriac version, is ruled out, for these marginal notes are in the same pedantic Syriac as the text of the Harclean version, while the true Old-Syriac is characterized by freedom of rendering and attention to Syriac idiom. But it is almost inconceivable that Thomas would have had before him a codex like D in Egypt in the 7th century. It is true that we are not dealing with Egypt proper, but with a society of exiles, and it is likely that the MSS which Thomas used had been brought to the Ennaton Convent, nine miles from Alexandria, by refugee Monophysites, perhaps from Antioch, perhaps from Asia Minor, so that the most diverse types of text may have thus come together.

A further phenomenon, the study of which may very likely lead us to the true solution, is a series of Greek minuscules, presenting like the Harclean the ordinary Byzantine text but containing also a number of the additions characteristic of the Western text. The best known of these is 614 (formerly 137), but there are others, mostly grouped by von Soden under his I^{c2}. In method of construction they are thus similar to the Harclean, and the question arises whether they and the Harclean together are not all survivals of a sort of 'variorum' edition of Acts, in which the text was the new Byzantine or Antiochian standard, while the more interesting part of the extra matter of the old-fashioned text (called by us moderns 'Western') had been retained in the margin.[1]

[1] On p. ccxvii note 1, Prof. Ropes says, 'It is understood that Mr A. V. Valentine-Richards of Christ's College, Cambridge, is engaged on an edition and investigation of 614. His work will throw greatly needed light on the origin and significance of this group of Greek MSS.' I sincerely hope that Mr Valentine-Richards may yet find time to put his researches before his fellow-workers.

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The most considerable direct addition to our knowledge made in Prof. Ropes's volume is the publication of a literal Latin translation of the Armenian translation of St Ephraim's 'Commentary' on Acts. It is the work of the late F. C. Conybeare, who discovered the existence of the 'Commentary' from an extract made in Fr J. Dashean's Catalogue of the Mechitarists' MSS at Vienna (cod. 571). The Armenian text was accordingly published in 1921, but Conybeare's translation makes it now generally accessible: this translation is not the least of the many services that Conybeare rendered to Biblical and Patristic Studies.

Unfortunately St Ephraim's methods are most disappointing to the textual critic. The 'Commentary' is a sort of paraphrase of Acts, the writer simply passing over what does not interest him. Again and again, therefore, we cannot tell from the 'Commentary' what text lay before St Ephraim. Moreover, where Ephraim does quote, the Armenian translator has often written down the words of the Armenian Vulgate as a sufficient equivalent. Nevertheless enough remains to shew us that the Old-Syriac text of the Acts was strongly Western, similar in character to the Old-Syriac texts of the Gospels. For instance, in i 2 'Ephraim's text plainly lacked *ἀνελήμφθη* and had *κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*' (p. 384 note 2).[1]

On the burning question of the relative value of the text of the Old Uncials on the one hand and of the Western text on the other, Prof. Ropes quite definitely considers the 'Western' text as having its origin in a single recension, which is inferior to and almost entirely derived from the Old Uncial text, that is to say the text of which B is the best single witness. 'To suppose that the bulk of the [Western] variations proceed not from one but from many hands is a wholly unnecessary complication and multiplication of hypotheses, and runs counter to the clear indications of unity furnished by style and method in each text. Regarded as a paraphrastic rewriting of the original, the "Western" text, indeed, would in kind not be different from the free divergence of early copyists, although a highly exaggerated example of that freedom; but it must in the main have been due to a single editor trying to

[1] One very curious detail, not noticed by Prof. Ropes, is best put by itself in a Note. At the end of xi 26 B reads *χρηματίσαι τε πρώτως ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοὺς μαθητὰς Χριστιανούς*, the construction depending on *ἐγένετο δὲ* at the beginning of the verse: D on the other hand has *καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἐχρημάτισαν ἐν Α. οἱ μαθ. Χρ.*, with which the Peshitta agrees both in construction and in order. But Aphraates xx (*Parisot* 910) says 'Acts testifies that THERE were called first in Antioch the disciples Christians', i.e. the order of B and not that of D and the Peshitta. Ephraim (p. 416) has 'by their doctrine (i.e. Barnabas and Paul's), which was THERE, the new name of Christians in all the earth': i.e. Ephraim attests the word 'there' which occurs in Aphraates, and thereby shews that Aphraates is quoting not paraphrasing.

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improve the book on a large scale' (p. ccxxii f). And again: 'The Old Uncial seems decisively to evince itself as on the whole the original and the "Western" as on the whole due to recension. . . . In all the excess of matter which the "Western" text shows, virtually nothing is to be found beyond what could have been inferred from the Old Uncial text. . . . If a reviser had had the Old Uncial text at his disposal . . . it must be admitted that moderate ingenuity and much taking of pains would have enabled him to produce the "Western" text. On the other hand, the reverse of this process is difficult to make reasonable. We should have to suppose that a reviser, having the "Western" text, undertook to condense it, and in so doing was prepared to make some sacrifice of easy pictorial amplitude of expression and of the current, favourite religious names and phrases, but was determined to omit nothing that later generations were likely to value as containing substantial information, or that could not be inferred from what he left standing. In some cases, we should have to conclude, he modified the picture ; often he made it less complete and superficially less consistent; the general effect of his work was to deepen the intensity of colour by compression of style, never to heighten it by addition, and he strangely succeeded in giving a false semblance of archaic brevity and compactness' (p. ccxxiv f). As a typical illustration of the superiority of the Old Uncial text to the 'Western' Ropes refers to Acts xiii 38 f, where the 'Western' text results in 'a painful weakness of the sense', though attested by D, by some Latin evidence, and by the Harclean margin.

Nevertheless this revised and expanded text contains elements of the highest value. Hardly a page occurs in which the sign JHR does not occur in the first set of Notes, indicating readings where Prof. Ropes deserts B and its immediate allies to follow the 'Western' text. This 'Western' text is far from being identical with that of D, for D has suffered all sorts of corruptions and modifications in detail and is not nearly so pure a witness to the true 'Western' text as B is to the Old Uncial text. The most important readings are discussed by Ropes in Detached Notes on i 2, xiii 27–29, xiii 33, xv 29, xv 34.

The Note on i 2 (pp. 256–261) defends the omission, on Western authority, of *οὗς* and *ἀνελήμφθη*: thus the text will agree with the Western text of Lk. xxiv in reserving the story of the Ascension for Acts i 9–11. I am sure that Ropes is right, and would only add the suggestion that *ἀνελήμφθη* in Acts i 2 was added not only by the same hand as that which added the 'non-Western Interpolations' in Acts xxiv (including *καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν* in *ver.* 51), but also on the same occasion, viz. when the two Volumes of Lucas *ad Theophilum* were detached from one another, the one to join the other 'Gospels', while the other became the separate historical work that we call 'Acts'.

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The Note on xv 29 (pp. 265–269) discusses the text and meaning of the 'Apostolic Decree'. Ropes would omit 'things strangled' in all three places, but does not accept the addition of the negative form of the Golden Rule and he regards the Decree, even in its short form without 'things strangled', as a food law. It is most satisfactory to have this reasoned expression of expert opinion, and it is to be hoped that the ancient but surely erroneous idea that the 'Decree' was a compendium of morals will not again be revived. I only doubt whether Ropes is right in omitting καὶ πνικτῶν. The word is technical and unfamiliar outside the poultry-shop and the kitchen: to add an expression of this kind, of only ten letters in all, and thereby absolutely exclude a widespread and popular interpretation of a whole document, seems to me too remarkable an achievement for a 2nd-century annotator.

Much more might be said, and all of it praise, of the immense stores of learning gathered together and made easily available in this volume. Especially it would be an inexcusable omission not to mention the very clear account of the Sahidic Version in Appendix IV (pp. 317–356), and particularly the useful notes on Egyptian idiom and the pitfalls it presents for the textual critic, collected by Sir Herbert Thompson on pp. 318 ff.

F. C. BURKITT.

Behind the Third Gospel: A study of the Proto-Luke Hypothesis, by VINCENT TAYLOR, B.D., Ph.D. (Lond.). (Oxford, 1926.)

DR TAYLOR'S book is an elaboration and defence of the hypothesis suggested by Canon Streeter in an article in *the Hibbert Journal* for October 1921 and further developed in his work *The Four Gospels*, that the Marcan element in St Luke's Gospel is a later insertion into a previous Gospel, which was itself not improbably an earlier work by Luke himself. If this hypothesis be adopted we are led to the important conclusion that from St Luke's Gospel we may recover a primitive narrative of the Lord's ministry, independent of Mark and perhaps somewhat earlier in date.

In his introductory chapter Dr Taylor shews how, since the general acceptance of the priority of Mark, and of the hypothesis of another documentary source used in common by Matthew and Luke, attention has been increasingly turned to the material peculiar to Luke, its historical value, and its relation to the Gospel as a whole. He starts his own investigation of these problems with the Lucan Passion narrative. This is perhaps the most valuable and the most cogent chapter

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in the book. It is argued that Luke has a distinct continuous narrative of the Last Supper, the arrest, the trials, the crucifixion, and the resurrection appearances; that this narrative is clearly preferred by Luke to the Marcan narrative; and that Marcan elements have been woven into this non-Marcan framework. This naturally leads on to an examination of the treatment of Mark and of the character of the non-Marcan material in the rest of the Gospel. We find that several Marcan sections are omitted in favour of non-Marcan narratives of the same or similar events. Further, according to Dr Taylor, a good connexion may be traced between the non-Marcan sections if read consecutively. This suggests the hypothesis that the Marcan material is subsidiary, and when we further notice that Q is combined with non-Marcan material only, we are led to the supposition that the Marcan sections were an afterthought, and that their elimination will leave us with an earlier Gospel, which has formed the foundation of the Canonical Third Gospel. On the grounds both of style and of contents it is argued that this Gospel was an earlier work by the Third Evangelist himself. Dr Taylor does not include in Proto-Luke the Infancy narrative, nor non-Marcan elements which he discovers in the eschatological discourse of ch. xxi. The hypothetical Gospel is well described as 'an expanded version of Q, to which a Passion-narrative has been added'.

The argument necessarily depends entirely upon examination of the internal evidence of the Lucan Gospel, and it may be doubted whether it is reasonable to expect that we shall ever penetrate very far 'behind the Third Gospel', when we are debarred from the use of the comparative method. Even if the evidence is consistent with the Proto-Luke hypothesis, it by no means necessarily demands it, and there are considerations which point in another direction. If we start with St Luke as we have it, we cannot fail to be struck by its clear arrangement and its admirable balance. After the Infancy narratives, we pass to the preaching of John, the Baptism of Jesus, His temptation, and His return to Galilee. Ch. iv 16—ch. ix 50 narrates the work in Galilee; ch. ix 51—ch. xx gives us events and discourses on the journey to Jerusalem; ch. xxi—ch. xxiv the events of the last days at Jerusalem, the crucifixion, and the 'assumption'. Now if the Marcan material is subtracted, the Galilean ministry is seriously attenuated, and the proportion of the work is wholly destroyed. The narrative of the journey to Jerusalem which is already the longest section now becomes nearly two-thirds of the whole book. Dr Taylor admits that 'it is part of the theory that Proto-Luke was a document certain to be supplemented'. But it is obvious that the theory would be strengthened, if the hypothetical document left an impression of internal completeness, and if

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the supplementary character of Mark were not merely a happy coincidence. Our doubts are strengthened when we consider the Journey section in itself. From time to time we are reminded by the Evangelist that Jesus is on His way to Jerusalem. But we need to be reminded; for many of the incidents and discourses would be much more natural in a relatively settled ministry. Moreover the itinerary is patently not consecutive. If we assume that Luke was working for the greater part of his book on a Marcan framework, we have a ready explanation. Mark tells us of the journey, but says little about it. This gives Luke an obvious opening for his non-Marcan material without disturbing the Marcan sequence. But the Journey narrative taken in itself seems a most unconvincing document—entirely different from the 'we' narratives in Acts, to which Dr Taylor compares it. These considerations seem to lend strength to the hypothesis that St Mark's Gospel entered into St Luke's reckoning when he first planned his own work. Nor is it a serious objection that Q material is not combined with Mark. Mark on this theory provides the framework, into which other material has been interpolated.

But whether or not the non-Marcan sections ever formed a single independent work, it is certain that the Third Evangelist drew upon non-Marcan sources, which in some cases at any rate he preferred to Mark. It is certain too that on internal grounds modern critics are often disposed to place a high value upon Luke's special source. This should ensure a welcome for Dr Taylor's careful and suggestive study, the value of which does not entirely depend upon the validity of his main thesis.

Christ's Gospel of the Eternal and the Divine Manifestation in Christ, by the Rev. W. L. WALKER, D.D. (T. & T. Clark, 1925.)

DR WALKER tells us in his Preface that he has kept the MS of this book long beside him and subjected it to frequent revision in the light of fresh literature on the subject, but that, as he has now attained to four-score years, he feels the time has come to put out the position at which he has arrived. He has maintained close contact with the far-reaching movements in theological thought through which he has lived, and his book bears on every page marks of wide reading, careful thought, and deepened conviction. He is inclined to agree with Dr McDougall that the lapse from orthodox observances at the present day is not unconnected with the lapse of the doctrine of divine retribution to a secondary position. Wholeheartedly he believes that the old ideas of Hell and punishment needed to be softened and

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moralized. 'But if there be nothing at all put in their stead, the full Christian hope is not there.' To make a general appeal, religion must not be afraid to appeal to the primary motive of self-preservation; but this motive must be sublimated, as it is in the teaching of the Gospel: 'What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?'

The doctrine of the Incarnation is to Dr Walker the cardinal doctrine of Christianity. But while we do justice to the historical importance of the achievement of Athanasius we must no longer feel bound to the Nicene doctrinal statement of the consubstantiality of the Eternal Son, who became personally incarnate in Jesus Christ. We have become accustomed to the idea of a progressive Revelation: this should prepare us for the idea of a progressive Incarnation. 'The essential truth was that God was in Christ, not that the man Jesus Christ was himself God.' Our Christianity, he holds, instead of being Christocentric, should be made more truly theocentric, and God, our Father, have for us the place and value that He had with Christ.

J. M. CREED.

Cyprianische Untersuchungen, by HUGO KOCH. (Weber, Bonn, 1926.)

THIS is the most important contribution to the study of St Cyprian made for a good many years. It takes a controversial form. The papers on the subject contributed to all the learned quarterlies of the century are passed in review, and English readers will be grateful that their attention is drawn to a good deal of sound work which they are likely to have missed through war and subsequent alienation. Dr Koch works on familiar lines. He aims *inter alia* at ascertaining the exact date in Cyprian's career of several of his writings, and some of his conclusions, as in the case of *De Unitate* and *De Lapsis*, are satisfactorily proved. But he has poured too many of his evidences into print. Slight coincidences in language are not convincing, even when numerous, as proofs of borrowing by one writer from another, when both dwell in a common world; and accident will sometimes produce startling resemblances. But if Dr Koch sometimes wearies us, we are rewarded by many shrewd incidental observations, the fruit of a singularly exact and wide study, which has not been confined to the patristic writers. In fact, the more his readers know, the better they will appreciate him. But Dr Koch will not look for anything so dull as universal agreement with his results. He deals shrewd blows, against Dr von Harnack among others, and no doubt expects as good as he has given. But certainly he has not left the subject where he

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found it, and the future editor of Cyprian's writings or author of his life—and here Dr Koch is generously just to Archbishop Benson—will find that in many ways his task has been made easier. And if he is interested, as a serious student must be, in the language of the time, he will be grateful for new light, derived from careful study, on such words as *catholicus*; yet sometimes he will be a little disappointed. Dr Koch deals at length with that curious tract, the *De singularitate clericorum*, which is fathered on Cyprian in manuscripts and editions. He assigns it to an orthodox origin towards the end of the third century; but he says nothing about *singularitas* in the sense of 'celibacy'. Was St Jerome the first to use it?

Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction, by J. A. MULLER. (S.P.C.K., London, 1926.)

THIS substantial volume, printed in America with a care that has saved it from all but a few small errors such as 'Ashbridge' for Ashridge, the residence of Elizabeth under her sister's reign, is a most useful addition to knowledge. For the first time, as Dr Muller claims, the material for Gardiner's life has been collected and arranged in annalistic form. It is evident that much conscientious labour has been expended on the work, in the course of which the author has found much to amplify, and to correct, in the printed *Letters and Papers*. The book inspires such confidence, and so evidently needs to be used continuously for the study of the period, that it would be unprofitable to dwell on points of detail. But it is worth noting that a long familiarity has led Dr Muller to a friendly feeling towards Gardiner, in whom he sees a strong sense of humour and a rough generosity as well as great practical ability. He is perhaps too positive about Gardiner's paternity. A place in his pedigree, or at least an explanation, has to be found for Thomas Gardiner, chaplain to Henry VIII, who was from 1528 to 1536 Prior of Tynemouth by the favour of Thomas Cromwell and the Lady Mary Cary. This Thomas is said to have been the son of William Gardiner, citizen of London, and a natural daughter of Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke. It may be only a guess that Stephen, who throve in the same surroundings, was a brother of Thomas, whose more modest rise would be explained by a Tudor connexion. But there is a coincidence, in name and in simultaneous advancement, which needs explanation, whether it be that both, or one, or neither, were remotely akin to Henry VIII.

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Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI, by C. H. SMYTH. (Cambridge University Press, 1926.)

MR SMYTH'S book is both useful and interesting, and we must regret that the severity of the University Press has curtailed it at points where, as we may judge by obvious signs of excision, it would have been specially instructive. The information he has collected about the foreign reformers who came to England is welcome, though à Lasco was never in fact a Hungarian bishop; and the additions to the knowledge conveyed in the Parker Society's *Original Letters*, and the correction of the occasional mistakes in those volumes, are thankworthy. The whole work is that of a hearty admirer of Cranmer, who has a sturdy dislike for the Archbishop's opponents, including Melanchthon, and a grateful sense of Cranmer's service in saving the English Church from Zwinglian Eucharistic doctrine. He holds that Cranmer's teaching was consistent, and was confirmed by Bucer, who while in England was equally opposed to the Lutheran and the Zwinglian extremes, and propounded a system to which Mr Smyth attaches the unfortunate name of 'Suvermerian'. We may doubt whether the influence of Bucer was as great as Mr Smyth thinks; probably Calvin's doctrine, which was more nearly akin to that of Luther than to that of Zwingli, had a good deal of weight, for outside Switzerland and the regions that lay under Swiss influence the Calvinist doctrine was not swamped by the Zwinglian. But Mr Smyth should have weighed the danger of attempting to introduce new technical terms. It is as serious in theology as in philosophy, and he might have reflected that some good reason must have deterred earlier scholars from the use of this picturesque and mysterious term 'Suvermerian'. If he will refer to the only two passages that can be adduced, he will find that the term, which he has somewhat misread, is applied to theologians, not to a theology. The Saxon divines denounced the Swiss as *swermeros*; i. e. *Schwärmer*, in a Latinity which is worthy of the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*.

Jeremy Taylor, by W. J. BROWN, B.D. (S.P.C.K., London, 1925.)

THIS is a useful addition to the series of 'English Theologians'. It gives an account in a very matter of fact way of Taylor's writings, from a point of view which is sympathetic towards the author, and with good and typical extracts from his writings. But though he speaks with admiration from time to time of Taylor's literary qualities, the author does not attempt to give him his place in English literature or

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to trace his affinities and antecedents ; still less to estimate his influence. It would have been interesting to discover the sources of the outburst of casuistry in Taylor's generation, to account for the decay of the subject in England, and to speculate on the prospects of its modern revival. The weakest side is the biographical, though Mr Brown may plead that he is concerned primarily with theology. Still, it would have been well to remind us that if the father was a barber, he was as such a surgeon also ; his career at two Universities might have been more clearly traced, and more might have been made of his career as a beneficed clergyman. If he obtained no pension after his ejection from Uppingham, that is explained by the fact that as a chaplain to the royal forces he had shown himself a malignant of the most virulent kind ; and when Mr Brown blames his Irish failure he should have excused Taylor on the ground that his was an impossible task. Ruling a diocese chiefly populated by Presbyterian immigrants from Scotland, he had as little chance of success as Leighton in his kindred task at Dumblane and Glasgow. When so much inquisitiveness is being shown as to the lives of minor literary men of the Tudor and Stuart periods, why is the material, abundantly existing, for the careers of the great Anglicans so grievously neglected ?

E. W. WATSON.

The History of the Church in France, A.D. 950–1000: Being a Study in Medieval Christianity, by DOUGLAS W. LOWIS, D.D. (J. Alfred Sharp, London : The Epworth Press, 1926.)

THIS book describes the external fortunes and the inner life of the church in France in one of the least known periods of mediaeval history. The time covered includes the reigns of the two last Carolingians, Lothaire and Louis, and of Hugh Capet. The central chapters are devoted to the ecclesiastical controversy which followed the political revolution of 987. In consequence of suspected disloyalty to the new house Arnulf, a natural son of Lothaire, was deposed from the archiepiscopal see of Rheims by a synod held at St Basil's church, Verzy, in 991, and Gerbert was elected in his place. The papal court had not consented to Arnulf's deposition, while, according to the False Decretals, Pope Damasus had asserted the need for the consent of Rome in the valid deposition of a bishop. The debate on this matter at the synod and the course of the subsequent controversy, the appeals of the Gallican bishops to early councils, to holy scripture, and to reason, the differentiation of the Gallican and the ultramontane point

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of view, the 'incipient Protestantism' of the synod (as with almost pardonable exaggeration Dr Lowis describes it)—all this is excellently set out with such vigour, impartiality, and clarity as cannot be too highly praised. These chapters give also an account of Gerbert that is of value: Gerbert, the ablest advocate of Gallicanism, who lived long enough (as Sylvester II) to pardon his old rival Arnulf and at least by implication to condemn the Synod of St Basil. Gerbert's character still contains enigmas. Feeling strongly the opposite attractions of France and the Empire, of Gallicanism and Rome, he swayed between the two; but Dr Lowis clears him of the charge of mere time-serving. A judicious estimate of the controversy and an analysis of the causes of the Roman victory follow the lively delineation of the persons in the struggle. In this central part of his book Dr Lowis is at his best.

The interaction of ecclesiastical and secular politics makes the main interest of the period, but makes also the main difficulty that confronted Dr Lowis. Naturally feeling that this central episode requires a political background to explain it, he has tried in the first two chapters to supply one. He cannot be said to have succeeded. The account of feudalism is naïvely elementary and somewhat old-fashioned. The intricate narrative shews little power of controlling the confused mass of material.

The concluding chapters on church life, the reform movement, and the church and the feudal state, do not maintain the high standard of the central portion. They contain interesting sketches of reformers and useful accounts of church government, doctrine, the penitential system, and monastic life; but Dr Lowis here tries to cover so much ground that he cannot do justice to his scholarship or say much more than is found in handbooks dealing with these matters.

Dr Lowis shews that he can write well, but more often than not he has been content with a style that is exceedingly diffuse and conversational and somewhat crude. The temptation to point a moral he can rarely resist. A fuller account of the historians of the period would have been most welcome, and one complete list of authorities and abbreviations in place of the partial lists at the head of separate chapters would have been more convenient.

The thesis on which the book is based was awarded the degree of D.D. in London University, a distinction which it thoroughly deserved. Dr Lowis has written a book of permanent importance for the study of the Middle Ages, a very notable production of the leisure hours of a Methodist minister engaged in the full pastoral work of his church.

B. L. MANNING.

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The Psalms, translated by J. M. Powis Smith. (The University of Chicago Press, 1926.)

This work consists of a translation of the Psalter into English followed by four short essays entitled respectively, 'The Date of the Psalter'—'The Hymnbook of the Second Temple'—'The Poetry of the Psalter'—'The Religion of the Psalter'. The text of the Psalms is given 'without note or comment', but for the heading which Dr Smith prefixes to each psalm and the brief 'Textual Notes' with which the work concludes.

The Preface tells us that the translator has attempted neither to give a familiar rendering into modern speech, nor on the other hand to rival the version of 1611. He desires only to incorporate the results of recent scholarship. But why (we may ask) does the translator speak as though the Psalter of 1611 had no rival? If (as it seems) he is thinking of style, the Authorized Version has a most formidable rival in the Prayer Book Version taken (with slight modifications) from the Great Bible of 1539. The Authorized Version with its word for word rendering often fits the Hebrew text 'like a glove', but frequently the freer and fuller rendering of the Prayer Book succeeds better in conveying the spirit of the original. Think of some of the language of Psalm xlii:

> My soul is athirst for God, yea, even for the living God:
> When shall I come to appear before the presence of God? . . .
> Why go I thus heavily, while the enemy oppresseth me?
> My bones are smitten asunder as with a sword:
> While mine enemies that trouble me cast me in the teeth:
> Namely, while they say daily unto me: Where is now thy God?

This surely is the kind of translation (and not the Authorized Version) which should compel later translators to apologize for their own efforts. Dr Smith, I fear, errs in modernization of rendering, e. g. in Ps. lii 3:

> You love bad better than good,
> You would rather lie than tell the truth. *Selah.*

On the other hand Dr Smith retains 'Thou', 'Thee', and 'Thy', in addressing the deity. In the third person he gives 'has' for 'hath', and so on.

It is a little difficult for an English reviewer to judge how far this translation is suitable for those for whom in the first place it was made, i. e. American readers.

Many of its variations from the Revised Version seem to be uncalled for. Thus in Ps. ci 5:

> The supercilious and high-minded
> I cannot endure,

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does not seem to be an improvement on the rendering of R.V.:

> Him that hath an high look and a proud heart
> Will I not suffer.

In Ps. xii 3 we find 'slippery lips' and 'big words'.

Of course as the book is intended for use in America we find 'grain' for 'corn', and also several words of Latin derivation, which we should hesitate to use on this side of the Atlantic in a translation of any part of the Bible. Such are 'trepidation' (Kiss his feet with trepidation: ii 12); 'inflammation' (My loins are full of inflammation: xxxviii 7); 'revere' (Those who revere Thee: cxix 79); 'profits' and 'unreality' (cxix 36, 37); and (a startling example) 'fraud' (The sons of men are a fraud: lxii 9). Another peculiarity of Dr Smith's version is that it carefully avoids use of the word 'soul', frequent as it is in the English Psalter. Pss. ciii and civ which begin 'Bless the LORD, O my soul' (A.V. and R.V.) are found opening with the words, 'Let my whole being bless the LORD'. Ps. cxix 109 *a* runs 'I carry my *life* in my hand continually'.

It is pleasing to find, however, that Dr Powis Smith has not been led by metrical theory to sacrifice words which seem to be key-words and so to omit whole clauses from the text. On the other hand he accepts some very doubtful emendations, e.g. ii 12, 'Kiss his feet with trepidation' (*for* Kiss the son *or* Kiss one who is pure, M.T.). There is really no excuse for doubting the correctness of the reading of M.T. (נשקו בר), see *J. T. S.* xviii 24–29, 66, 67. Nor should Dr Smith have corrected 'the valley of the shadow of death' (σκιᾶς θανάτου, LXX) in Ps. xxiii 4 into the bald phrase, 'the darkest valley'. The only difficulty in the reading of M.T. is removed if we drop the *shĕwa* of צלמות and write *Çal māweth* as two words: so also in xliv 19 [20]. Ps. lv 18, 19 [19, 20] appears in Dr Smith's emended version thus:

> He will rescue me in peace from the fight against me;
> Though many there be against me:
> Ishmael and Jaleam and all the dwellers of the East,
> To whom oaths (חליפות) are nothing;
> Nor do they fear God.

This rendering surely is neither happy in language, nor correct in itself. The Revised Version (with its first marginal reading accepted) certainly looks better:

> He hath redeemed my soul in peace,
> So that none came nigh me (i. e. to hurt me):
> For they were many that strove with me.
> God shall hear and answer them,[1]

[1] i.e. 'rebuke them'.

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Even he that abideth of old (shall answer)
The men who have no changes,
And who fear not God.

In lxxiv 8 we find the rendering :

They said in their heart, 'We will Hellenize (!) them also'.
They burned all the assemblies of God in the land.

But Heb. נינם 'we will destroy' (Pesh. נוכר) is hardly to be emended so as to suggest the exerting of the influence of *Javan*, 'Greece'. No Heb. verb 'to Hellenize' occurs elsewhere in O.T.

Ps. cix is described by Dr Smith in his Heading as a Malediction: it would be better described as a Deprecation. The Imprecations of *vv.* 6–19 are directed against a single person (the Psalmist) by his adversaries (plural). He quotes their words (as Hezekiah repeated the threats of Rabshakeh) before JEHOVAH and so seeks to turn their edge: see *J. T. S.* xviii 65. In the translation of Ps. cxlvii 9 there must be a misprint:

He gives the cattle their food,
And to the young rams (? ravens) when they cry.

The general impression left by the book is that it needs careful revision throughout. The Psalter is a difficult book to translate, and I cannot feel that Dr Smith has been successful in his great task.

The Psalmists, Essays by HUGO GRESSMANN, H. WHEELER ROBINSON, T. H. ROBINSON, G. R. DRIVER, and A. M. BLACKMAN. (Oxford University Press, 1926.)

AN interesting Introduction by Professor D. C. Simpson deals generally with Hebrew Religion and the foreign influences to which it was exposed. Dr Gressmann follows with an essay which differs widely in outlook from Dr Duhm's well-known book on the Psalms. The subject is *The Development of Hebrew Psalmody*. Dr Gressmann finds many proofs of the antiquity of Psalmody in Israel. E. g. he finds a Psalm in Hos. vi 1–3, 'Come let us return unto the LORD', and declares it to be 'imitative', in which case it becomes a witness to the existence of Psalmody proper outside the writings of the Prophets. He takes Amos vi 5 ('that devise for themselves instruments of music like David') as shewing that Amos knew of David as a Psalmist, though most recent critics think otherwise. He supposes that Exod. xv 21 is the only genuine song of Miriam:—

'Sing ye to Jahveh:
For He rose up in His height,
Hurling horse and chariot
Into the sea.'

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A brief but complete hymn, he remarks; adding that even the longer hymn which precedes it (Exod. xv 1–18) may be early enough to emanate from the time of Solomon.

The older psalms, Dr Gressmann continues, are more closely connected with the ritual of Divine Service than are the later ones. Thus when a sick man came to be purged with hyssop he used to say, 'Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean' (Ps. li 7). Cleansing means forgiving, and so the purging with hyssop and the confession of sins are closely associated. It was from this tiny germ that the penitential psalms were evolved. So writes Dr Gressmann, but he should have given some fuller statement of his position, if he wished to carry his readers with him. He seems sometimes to be carried away by a word, as when he accepts the suggestion that Psalm cxlix was sung at a sword-dance because of ver. 6,

> 'Let the hymns of God be in their mouth,
> And a two-edged sword in their hand'.

Again, is there not some extravagance in Dr Gressmann's answer to the question, Why the Psalter was ascribed to David? He suggests that once the king was the sole or the principal professional offerer of prayer. He finds evidence that the speaker in the Psalms was royal in some of the phrases used. *Hide me under the shadow of thy wings* (xvii 8) with its variants is the language, Dr Gressmann tells us, of a king. 'Wings of Jahveh are never heard of, . . . the figure originated in Egypt where the hawk of Horus stretched out his wings over the king.' (Again we have an uneasy feeling that too much stress is being laid on a single word.) David is the ideal Psalmist because he is the ideal king. Royal psalms, Dr Gressmann holds, are not late (Maccabean) but early (pre-exilic). They are more akin to the literature of ancient Egypt and ancient Assyria than to the phraseology of the courts of the Hellenistic age. 'The Psalmody of Israel had a long history.' Dr Gressmann's views are all the more interesting in that they differ so widely from Dr Duhm's, and (one gathers) from those of Principal Robinson on p. 46 f.

The other essays of the book will provoke perhaps less criticism than Dr Gressmann's. Dr T. H. Robinson writes well on 'the God of the Psalmists' and 'the Eschatology of the Psalmists', and Principal H. W. Robinson on 'The Inner Life' and 'The Social Life' of the Psalmists. Mr G. R. Driver has contributed an essay of sixty-seven pages on the parallels between passages in the Psalms and Babylonian religious ideas. He writes cautiously, and is unwilling to allow that the Hebrews have borrowed much directly from their great neighbour. Dr Blackman contributes a shorter but not less interesting essay on the Psalms in the

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light of Egyptian research. He holds that Egypt was indebted to the Semitic world for certain ideas, e. g. for that of Sin and the Need of forgiveness. It is possible that to some extent Egypt paid back her debt to one people of the Semitic world, namely, the Hebrews. Certainly some of the Egyptian parallels to passages of the Psalms are very striking, and the Egyptian documents are very old. There are poems belonging to the Eighteenth and Nineteenth dynasties, and a number of didactic writings from the Ninth and Tenth dynasties (*circ.* 2445–2160 B.C.) together with the recently published Proverbs of *Amenemōpe*, which may possibly be later than 1000 B.C. Dr Blackman gives some telling quotations from these different documents. One may suffice here:

'The truly humble when he holdeth himself aloof, he is as a tree planted in a garden. It is green and doubleth its yield; it is in front of its lord. Its fruits are sweet, its shade pleasant' (cf. Ps. i).

Some misprints should be corrected in a second edition: page 11, line 22, read 'Ps. li 7'; page 169, Note, read 'Ungnad'; page 195, line 22, read (perhaps) 'Ps. lxxii 5'.

Erklärung des Buches Koheleth (Beiheft zur Z.A.T.W.), von GOTTFRIED KUHN. (A. Töpelmann, Giessen, 1926.)

THIS is a small book of fifty-six pages, hardly more than a pamphlet, but containing a stimulating discussion of the meaning and purpose of the book *Ecclesiastes*. Herr Kuhn explains the Hebrew title *Koheleth* (in form a feminine substantive) as meaning 'Wisdom' (*Chokma*, another feminine substantive) under a particular aspect. It is Wisdom speaking through Solomon in the Congregation (*Kāhāl*), as distinguished from esoteric wisdom. 'Der Verfasser redet als *Koheleth*, d. h. in erster Linie nicht für die Gottesfreunde, sondern für die Menge.'

So there is significance in the recurring formulas used in the book 'under the sun' (i 3, 9) and 'under the heaven' (i 13, ii 3, iii 1). Koheleth limits himself to the consideration of things 'under the sun'. But there are, of course, in addition things of the Upper World which disclose themselves only to the 'intimates' of God.

Koheleth says 'Vanity of Vanities' in relation to the things 'under the sun'; but that is not his last word. He stands consciously on Israelite soil, and he knows Israel's God: 'I Koheleth was king over Israel in Jerusalem'. Here is a (credal) Confession. He speaks as an Israelite and a leader in Israel. His Wisdom is grounded on the Law and the Prophets. We may indeed take his book as a developement of

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the theme of Gen. iii 17–19, 'Cursed is the ground for thy sake . . . dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return'. But Koheleth's task is negative. It is not for him to give positive teaching about God, but to destroy those opinions which dominate men and prevent them from attaining to God. That they may find the true happiness, Koheleth destroys with merciless strokes the false happiness which they continually seek in the world.

But (he says) the 'Vanity' which oppresses the life of men is by Divine appointment. Thus does Koheleth give a good turn to his otherwise gloomy matter. As an Israelite he knows (and his hearers know) that all that God does is good. So he writes not in scorn (but with a silent call for thankfulness), 'And also that every man should eat and drink, and enjoy good in all his labour, is the gift of God' (iii 13).

So Koheleth finds a positive principle: there is a work which is worth doing. 'Whatsoever thy hand attaineth to do by thy strength, that do' (ix 10; Kuhn = R.V. marg.). This must be Koheleth's true mind; otherwise the precepts for life and work in this world which he scatters through his book have no meaning.

And what is to be said of Koheleth's views of the possibility of an after-life? Herr Kuhn confesses that as long as the discussion centres in things 'under the sun' there is no hint in Koheleth of any superiority of man over the beasts in this respect. But when Koheleth tells of experience of the goodness of God, and lays down the maxim that what God does is eternal (ii 26; iii 13, 14), he must arrive at the conclusion that some unconditioned boon (eternal life in communion with God) is to be looked for by the righteous and God-fearing.

It will probably be seen that on Herr Kuhn's principle of interpretation it is unnecessary to assume, as the majority of critics assume, that the book has been interpolated and supplemented. Indeed he rejects the interpolation-theory with some scorn. 'Es ist', he writes, 'ein wahrhaft salomonisches Verfahren das Kind entzweizuhauen, um seine richtige Mutter ausfindig zu machen.'

I do not find Herr Kuhn convincing, but he has written a stimulating study without waste of words. There are many suggestive notes on single passages.

W. Emery Barnes.

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Literary History of Hebrew Grammarians and Lexicographers, accompanied by unpublished texts, by HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, Ph.D. (Jews' College Publications, no. 9: Oxford University Press, 1926.)

HEBREW grammar and lexicography, in their formative period, went necessarily hand in hand: for the profound modifications of the irregular verb demanded more than a smattering of accidence before the roots could be tabulated, while syntax is so simple as to resolve itself into little more than a question of vocabulary. The two are therefore treated together by Dr H. Hirschfeld in the volume before us, which traces the growth of the dual science from its origin in the ninth century down to the period of the Renascence. Two external forces, coupled with the decline of the spoken language, contributed to the growth of the subject. One was the engulfing of the ancient seats of learning and population in the Near East by the kindred Arab culture, in this respect far more advanced. Almost at the same time, the rift between the Karaites and the Rabbanites forced the attention even of the latter to the textual and linguistic interpretation of the Bible. Accordingly, Arabic for a long period furnished the language, as well as the inspiration and terminology, of the new science: and the earliest fragment that has come down to us is one of the sectarian Nissi. Not until the latter half of the tenth century, with Menahem b. Saruq, did Hebrew grammar cross over to Europe (though it still confined itself to Moslem Spain), commence to adopt Hebrew as its tongue, and become known to some extent to the larger world of Jewish scholarship. Even the violent attacks and indubitable insight of Dunash b. Labrat (known to ill fame, not quite accurately, as the first to shackle Hebrew poetry with Arabic metres) did not succeed in ousting the *Miḥberoth Menahem* from their place. But it was Menahem's pupil, Judah Hayyuj (born *c.* 950), who first put Hebrew grammar on a scientific basis by penetrating the secret of the weak verb and the triliteral root: while his contemporary, Jonah ibn Janah, supplemented and completed his theories in his famous *Book of Roots*. Curiously enough, a reversion to the medium of Arabic prevented these new ideas from becoming known to the growing centres of scholarship and exegesis in northern Europe: so that Rashi himself knows of no higher authority than the obsolescent works of Menahem. It was left for Abraham ibn Ezra (1093–1167) to inaugurate the scientific study of Hebrew grammar in its own language in his *Moznaim* and other works. But all of his predecessors were superseded by David Kimhi (1160–1235), whose *Mikhlol* remained classical almost till the last century. He was rivalled among his successors only by Elias Levita (1468–1549),

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whose writings formed the basis of the knowledge of the Christian Hebraists of the Reformation.

Though it took Hebrew grammar so long to reach its maturity, a strikingly modern spirit was discernible from the beginning. Comparative philology came naturally to the earlier writers, who wrote and thought in Arabic. Saadiah Gaon (892–942), one of the first of all, tried to explain *hapax legomena* from analogies in the Talmudic vocabulary, thus giving a lesson to which the modern generation of scholars might well attend. And reliable tradition or sound intuition resulted in many cases in the transmission of an accurate interpretation, even when it was based upon an unscientific theory.

What has been said above gives only a bare outline of the story which Dr Hirschfeld has unfolded with rare scholarship and wealth of detail. The subject is not indeed new, having formed the object of a study by Wilhelm Bacher thirty-five years ago. In the meantime, however, sufficient material has come to light, particularly through the researches of Professor Kokovzov, to more than justify this new monograph. Dr Hirschfeld has not confined himself to what has already been published, but also (as his appendix of documents in particular shews) has pursued his researches to the manuscript material, in what has obviously been the labour of years. To have confined the treatment to little more than one hundred pages is indeed an achievement. But it must be admitted that the book suffers by virtue of its conciseness. Hardly a single important figure escapes separate consideration, while generalizations are scarce. As a result, the work tends to be a chronological dictionary of Hebrew grammarians rather than a history of the science. The same economy of words is responsible for a few abbreviations which would tax the most ingenious—e. g. *A. J. L.* for Steinschneider's *Arabische Literatur der Juden* (p. 8): a fuller reference some fifty pages farther on does lessen the initial perplexity of the amateur. This being so, it is all the more regrettable that space should be wasted by devoting, no doubt inadvertently, two entries (pp. 97 and 101) to the comparatively unimportant writings of Moses ibn Habib.

Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Hebrew Character, collected and bequeathed to Trinity College Library by the late William Aldis Wright, Vicemaster of Trinity College, by HERBERT LOEWE, M.A. (University Press, Cambridge, 1926.)

IT is not generally realized to what an extent England has become the Mecca of the Hebrew scholar. There is no great country of

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Europe to which fewer Hebrew manuscripts owe their origin: yet to-day, of the world's half-dozen really great accumulations, two at least are English. Recently, indeed, the magnificent collection of Mr Elkan Adler—one of the most important of all—found a new home on the other side of the Atlantic, thus raising the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America to the first rank. But, to compensate for this, that of Dr Moses Gaster has been acquired by the British Museum, where the student will have in the future an almost inexhaustible field for research. By this very fact, attention has hitherto been diverted from the minor collections of this country, though they would elsewhere be considered of the highest importance. Few have hitherto received any attention, if we except that of Jews' College, London, ably catalogued by Dr H. Hirschfeld. Mr Herbert Loewe, in the excellently-produced volume before us, has made a fresh and welcome step in the work of presenting them to the learned world.

The interests of Dr Aldis Wright, as is well known, were pre-eminently Biblical. It is, therefore, on this side that the collection excels. Out of a total of 159 volumes, no less than eighty-six include Biblical or exegetical codices. In this direction, the collection is really important. Amongst the other subjects fairly strongly represented may be mentioned Talmud and Halakhah, Grammar and Lexicography, Philosophy and Ethics, and Qabbala. The liturgical section is weak and commonplace, save for a couple of translations of the Book of Common Prayer. Midrash is represented by only two items, but both are of considerable importance.

The main interest is therefore, if one may so put it, theological rather than Jewish. But every ancient book, and every ancient Hebrew book especially, has a history of its own—its changes of ownership, its censorings, its wanderings (a Latin document concerning an English monastery was actually found in the Genizah at Cairo—no doubt brought by the refugees of 1290). This—the history of the book, indicated by signatures and incidental notes, as distinct from its subject—is very frequently neglected by cataloguers. Mr Loewe has not failed to give it the attention which it merits. Indeed, the criticism might be made that, while his descriptions of the codices themselves frequently err on the side of over-conciseness, he has devoted a disproportionate space to what other persons would consider trivialities. It is inevitable that, in ranging over almost every country and language from Portugal to Malabar, he should have made a few slips. Also, owing to absence of opportunity in 1908 to inspect certain of the manuscripts used by Dr C. D. Ginsburg in preparing his text of the Old Testament, certain of the latter's descriptions have unfortunately been taken over without detailed examination. But, whatever minor defects

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there may be, they are largely compensated for by a series of unusually comprehensive indices. A collection of manuscripts is of little value without an adequate catalogue. Mr Loewe, by supplying this as far as the Aldis Wright collection is concerned, has made it really available for the first time to the world of Hebrew scholarship.

CECIL ROTH.

Sukkah, Mishna and Tosefta with Introduction, Translation, and Short Notes, by A. W. GREENUP. (S.P.C.K., London, 1925.)

IN this useful work Dr Greenup gives as Introduction a brief account of Tractate Sukkah (pp. 1–5), a history of the Feast of Tabernacles (5–26), and a select Bibliography (26 f). To the list of Rabbis (p. 4 f) must be added the name of R. Zadok (a tanna of the first generation) ii 5. In the references to R. Jehudah b. Ilaï for ii 12 read ii 1, 2—one of the numerous misprints which disfigure the book. Dr Greenup has little cause to be grateful to his proof-reader. There is also some confusion between R. Eleazar b. Shammua and R. Eliezer b. Hyrḳanos. In the list R. Eleazar is given three references: i 11; ii 6; iv 5. In the translation he appears in the first two places and R. Eliezer in the third. In the texts R. Eliezer appears throughout. To the Bibliography may now be added the Excursus: 'Das Laubhüttenfest', in Strack-Billerbeck ii 774–812.

The translation is sound, and the notes are helpful. On ii 7 the decision follows Shammai according to both Maimonides and Bartenora (38 n. 4). On note 5 of the same page it may be remarked that Weiss (*Dor Dor* i 167 f) argues strongly that R. Johanan b. Haḥaronit was a disciple of Hillel. Cf. also *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, s.v. In v 2 the word 'three' (p. 56, l. 2) is to be deleted. In *Tosefta* ii 2, R. Elieser b. Zadok should be R. Eleazar b. Zadok (cf. Strack, *Einl.*[5] p. 130). R. Jose b. Ḥalaphta was a tanna of the third generation, not the fourth (p. 32, n. 5). The correct reference on p. 45, n. 1 is to Ps. cxviii 1, and on p. 15 to Luke ii 41. On p. 9, n. 3 read אֶתְנִים. On the curious phrase אני והו in *Mishna* iv 5 reference may be made to the interesting suggestion of the late Dr Abrahams in *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, second series, pp. 174 ff, where he connects it with ואנוהו in Exod. xv 2. Further, the place-name מוצא in the same passage is now plausibly identified with Emmaus (Luke xxiv 13). Cf. Strack-Billerbeck *ad loc.*

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Die Mischna: Baba batra: Text, Übersetzung u. Erklärung, von D. WALTER WINDFUHR. (A. Töpelmann, Giessen, 1925.)

DR WINDFUHR'S edition of the third part of the Jewish civil law follows on the lines laid down in the previous issues of this series. The Introduction (pp. 1–13) gives a summary of the contents of the tractate under the three main headings of Law of Real Property, Law of Inheritance, and Rules concerning Legal Documents: an account of the composition of the tractate: and a list of authorities cited in it. Then follow Text (pointed) and Translation on opposite pages, with notes at the foot of each page (pp. 14–101). Pages 102–111 contain a list of variant readings from the editions of Goldschmidt and Lowe and from three MSS.

Text and translation are reliable, and the notes are useful. Particularly interesting are the occasional references to usage in Roman Law: so much so that one could wish that more might be done on these lines, particularly in the way of collecting matter from other Semitic codes and legal documents which would illustrate the Mishna. For example, the form of words advocated by R. Judah in the case of a deed of gift executed by a father in favour of a child, can be illustrated from an actual document in the Aramaic Papyri (No. 8, ll. 8 f, in Cowley's Edition). But the restrictions of size on this edition of the Mishna are such as to preclude the possibility of a full Commentary, which remains a desideratum.

T. W. MANSON.

Reality. A New Correlation of Science and Religion, by BURNETT HILLMAN STREETER. (Macmillan, 1926.)

THE chief interest of this book lies in the fact that it is the personal confession of a distinguished scholar who, through his interest in the Student Christian Movement, has counted for much in the lives of many religious undergraduates at Oxford during recent years and, through the remarkable series of 'group-books' of which he has been the editor or joint-editor, has exercised no insignificant influence over the religious thought of a wide circle in his generation. 'The purpose of this book', Dr Streeter tells us in his introduction, 'is to outline, in the simplest and clearest language I can command, a position in which my own mind has found rest after thirty years of search.' We should look in vain here for a rounded-off system of theology or philosophy; there are grave questions, inevitably raised by discussions which are included, whereon Dr Streeter offers us little or no guidance. But he is within his rights in this reticence, since in a book which is

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primarily a personal confession a man need not say anything upon topics, however important, about which he has nothing of his own to say—and for every man there must be many such.

It is inevitable that the publication of the work before us should suggest to some of us a comparison and contrast with another, put forth sixteen years ago by an Oxford divine of the last generation, the late William Sanday's *Christologies Ancient and Modern*. In both we have an eminent New Testament scholar turning away from the investigations which had made his literary reputation to a philosophical restatement of the Christian faith, the desire to test the historical foundations of which had throughout been the inspiration of his critical studies. In both there is prominent a peculiar interest in the light which might be thrown on Christian doctrine by the investigations of contemporary psychology—that is, in Dr Sanday's case, by the psychology of William James, in Dr Streeter's by the so-called 'new psychology' of Freud and the psycho-analysts. Neither writer, we may perhaps add, has made a secret of his hope (in Dr Sanday's case, a hope never to be fulfilled) of some day crowning his whole work, critical and theological, by a book expressly devoted to the consideration of the Life of our Lord. There is, I think, in *Reality* no theory put forward so original and provocative as that of Sanday that the 'subliminal consciousness is the proper seat or *locus* of the Deity of the incarnate Christ'; but to say this is no disparagement of the book we are now concerned with; for it is because Dr Streeter has moved with greater caution and restraint in the region of philosophical speculation than his predecessor (who seemed there to have thrown aside some of the prudent hesitation that characterized him when occupied in more familiar fields) that he has not associated his name with any suggestion so startling or so incapable of maintaining itself in the face of criticism as that for which Sanday made himself responsible.

The criticism of materialism and the account of the inevitable limitations of the scientific point of view, which occupy the first two chapters, are upon the whole excellent; and in particular the inconsistency of psychological determinism with the claims of psychology and indeed of any science to yield *truth* is very well brought out. It is true that the methods of exact science are essentially quantitative and that quality remains unexplained by them; but when Dr Streeter says (p. 38) that 'quality is something coterminous with life, or at any rate with conscious life; indeed consciousness is primarily the capacity to distinguish qualitatively' it is difficult not to ask in the first place whether quality is not here confused with the perception of quality, and, in the second, whether consciousness is not as necessary to distinguish quantity as to distinguish quality. I do not think that Dr Streeter's main contention

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is seriously affected by what inaccuracy there may be in this sentence; to which there is, however, given a prominence entitling it to be stated with greater care. Again, in the section on 'Scientific Knowledge' (pp. 79 f) it should have been pointed out that *knowledge*, as such, does not from the nature of the case admit of definition and that the analysis here given is not of knowledge, as such, but only of what is better described on p. 81 as 'the method of Science'. These are no doubt criticisms from the side of philosophy rather than of science as distinguished therefrom, and Dr Streeter's book is concerned, as its subsidiary title indicates, with the mutual relations of science and religion (the 'tragic feud' between which he is optimistic enough to hope that 'our generation may see healed') rather than with those of either to philosophy.

The most interesting feature of the work which we are considering is probably the view outlined in the chapter called 'An Ancient Story' of the Christian Gospel as a 'myth', in the Platonic sense of the word, yet a myth which is not merely 'like the truth' but historically true. 'It is a poem—but a real person lived it. It is drama—but it was acted out upon a real cross' (p. 68). I welcome this view, which is essentially the same with that which I ventured to suggest myself some years ago in one of my Gifford Lectures on *God and Personality* ('The Problem of Creation'). Dr Streeter is careful to distinguish his position from that of Croce in that 'we do not', as he says, 'offer poetry to the uneducated multitude, reserving prose for the elect'. He even goes so far as to add 'but contrariwise', for 'if this myth be true, it is wanted to-day by the *élite* even more than by the herd. *Vanitas vanitatum* is the cry, not of the poor and simple, but of those who have thought and read and enjoyed much'. It may at any rate be allowed—though this is often overlooked in discussions of the subject—that sensitiveness to historical accuracy in detail as distinct from fidelity to the general outlines of the structure of the actual world is by no means characteristic of the ordinary mind, but rather the special note of one which has been subjected to a scientific or scholarly training.

The seventh chapter of *Reality*, on 'The Christ', should be compared with those on 'Christ' and 'The Historical Jesus' in Mr Shebbeare's too little known book on *Religion in an Age of Doubt*. The resemblance between them is all the more noteworthy that there is no indication of a debt on Dr Streeter's part to the earlier book. It is most observable in the illustrations of the intellectual power and of the aesthetic as well as moral insight exhibited in the recorded teaching of our Lord. But, without exaggerating the agreement of two writers, between whom there exist some important and far-reaching differences, of emphasis at least, in respect of certain Christian doctrines, the treat-

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ment of the person of Christ by both affords a striking proof that men whose outlook is thoroughly modern and whose intellectual conscience is fully awake, who are, moreover, by temperament disinclined to acquiesce in the claims of authority and familiar with the difficulties opposed by the free philosophical speculation and historical criticism of our day to the acceptance of the traditional estimate of the Founder of Christianity, may yet come to anchor in a faith that can find expression in such words as these of Mr Shebbeare: 'We want no higher God than He; we know that no higher God is conceivable or possible. . . . Only the God who can be identified with Jesus has a just claim upon the worship of mankind', or these of Dr Streeter: 'It is in no impoverished sense that we recite the ancient phrase, Christ is "of one substance with the Father"; and to describe Him we shall find no words more true than "Son of God".'

It will not surprise any one acquainted with Dr Streeter's turn of mind to find a considerable part of *Reality* devoted to the consideration of the problem of evil. He observes (in a note to p. 58) that 'the conventional procedure is to begin by distinguishing the problem of pain from the problem of sin, with the implication that, of the two, sin is the more perplexing'. 'I am not', he continues, 'so sure. Pain is coterminous with life, conscious wrong-doing is confined to man; and were it not that the wrong that one man does is so frequently paid for by the agonies of others, the problem of evil would—to most of us, at any rate—assume a different aspect. Again, to the problem of sin a solution theoretically satisfactory lies close at hand. . . . Free will is a necessary condition of goodness; but that same freedom of choice which makes goodness possible must leave open the possibility of the choice of evil. An abstract argument like this does not satisfy the heart, but at least it estops the plea as it is stated by the head. I know of no logic that can so nimbly dodge the fact of pain.' I suppose that those who have found the fact of pain less perplexing than that of sin have been impressed by the thought that pain can be justified as the penalty of sin; whereas the moral consciousness, which such a justification of pain may satisfy, finds in sin only that which cannot be justified at all. This argument probably makes but a slight appeal to Dr Streeter, who is out of sympathy with the retributive—which is to some of us the only intelligible—theory of punishment. But even those who would accept it must find in pain endured where no such justification on moral grounds can be alleged—as in the lower animals—a torturing problem. I think it is the late Dean Church who has somewhere remarked that he could not dwell upon it without vertigo. The only consideration which affords, to my mind, any gleam of light here is the consideration that just where we know pain best, in ourselves, we

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can best understand that it may be something we would not go without, and that it is least intelligible to us where we know least what it can be, and may naturally guess that, since there is no 'looking before and after', it cannot be what it may be in a human being.

On the whole problem of evil Dr Streeter has observations to make that are well worth making. He notes that we never speak of the problem of good. 'We take the good for granted, and only ask the reason for the evil. Yet, surely, what we ought to ask for is an explanation of the world *as a whole*' (p. 222). With the supposed 'inexorability' of the laws of nature he deals admirably on p. 225. He is, as has been said, indisposed to admit the truth of the doctrine that punishment is primarily retributive or, as he prefers to put it, vindictive; yet, when he is pointing out (p. 237) the undesirableness of a continual brooding over past sins, he observes that 'in regard to the burden of remembered offences committed in early youth, often the best way one can give help is . . . to make the person see the offence as something which, though in a grown man an enormity, in a boy deserved "a flogging and have done with it"'. I agree; but this admission that it *deserved* a flogging implies in truth the theory which he shrinks from affirming. As to the notion of a conflict between God's justice and His mercy, Dr Streeter does well to remind us of Anselm's fine saying *Iustum est te bonum esse*. We should indeed scarcely call an unmerciful person just; and, in speaking of some one as unjust, we think rather of his harsh treatment of those who do not deserve it than of his over-leniency to others; on the other hand, we should certainly think it strange to describe him on account of such over-leniency as a merciful man. The truest justice would seem to include mercy, and mercy in the highest sense to vindicate for itself, as in Anselm's phrase, the name of justice.

The thought of the reconciliation of justice and mercy, when both are conceived of as existing in their highest perfection, brings us naturally to the doctrine of the Atonement. Can we give any meaning that will not sound 'strange to modern ears' (p. 233) to the ancient Christian teaching that only through Christ's sacrifice upon the cross can evil be defeated, and that only through 'faith in His blood' can the individual man take part in the victory over it? Dr Streeter thinks that we can. We can understand, he suggests, by 'faith in His blood' 'an attitude of self-forgetful response to the idea, as bodied forth in that story'—that is, in the story of the Cross, where 'we catch, focussed in one vivid moment, the eternal quality of Creative Life'—'of the love of God to man'. It is plain that the story of the Cross can body forth the love of God to man only just so far as in Christ we can see not only man loving God but God loving man. It is in the last

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paragraph of his chapter on 'The Christ' that we find Dr Streeter's affirmation that we can do this. It is probable that some will doubt his right to make—though none could reasonably doubt his sincerity in making—this affirmation: either because they consider that he goes beyond his premisses or because they hold that in the end he falls short of what historical Christianity demands that we should 'think of Christ'. My own feeling is that there can be no better approach to such a satisfactory restatement of Christology as the times demand than carefully thought out, entirely honest, and truly reverent expressions of personal conviction, based on first-hand religious experience, of the kind whereof in this book Dr Streeter has presented us with an admirable example.

Probably no parts of Dr Streeter's book will be read with more curiosity and interest than the chapter dealing with the 'new psychology' and the appendix on dreams (which includes a valuable study of St Peter's vision in Acts x). I could wish that he had in the former avoided the expression 'psychic radio-activity', which (though Dr Streeter himself is doubtless well aware that it is no more than a metaphor) is calculated to encourage a kind of ambiguous language, neither unmistakably figurative nor unmistakably literal, declining rigorous criticism from either philosophers or men of science, and the parent of much confused thinking and talking. I think also that the discussion of a possible elucidation of the working of intercessory prayer by the alleged phenomenon of 'telepathy' would have been strengthened by the recognition that 'a kind of psychic *rapport* between individuals' not only sometimes occurs when both are bodily present to each other, on occasions where one is felt to create a sort of spiritual atmosphere, but is absolutely requisite to such communication as takes place in *any* conversation or exchange of thought whatever.

The general treatment, however, of the bearing of psychology on religion must be admitted, even by those perhaps more ready than Dr Streeter to be critical of current psychological theories (whether of the so-called 'new' brand or otherwise), to be both independent and sensible. The author has a clear perception of the inherent limitations of the psychological standpoint and, in an appendix on 'Instinct and Morality', rightly insists that reference to the 'herd-instinct' entirely fails to account for the 'ought' of morality.

I should like to end my survey of this interesting book by a word of admiration for the moving eloquence into which the writer rises in certain passages, such as those which respectively conclude the chapters on 'The Defeat of Evil' and 'Religion and the New Psychology'.

CLEMENT C. J. WEBB.

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, October 1926 (Vol. ciii, No. 205: S.P.C.K.). W. H. FRERE The Christian Altar—W. RICHMOND The Gospel of Life—W. W. CANNON 'The Day of the Lord' in Joel—A. C. HEADLAM Economics and Christianity—C. JENKINS Sixteenth-century studies—W. J. P. WRIGHT Women and the Counter-reformation in France—W. SCHUSTER Present-day religious movements in Germany—The Cambridge Medieval History, vol. v—Z. The Life of Frank Weston, Bishop of Zanzibar—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, October 1926 (Vol. xxv, No. 1: Constable & Co.). W. R. SORLEY Ethical reflections on Theology—G. F. BARBOUR The Infinite in religious experience—P. L. COUCHOUD and R. STAHL Jesus Barabbas—G. AULÉN Recent tendencies of Theology as seen from a Swedish standpoint—D. STRÖMHOLM The riddle of the New Testament—J. S. MACKENZIE International unity—A. MACKENDRICK The ethics of wealth accumulation—W. MONTGOMERY St Augustine's attitude to psychic phenomena—G. M. SARGEAUNT The Consolations of Cicero—B. W. BACON Sources and method of the Fourth Evangelist—L. OPPENHEIMER The artist's impulse—R. ROBERTS The theological dilemma in America—J. W. BUCKHAM Centripetal realism—P. M. JONES Intellectual reaction in France—Survey and Signed Reviews.

(2) AMERICAN.

The Princeton Theological Review, October 1926 (Vol. xxiv, No. 4: Princeton University Press). F. W. LOETSCHER John D. Davis—O. T. ALLIS 'A new standard Bible Dictionary'—R. D. WILSON Jesus and the Old Testament—Reviews.

The Harvard Theological Review, July 1926 (Vol. xix, No. 3: Harvard University Press). H. A. SANDERS An early papyrus fragment of the Gospel of Matthew in the Michigan Collection—G. KRÜGER The 'theology of crisis'—K. LAKE and R. P. CASEY The text of the *De Incarnatione* of Athanasius—R. P. BLAKE Ancient Georgian Versions of the Old Testament.

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(3) BELGIAN.

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, October 1926 (Vol. xxii, No. 4: Louvain, 40 Rue de Namur). J. CORREYRE Le jansénisme pendant les premiers mois de la Régence. Les associations avec Rome (janvier-décembre 1716)—É. TOBAC Le problème de la justification dans saint Paul et dans saint Jacques—Comptes rendus—Chronique et Tables—Bibliographie et Tables.

January 1927 (Vol. xxiii, No. 1). J. LEBON Une ancienne opinion sur la condition du corps du Christ dans la mort (*à suivre*)—M. DUBRUEL Les Congrégations des affaires de France sous Innocent XI (*suite, à suivre*)—A. CABASSUT La mitigation des peines de l'enfer d'après les livres liturgiques—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

Analecta Bollandiana, November 1926 (Vol. xliv, Nos. 3 and 4: Brussels, 24 Boulevard Saint-Michel). H. DELEHAYE Hagiographie et archéologie romaines (*à suivre*)—P. PEETERS La Passion arabe de S. 'Abd-al-Masîḥ—H. DELEHAYE Les lettres d'indulgence collectives (*à suivre*)—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques.

(4) GERMAN.

Theologische Quartalschrift (Vol. cvii, Nos. 1 and 2: H. Laupp, Tübingen). STOLZ Parochus—BAUR Thomas v. Aquin als Philosoph—GRAF Individuelle Gotteswege—GEYER Verfasser und Abfassungszeit der sog. Summa sententiarum—GSPANN Das Elementum materiale der Erbsünde—Besprechungen.

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The Journal of Theological Studies

APRIL, 1927

DOCUMENTS

SOME EARLY CANONS

A MANUSCRIPT has been unearthed in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, numbered B. 5. 28, acquired by Archbishop Usher, which contains six leaves of vellum (bound in the order 1, 3, 2, 5, 4, 6), and measuring only 15 × 9 cm. It is a palimpsest, but not a word of the under writing has been deciphered. The upper writing was transcribed by Dr J. G. Smyly, Regius Professor of Greek and Librarian, and verified by myself. Not being a palaeographer I cannot date it, but it is written cursively, with many abbreviations, and the script is similar in appearance to that of MSS of the twelfth century. All iota subscripts are omitted, and in the breathings and accents there is some carelessness, which is not here reproduced, but the spelling and clerical accuracy are, on the whole, good.

The MS contains material which is introduced by the following titles: (1) 'Seventeen Canons of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul'. (2) 'The thirty-seventh [? Epistle] of the great Basil *περὶ τίτλου καὶ χρόνου ἁμαρτήματων*'. (3) 'Canon of the first and second Synod'. (4) 'Timothy of Alexandria'. The last two are perhaps by a different hand, but it is very similar, and of the same date; (3) consists of the comment of Zonaras on the sixth Canon of Constantinople (Migne *Patr. Graec.* vol. cxxxvii col. 1040). In (1) and (2) each of the Canons is begun with an initial in red ink, the rest being black; and the coloured letters are projected, when they form the beginning of a line.

The text of the MS, with the exception of the Zonaras piece, is as follows, the red initials being represented by thick type:

Τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων **Π**έτρου
καὶ Παύλου, κανόνεσ δέκα
ἑπτά. **Π**έντε ἡμέρασ οἱ λα
ἱκοὶ ἐργαζέσθωσαν, σαββά
τω δὲ καὶ κυρϊακῇ, τῇ ἐκκλησία
σχολαζέτωσαν διδασκόμενοι τὴν
εὐσέβειαν. **Τ**ὸ μὲν γὰρ δημιουργίασ

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ἔχοι τρόπον· ἡ δὲ ἀναστάσεως·
Τὴν μεγάλην ἑβδομάδα καὶ τὴν με
τ' αὐτήν, ἀργείτωσαν ἡ μὲν γὰρ
πάθους ἐστῖν. ἡ δέ ἐστῖν ἀναστάσεως· καὶ διδα
σκέσθωσαν τῖσ ὁ παθὼν καὶ
ἀναστάς: Καὶ τὴν ἀνάλη
ψιν πέρασ γὰρ τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν οἰκο
νομίασ: Καὶ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν
διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματοσ ἐπῖ
φοίτησῖν: Καὶ τὴν τῶν γενεθλίων
ἑορτὴν διὰ τὴν ἐκ παρθέ
νου τοῦ κυρίου γέννησιν:
f. 1v Καὶ τὴν τῶν θεοφανίων διὰ
τὴν ἀνάδειξιν τῆσ θεότῖ
τοσ· ὁ πατὴρ γὰρ ἐμαρτύρη
σε τῶ υἱῶ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐν εἴ[δει]
περιστερᾶσ ἐφάνη:
Καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ
διδασκάλων: καὶ στεφάνου
τοῦ πρωτομάρτυροσ, καὶ τῶν
λοιπῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων τῶν
των [*sic*] τῆσ ζωῆσ χριστὸν προτιμῖσάντων
Εὐχέσθωσαν ὄρθρω: τρίτη
ὥρα· ἕκτη· ἐννάτη· ἑσπέ
ρα· καὶ ἀλεκτεροφωνία· ὄρθρω
εὐχαριστοῦντεσ τῶ θεῶ, ὅτι
παρῆλθεν ἡ νὺξ ἐπελθού
σησ τῆσ ἡμέρασ· τρίτη, ὅτῖ
ἐν αὐτῆ γέγονεν ἡ κατὰ τοῦ
κυρίου ἀπόφασισ· ἐν τῆ
f. 2 ἕκτη ἐσταυρώθη· τῆ ἐννάτη
τὰ πάντα ἐκῖνήθη· φρῖττοντα
τὴν τόλμα[ν] τῶν ἰουδαίων,
καὶ μὴ φέροντα, τὴν ὕβρῖν τοῦ
κυρίου· τῆ ἑσπέρα εὐχαρῖστοῦν
τεσ τῶ θεῶ, ὅτι δέδωκεν εἰσ
ἀνάπαυσιν· τῶν ἡμερινῶν
κόπων. τὴν νύκτα· ἀλεκτε
ροφωνία, ὅτῖ εὐαγγελίζε
ται τὴν ἡμέραν πρὸσ ἐργασίαν
τῶν ἔργων τοῦ φωτός:
Ἵνα μὴ εἰσέρχηται εὐσεβὴσ
εἰσ οἶκον ἀσεβῶν· κατ' οἶ

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κον σϋνακτέον· οὐ γὰρ ὁ τό
ποσ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' ὁ ἄνθρωπος
τὸν τόπον ἁγιάζει:
Φευκτέον σοι ὁ ὑπ' ἀσεβῶν
βεβηλωθεὶσ τόποσ, ὡσ
γὰρ ὅσιοι ἁγιάζουσιν·
f. 2v οὕτωσ ἐναγεῖσ μϊαίνουσιν:
Εἰ μήτε ἐν οἴκω, μήτε ἐν ἐκ
κλησία ἀθροισθῆναι δυνα
τόν, ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ· ψα
λλέτω, ἀναγινωσκέτω, προσ
ευχέσθω. ἢ καὶ ἅμα δύο ἢ τρεῖσ:
Πϊστὸσ κατηχουμένω μὴ δὲ κατ' οἶ
κον συνευχέσθω· τίσ γὰρ κοι
νωνία φωτὶ πρὸσ σκότοσ:
Πϊστὸσ ἢ πϊστὴ δούλοισ συναφθέντεσ
ἢ ἀφϊστάσθωσαν, ἢ ἀποβα
λλέσθωσαν; Ἐπϊτελείσθω
τοῖσ κεκοιμημένοισ, τρίτα διὰ τὸν
ἀναστάντα τρϊήμερον. καὶ ἕ
νατα εἰσ ὑπόμνησιν τῶν πε
ρϊόντων. καὶ τῶν κεκοιμη
μένων· καὶ τεσσαράκον. καθὼσ
καὶ ὁ ἰουδαϊκὸσ λαὸσ
f. 3 ἐπένθησε μωσῆν· καὶ ἐνϊαύ
σϊα ἐκ τῶν ἐνϋπαρχόντων
αὐτοῖσ διδόσθω εἰσ ἀνά
μνησϊν αὐτῶν. ἀσεβεῖσ γὰρ
οὐδ' ὁ κόσμοσ ὅλοσ ὀνήσει τί
δοθεὶσ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ:
Ἐν ταῖσ μνείαισ αὐτῶν οἱ
καλούμενοι πρεσβύτεροι, εὐ
τάκτωσ καὶ σὺν φόβω θεοῦ
ἑστϊάσθωσαν· ὡσ καὶ δυνάμενοι
πρεσβέβειν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεταστάντων:
Οἱ δυνάσται φησί, θϋμώδεισ
εἰσίν. οἶνον γοῦν μὴ πϊνέτωσαν·
ἵνα μὴ ἐπϊλάθωντε τῆσ σο
φίασ, καὶ ὀρθὰ κρίνειν μὴ δύνωνται.
καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοίνϋν
καὶ οἱ διάκονοι μετὰ τὸν παντοκρά
τορα θεὸν καὶ τὸν ἠγαπημένον
f. 3v υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, δϋνάσται τῆσ ἐκ

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κλησίασ εἰσίν. οἶνον γοῦν μὴ πϊ
νέτωσαν· ἵνα μὴ ὑβρίζωσϊ τὸ
παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονός. ἀλλὰ
μὴ παροινείτωσαν· καὶ πᾶσ δὲ
χρϊστϊανὸσ φϋλαττέσθω
παροινεῖν :· Τοὺσ δωκο
κομένουσ διὰ πίστιν ὑποδέχεσθε.
καὶ τὰ πρὸσ χρείαν χειραγωγεῖτε :·
τριακοστὴ ἑβδόμϊ τοῦ με
γάλου βασιλείου περὶ τίτλου
καὶ χρόνου ἁμαρτημάτων :

Ὁ χειροτονῶν ὑπερορία κα
θαιρείσθω :

Canons of the Apostles 35. ἐπίσκοπον μὴ τολμᾶν ἔξω τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὅρων χειροτονίας ποιεῖσθαι εἰς τὰς μὴ ὑποκειμένας αὐτῷ πόλεις καὶ χώρας· εἰ δὲ ἐλεγχθείη τοῦτο πεποικὼς παρὰ τὴν τῶν κατεχόντων τὰς πόλεις ἐκείνας ἢ τὰς χώρας γνώμην, καθαιρείσθω καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οὓς ἐχειροτόνησεν.

Ὁ ἐπὶ χρήμα
σϊ χειροτονῶν σὺν τῷ χειροτο
νουμένῳ καθαιρείσθω :·

Κληρϊκὸσ ἐγγύας δϊδοὺσ κα
θαιρείσθω :

ib. 20. κληρικὸς ἐγγύας διδοὺς καθαιρείσθω.

Κληρικὸσ τό
κουσ λαμβάνων, ἢ παυέσθω,
ἢ καθαιρείσθω :

ib. 44. ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος τόκους ἀπαιτῶν τοὺς δανειζομένους, ἢ παυσάσθω ἢ καθαιρείσθω.

Basil *ad Amphil. Ep.* 188. 14. ὁ τόκους λαμβάνων, ἐὰν καταδέξηται τὸ ἄδικον κέρδος εἰς πτωχοὺς ἀναλῶσαι, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τοῦ νοσήματος τῆς φιλοχρηματίας ἀπαλλαγῆναι, δεκτός ἐστιν εἰς ἱεροσύνην.

f. 4 Ἱερεὺσ πϊστὸν ἢ ἀπϊστὸν τύ
πτων, καθαιρείσθω :

C. A. 27. ἐπίσκοπον ἢ πρεσβύτερον ἢ διάκονον τύπτοντα πιστοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας ἢ ἀπιστοὺς ἀδικήσαντας καὶ διὰ τῶν τοιούτων φοβεῖν ἐθέλοντα καθαιρεῖσθαι προστάσσομεν. οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὁ

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κύριος ταῦτα ἐδίδαξεν, τοὐναντίον δὲ αὐτὸς τυπτόμενος οὐκ ἀντέτυπτεν, "λοιδορούμενος οὐκ ἀντελοιδόρει, πάσχων οὐκ ἠπείλει".

Γύναικα οὐ δεῖ ἐν θυσϊαστηρίῳ εἰσϊέναι : Ἡ παρθενίαν ὁμολογήσασα, καὶ ἐκπεσοῦσα, ἔχει ἔτι [i. e. ἔτη] δεκαπέντε :

Basil *Ep.* 217. 60. ἡ παρθενίαν ὁμολογήσασα καὶ ἐκπεσοῦσα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς μοιχείας [cf. MS l. 141] ἁμαρτήματος ἐν τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ τῆς καθ' ἑαυτὴν ζωῆς πληρώσει. τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν βίον μοναζόντων ἐπαγγειλαμένων καὶ ἐκπιπτόντων.

120 Οἱ μαντευόμενοι ἐπὶ ἀνευρέσει τϊνῶν· ἔτη ἓξ :

ib. 83. οἱ καταμαντευόμενοι, καὶ ταῖς συνηθείαις τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀκολουθοῦντες, ἢ εἰσάγοντές τινας εἰς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν οἴκους ἐπὶ ἀνευρέσει φαρμακειῶν, καὶ καθάρσει, ὑπὸ τὸν κανόνα πιπτέτωσαν τῆς ἐξαετίας.

[The periods and grades of penance within the six years are, as usual, indicated.]

Ὁ μάντεσϊν ἑαυτὸν ἐπϊδϊδούς, ἔτη εἴκοσϊν :

ib. 72. ὁ μάντεσιν ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδούς, ἢ τισι τοιούτοις, τὸν χρόνον τοῦ φονέως [cf. MS l. 137] καὶ αὐτὸς οἰκονομηθήσεται.

Ὁ τὸν Χριστὸν ἀρνησάμενοι (*sic*) τῷ τέλει τοῦ βίου ἀξϊούσθω τῶν ἁγϊασμάτων.

ib. 73. ὁ τὸν Χριστὸν ἀρνησάμενος καὶ παραβὰς τὸ τῆς σωτηρίας μυστήριον, ἐν παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ προσκλαίειν ὀφείλει, καὶ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι χρεωστεῖ, ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ᾧ ἐκβαίνει τοῦ βίου, τοῦ ἁγιάσματος ἀξιούμενος πίστει τῆς παρὰ θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας.

125 Ὁ χωρὶσ ἀνάγκησ τϊνὸσ τὴν εἰσ θεὸν παραβὰσ πἴστϊν, ἔτη δώδεκα :

Ὁ γοητείαν καὶ φαρμακείαν ἐξαγορέυων, τὸν τοῦ φονέως χρόνον ἐξομολογήσϊτε :

ib. 65. ὁ γοητείαν ἢ φαρμακείαν ἐξαγορεύων τὸν τοῦ φονέως χρόνον ἐξομολογήσεται, οὕτως οἰκονομούμενος ὡς ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἁμαρτήματι ἑαυτὸν ἐλέγξας.

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130 Ὁ ἀκρωτηριάζων ἑαυτὸν κλη
ρικὸσ μέν, καθαιρείσθω·

[λ]αϊκὸσ δέ, ἀφορϊζέσθω·
f. 4ᵛ ἔτη τρία· καὶ κληρϊκὸσ μὴ
γενέσθω:

C. A. 23. εἴ τις κληρικὸς ὢν ἑαυτὸν ἀκρωτηριάσῃ, καθαιρείσθω· φονεὺς γάρ ἐστιν ἑαυτοῦ.

ib. 24. λαϊκὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀκρωτηριάσας ἀφοριζέσθω ἔτη τρία· ἐπίβουλος γάρ ἐστιν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ζωῆς.

ib. 22. ὁ ἀκρωτηριάσας ἑαυτὸν μὴ γινέσθω κληρικός· αὐτοφονευτὴς γάρ ἐστιν καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δημιουργίας ἐχθρός.

135 Ἡ κατ' ἐπϊτήδευσϊν φθα
ρεῖσα, ἔτη δέκα:

Ὁ ἑκουσίωσ φονεύων, ἔτη
εἴκοσϊν:

Basil *ib.* 56. ὁ ἑκουσίως φονεύσας, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο μεταμεληθείς, εἴκοσιν ἔτεσιν ἀκοινώνητος ἔσται τοῖς ἁγιάσμασιν. τὰ δὲ εἴκοσιν ἔτη οὕτως οἰκονομηθήσεται ἐπ' αὐτῷ κτλ.

Ὁ ἀκουσίωσ ἔτη δέκα. καὶ
140 κληρϊκὸσ μὴ γϊνώσθω:

ib. 57. ὁ ἀκουσίως φονεύσας ἐν δέκα ἔτεσιν ἀκοινώνητος ἔσται τῶν ἁγιασμάτων. οἰκονομηθήσεται δὲ τὰ δέκα ἔτη ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὕτω κτλ.

Ὁ μοιχεύων, ἔτη δεκαπέντε.

ib. 58. ὁ μοιχεύσας ἐν ιε΄ ἔτεσιν ἀκοινώνητος ἔσται τῶν ἁγιασμάτων. ἐν τέταρσι μὲν κτλ.

Ὁ τὴν συνημμένην ἀπωθούμενοσ.
καὶ ἄλλην ἀγόμενοσ· ἔτη δεκα
πέντε:

ib. 77. ὁ μέντοι καταλιμπάνων τὴν νομίμως αὐτῷ συναφθεῖσαν γυναῖκα, καὶ ἑτέραν συναγόμενος, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἀπόφασιν, τῷ τῆς μοιχείας ὑπόκειται κρίματι.

[But an earlier patristic canon is then recorded laying down only seven years.]

C. A. 48 (inserted in the midst of a series of canons on heretical baptism). εἴ τις λαϊκὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐκβαλὼν ἑτέραν λάβοι ἢ παρὰ ἄλλου ἀπολελυμένην ἀφοριζέσθω.

Ὁ εἰσ ἐλεύ
145 θερον σῶμα πορνεύων
πόρνοσ, ἔτη ἑπτά:

Basil *ib.* 59. ὁ πόρνος ἐν ἑπτὰ ἔτεσιν ἀκοινώνητος ἔσται τῶν ἁγιασμάτων. δύο κτλ.

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Ὁ ἀρσενοκοίτης· ἔτη δεκα πέντε :

ib. 62. ὁ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην ἐν τοῖς ἄῤῥεσιν ἐπιδεικνύμενος, τὸν χρόνον τοῦ ἐν τῇ μοιχείᾳ παρανομοῦντος οἰκονομηθήσεται.

f. 5 Ὁ κτηνοβάτης, ἔτη δεκα
150 πέντε :

ib. 63. ὁ ἐν ἀλόγοις τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀσέβειαν ἐξαγορεύων, τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐξομολογούμενος παραφυλάξεται.

Ἡ ἀδελφομῐ̈ξία, ἔτη κ̄ :

ib. 67. ἀδελφομιξία τὸν τοῦ φονέως χρόνον ἐξομολογήσεται.

Ὁ ἰδῐ́α ἀδελφῇ σϋμμῐ̈αίνομενοσ χωρῐ̈ζό δηλον ὅτῐ̈ τῆσ πράξεωσ, ἔτη δώδεκα :

ib. 75. ὁ ἀδελφῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐκ πατρὸς ἢ ἐκ μητρὸς συμμιανθείς, εἰς οἶκον προσευχῆς μὴ ἐπιτρεπέσθω παρεῖναι, ἕως ἂν ἀποστῇ τῆς παρανόμου καὶ ἀθεμίτου πράξεως.

[Twelve years of penance are then described at length.]

155 Ὁ κλέπτησ, ἔτη δῦο :

ib. 61. ὁ κλέψας, εἰ μὲν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μεταμεληθεὶς κατηγορήσειεν ἑαυτοῦ, ἐνιαυτὸν κωλυθήσεται μόνον τῆς κοινωνίας τῶν ἁγιασμάτων· εἰ δὲ ἐλεγχθείη, ἐν δυσὶν ἔτεσι. μερισθήσεται δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ χρόνος κτλ.

Ὁ ἐπίορκος, ἔτη δέκα :

ib. 64. ὁ ἐπίορκος ἐν δέκα ἔτεσιν ἀκοινώνητος ἔσται. δυσὶν κτλ.

Ὁ τῠμβωρῡ́χοσ, ἔτη δέκα :

ib. 66. ὁ τυμβωρύχος ἐν δέκα ἔτεσιν ἀκοινώνητος ἔσται. ἐν δυσὶ κτλ.

τῑμο$^{\theta'}$ ἀλεξανδῐ́ :·

Τὰ προσφερόμενα εἰσ λόγον θυσίασ, μετὰ τὰ ἀναλῐ̈σκόμενα εἰσ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων χρεῖαν, οἱ κληρικοὶ μόνοι διανεμέ σθωσαν· καὶ μήτε κατοιχούμενοσ ἐκ τού των ἐσθῐ̈έτω, ἢ πῐ̈νέτω, ἀλλὰ μό νοι κληρῐ̈κοί, καὶ οἱ πῐ̈στοὶ ἀδελφοί :

Part I. Although the contents are substantially those of part of the *Constitutiones per Hippolytum* or '*Epitome*', drawn from the eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (see Dom Connolly, *The So-called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents*, Texts and Studies viii 4), they are not identical with them, nor, so far as I know, with any published

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collection of canons. They appear to be a slightly shorter form of the *Diataxeis of Peter and Paul the holy Apostles* in the *Epitome* xxiii–xxvii, supplied with a title. The application of the first Canon is expanded from slaves to the laity in general. The readings λαούς and λαϊκούς, however, occur as variants in the *Epit.*, and the former in *A. C.* The θεοφανίων of the MS (l. 20) is also a variant for ἐπιφανίων in both. In the *Epit.* the apostles *are* your teachers; in the MS the days of 'the Apostles *and* teachers' are to be observed (l. 25). In the Canon beginning at l. 49 the address to the Bishop is omitted, and the injunction that the congregation shall meet in a house in order to avoid the wicked is condensed. In the MS the 'seventeen canons' form a continuous whole, ἐπιτελεῖσθε (l. 68) standing in the middle of a line without a break. In *A. C.* this is the beginning of ch. xlii, the intervening chs. xxxv–xli containing an utterance of James, dealing with the Evening Thanksgiving, together with the Laying on of Hands (xxxvi, xxxvii), the Morning Thanksgiving, together with the Laying on of Hands (xxxviii, xxxix), the Thanksgiving at the Offering of Firstfruits (xl), a Prayer for the Departed, and in particular for some individual, followed by the Bishop's Blessing (xli). The canon dealing with the days on which the departed are to be remembered could then be placed suitably at this point; but by its position it is attributed to James, not to Peter and Paul as in the *Epitome* and the MS. In l. 94 the meaning is evidently intended to be that which appears in the *Epitome*, that to refuse wine is to insult the gift of God, though drunkenness is condemned; but the scribe carelessly rewrote the first clause from Proverbs.

Part II. τριακοστὴ ἑβδόμη can hardly be anything else than the thirty-seventh letter in some collection of Basil's works known to the scribe. Very possibly he gives only part of the letter, containing the penitentiary canons, in which case the title may be his own. But it is equally possible that the contents of the letter are complete, and that the title was already attached to it. Nine of the canons are not known to be attributed to Basil elsewhere, though five of them have been adopted by the compiler of *C. A.*

Part IV. The six lines are given as the seventh Canon of Theophilus of Alexandria in Migne *Patr. Gr.* lxv c. 41.

A. H. McNEILE.

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NOTES AND STUDIES

THE SEVEN ARCHANGELS AND THE SEVEN SPIRITS:

A STUDY IN THE ORIGIN, DEVELOPEMENT, AND MESSIANIC ASSOCIATIONS OF THE TWO THEMES.

In a former study[1] I advanced the theory that there were two chief schools of Messianic doctrine in Jewry, (1) that which looked for the coming of the Angel of Yahweh, and (2) that which expected a Spirit-endowed man, in the office of Messiah. The former school made use of Babylonian imagery to clothe its predictions of the Angel; the latter expressly avoided the use of it. Thus the presence or absence of this imagery is a distinguishing mark of the predictions of the two schools.

The following study applies the general theory to the two themes of the Seven Archangels and the Seven Spirits. Both themes, as will be shewn, originated during the exile; but whereas the school which originated and developed the doctrine of Archangels made the fullest use of Babylonian ideas, the other school explicitly rejected Babylonianism. The two schools of thought thus shew the same differentiation throughout their history: they were in opposition in regard to (1) the existence and office of the Messianic Angel, (2) the existence and functions of angels, and (3) the employment of Babylonian ideas and terms in the doctrines of Yahwism. All these three the former school accepted, and the latter school rejected because it jealously taught the most rigid form of monotheism.

It is not the case, therefore, that the doctrine of the Seven Spirits differs from that of the Seven Archangels simply in terminology, as some scholars suggest.[2] The evidence of the Jewish sources goes to shew that they were opposed themes, both in origin and developement. The Archangels were a direct modification of Babylonian ideas concerning the planetary gods: the Spirits were a developement of the earlier Hebrew doctrine of the Spirit of Yahweh, though this developement was influenced by the pressure of Babylonianism.

It has been suggested that, since Zoroastrianism furnishes a heptad in its Amshaspands, the influence determining the developement—if not the origination—of the two themes is to be sought in Persian, rather than in Babylonian ideas. The Jewish doctrines, however, shew little, if any, trace of such Persian influence; but the influence of Baby-

[1] *J. T. S.* April, 1925.

[2] Charles *Revelation* i pp. 11 ff.

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lonian ideas is well marked. It would appear that both Zoroastrianism and Judaism were dependent upon Babylonianism, but that each religion fashioned its own conceptions according to its own genius.

A. The Seven Archangels.

I.

The Talmud states that 'the names of the archangels came from Babylon'; and since this order of angels is not spoken of in pre-exilic Jewish writings, it is to be presumed that the doctrine took its rise during the exile, and was developed in post-exilic Judaism.

The first band of exiles, of whom Ezekiel was one, journeyed to Babylon in 586 B. C. 'In the sixth year' thereafter Ezekiel was transported in mystical vision to Jerusalem,[1] to see there the people of the city giving themselves up to heathen forms of worship. For their sin, he says, they must suffer Divine punishment, and he narrates a second vision[2] which he had seen of those whom Yahweh had appointed to inflict this punishment: 'six men came from the way of the upper gate which led towards the north, every man with his slaughter-weapon in his hand; and one man in the midst of them, clothed in linen, with a writer's inkhorn by his side'. The commanding Figure, 'the Glory of Yahweh', gives orders to the 'seven men', and He bids the midmost of the seven to set a mark upon the foreheads of those who had remained faithful to Yahweh. These are to be spared from destruction; but the rest of the city's inhabitants are to be slain by the six who carry slaughter-weapons.

Now Ezekiel had been long enough in Babylon to have learnt the details of Babylonian polytheism. His seven men enter Jerusalem from 'the north', i.e. from the dwelling-place assigned to the gods by Babylonian thought.[3] The prophet, therefore, wished to teach the Jews that these seven 'men' of his vision were to be regarded as heavenly beings, the equivalents of the Babylonian deities, but messengers of Yahweh sent by Him to perform His bidding. Ezekiel gives them no names, but their number, seven, is significant; and the midmost—the man clothed in linen, and distinguished by the writer's inkhorn at his side—is easily recognizable.

In the religion of Babylon there were seven great deities, who were associated with the seven planets.[4] At the time of the exile the functions of these deities were assigned as follows: Marduk (the Sun) was

[1] viii. [2] ix.

[3] Jastrow *Relig. of Bab. and As.* (1898 ed.) p. 558 and compare Isa. xiv 13, 'the mount of congregation (i.e. of heavenly beings) in the uttermost parts of the north'.

[4] Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 458.

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the light-giver, the conqueror of night and chaos; Sin (the Moon) was god of the harvest; Nibir (Jupiter) was leader and commander of the stars, the host of heaven; Ninib (Mars) was the thrice-holy hero of heaven, and the healer of diseases; Nergal (Saturn) was the god who reigned over the world of the dead; Ishtar (Venus) was the goddess of fertility who presided over childbirth and protected all life; Nabu (Mercury) was the all-wise preserver of the wisdom of the ages, the writer of the fates of men upon the starry heavens, and his symbol was the writer's stylus.

The midmost of Ezekiel's seven men,[1] the one who has the writer's inkhorn, is certainly to be identified with the god Nabu, who was held in special honour by the Babylonians at the beginning of the exile. He was spoken of as the 'son' of Marduk, and was accounted the special messenger of the gods. Three kings of the dynasty which reigned from 625 B.C. onwards bore names compounded from the name of this god, viz. Nabupolassar, Nebuchadnezzar, and Nabonnedos. Ezekiel's midmost man knows the secrets of the hearts of the men of Jerusalem; he knows, too, the fates that await them, and writes upon their foreheads the sign which preserves the righteous from the slaughter-weapons of his companions. Moreover, he is in every sense the chief of the seven.

If then this likeness exists between the Babylonian god Nabu and Ezekiel's man clothed in linen, it is probable that the remaining six men were suggested to the prophet by the other six Babylonian deities, and that here we have the origin of the archangels of later Jewish belief. The prophet was familiar with the dangers to which Babylonian polytheism exposed his fellow-exiles—apostasy from the monotheistic Yahwism which his predecessors had taught, and with it the loss of Jewish nationality. Accordingly he degraded the Babylonian deities from the rank of independent gods, and made them into angels appointed by Yahweh to destroy the idolaters who still lived in Jerusalem—a function which the Jews would have ascribed to them in any case, and in so doing would have made them more potent than their own God. Ezekiel therefore furnished the corrective to apostasy by preserving the integrity of the Jewish monotheistic faith: he taught his contemporaries that they were still, even in the midst of punishment for sin, 'the people of Yahweh', and that He was the sole Ruler of the world, though He used angels as His ministers to do His will.

[1] He was afterwards known as Uriel, and in 2 Enoch xxii he is the archangel who has special guardianship of Enoch's apocalyptical writings. See further, p. 238, *infra*, for the attribution of 'wisdom' to him, and cf. 4 Ezra iv. For Nabu as the god of wisdom, see 'The Babylonian Story of the Deluge' (Brit. Mus. p. 6), and Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 229.

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The prophet gave no names to his seven men: he could not name them after Babylon's gods, and the idea of them was so new that he had no Hebrew names for them. These names came later; the first list of the names and functions of the seven is found in 1 Enoch xx, and is as follows:—

Uriel who is over the world and over Tartarus; Raphael who is over the spirits of men; Raguel who takes vengeance on the world of luminaries; Michael who is over Israel and over chaos; Saraqael who is set over spirits who sin; Gabriel who is over paradise, and the serpents, and the cherubim; Remiel who is set over those who rise.

Certain features which this list presents are noteworthy. Uriel is given the first, and highest, place—a position which, as we shall see, he occupied for some time after the archangel theme had begun to develope. No further mention is found of Raguel and Saraqael. Remiel is perhaps to be identified with Jeremiel, who is mentioned in 4 Ezra iv 36. Michael has been accepted as Israel's guardian angel, as he is also in the book of Daniel. Gabriel is spoken of in the book of Daniel as the angel who makes Daniel understand his visions, while in 3 Baruch xi he is called 'the interpreter of visions to those who pass through life virtuously': but in 1 Enoch he does not fulfil this function; it belongs to Uriel. Raphael is found as the healer of diseases in Tobit, in which book the number of the archangels is also said to be seven.

II.

Ezekiel made no difficulty in equating his seven archangels with the Babylonian deities despite the sex and character of Ishtar; for he characterizes all his seven as 'men'. The matter of sex in regard to deities, however, was less distinctive than in the case of human beings; among the Southern Semites, for example, Ishtar was regarded as a male, while her counterparts elsewhere are sometimes depicted as wearing a beard.[1] Again, though the character often ascribed to Ishtar was that of a libidinous goddess, there was another side to her cult; and Ezekiel may well have been content to disregard objectionable traits when dethroning the Babylonian deities and making them into archangels subservient to Yahweh's sole sovereignty. It is demonstrable that Ezekiel's successors were fully aware that the archangels were the Jewish equivalents of the Babylonian deities, and of the difficulty which Ezekiel had raised by including among them an archangel-equivalent to Ishtar: they made an attempt, and a successful one, to displace Ishtar's equivalent, as the following piece of evidence shows.

Three texts of 1 Enoch x 1 are extant,[2] two in Greek and the third

[1] Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 75, note. The Syrian 'omnipotent and all-producing goddess', Atargatis, is so represented.

[2] Charles, A. and P., *Introd. to 1 Enoch*, and i p. 193, note.

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in Ethiopic. The first Greek MS, which Dr Charles labels G^s, gives the name of an archangel here as *Uriel*: the second Greek MS, named by Dr Charles G^g, gives the name of the same archangel as *Istrael*: the Ethiopic text is, according to Dr Charles, 'corrupt'. Now MS G^g is derived from a Semitic original, whereas G^s is derived from a Greek version. We infer therefore that in the original Semitic text of this passage the name of the archangel was *Istrael*, and that Uriel was a later substitution. Moreover, when the name Istrael is written in Hebrew characters אסתראל, the root is recognizable as the Aramaic form of Ishtar. Therefore the scribe of MS G^s, or one of his predecessors, knowing this and feeling the difficulty of including an archangel whose name was formed from that of the Babylonian goddess, made the substitution of Uriel for Istrael. The Greek text also from which the Ethiopic version was made apparently contained the name Istrael, since the translator could not bring himself to regard this as the name of an archangel, and so left his text 'corrupt'.

The textual evidence for the suggestion that the name Uriel was substituted for Istrael is supported by another consideration. In the Gilgamesh Epic—the Babylonian Flood Story—Ishtar is the deity who is specially interested in the continuation of life upon the earth, and she bewails the sad fate of mankind drowned in the universal deluge: the Babylonian Noah, Utanapishtim, is the only person to be preserved.[1] Now the incident in 1 Enoch x is the sending of an angel—Istrael in MS G^g—to Noah to tell him to hide himself from destruction in order that his seed may remain. Istrael's function therefore is the exact counterpart of that of the Babylonian goddess. We must suppose therefore that 1 Enoch x records a Jewish variant (possibly traditional) of the Babylonian story, or else that the writer gave this function to the archangel by modifying the heathen epic. In either case, the Jewish archangel is Ishtar's equivalent both in name and function.

III.

Names[2] were eventually given to the Jewish archangels, and one purpose which these names accomplished was the severance of the theme from that of the Babylonian deities, and the attachment of these heavenly beings very closely to Yahweh. Yet the functions still attributed to the archangels were those which the Babylonians had attributed to their planetary gods. Thus Michael resembles Nibir in

[1] *Bab. Story of the Flood* p. 36. Only the 'lament' of Ishtar is given in the Babylonian story. The Jewish story would therefore seem to be an addition to the Babylonian inasmuch as it makes Istrael the agent in preserving human life. The dependence of the Jewish upon the Babylonian story is, however, direct.

[2] These were of late formation; see Buchanan Gray *Hebrew Proper Names* p. 210.

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that he acts as leader of the heavenly host[1]; to Uriel as to Nabu was ascribed knowledge of the Divine secrets, and he was commissioned to impart this knowledge to Enoch[2]; Istrael, as we have seen, reflects Ishtar's interest in the preservation of life. But since Jewry had learnt during the exile that Yahweh was the only God, the archangels were regarded as His agents—or agencies—the mediators between Himself and the universe over which He held undisputed sway; and their names suggest that these mediators might be regarded either as beings distinct and separate from Yahweh, as Ezekiel had taught, or as personifications or hypostases of His attributes and powers.

Possibly one of the earliest intimations of the latter view is to be found in the Septuagint version of Ecclesiastes v 6, which translates the Hebrew phrase, 'say not thou before the Angel', by 'say not thou before the Presence of God'. The Angel referred to in the Hebrew is the ancient Angel of Yahweh, i. e. Yahweh Himself in manifestation, not a subordinate angel. He is entitled 'the Angel of Yahweh's Presence' in Isaiah lxiii 9. Evidently therefore 'the Presence of God' in the Septuagint version of Eccles. v 6 is synonymous with the title 'the Angel of Yahweh's presence'. It follows that, by the time of the Septuagint translation of Ecclesiastes, the term 'the Angel of the Presence' (as well as its earlier equivalent, 'the Angel of Yahweh') had become difficult, if not impossible, to use. The Septuagint of Isa. lxiii 9 also shews this difficulty, for it definitely equates 'the Angel of the Presence' with Yahweh Himself, and asserts emphatically that it was no ambassador or angel from Yahweh who saved Israel. We conclude therefore that some developement in the archangel theme had brought confusion, and consequent liability to misunderstanding, between the ancient Angel of Yahweh and one or other of the archangels, and that the Septuagint translators did their utmost to avoid it by calling the Angel 'the Presence of God', which afforded no ground for a mistake.

But the Angel of the Presence was regarded by the prophets, as I have shewn elsewhere, as the Messianic Angel. Consequently he was now becoming obscured and lost to view behind an archangel who, in popular regard, was displacing him. Our task, therefore, is to discover, if we may, which of the archangels was usurping the place of the ancient Angel of Yahweh in the Messianic office.

Now in the Book of Jubilees[3] it is said that 'the angels of the presence'—a new title for the archangels—were created on the first day. In 1 Enoch we are told that there were four 'presences', and their names are given as those of the four chief archangels, viz. Michael,

[1] Rev. xii 7; 2 Enoch xxii 6. [2] Enoch Bk. III; 2 Enoch xxii.

[3] ii 2.

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Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel in ix 1, though in xl 9 the name of the fourth is called Phanuel.

It is clear, therefore, that the 'four presences' have taken the place formerly occupied by the seven archangels, and that Phanuel and Uriel are equivalent names for the same archangel. But the name Phanuel is found here for the first time as that of an archangel. Whence had he come into the theme? His name means 'the Presence of God', i. e. it is identical with the title given to the ancient Angel of Yahweh in Isa. lxiii 9, and with the Septuagint phrase in Eccles. v 6. Can it be that this was his origin—that he was originally the Messianic Angel of Yahweh, and that he afterwards came to be regarded as one of the 'four presences' because of the popularity of the archangel theme?

It is curious that the original seven archangels should have become 'four presences'. Several reasons may account for the change. We have observed that Ezekiel fashioned his seven 'men' from the seven planetary gods of Babylonian worship, and that his successors when giving them names wished to sever the connexion because the heathen ideas tended to be preserved in regard to the Jewish archangels. But Ezekiel had also been the author of the conception of the 'four living creatures' which, while it was based upon Babylonian *astronomical* ideas, was free from all connexion with Babylonian *religious* ideas since, so far as can be ascertained, the living creatures were not developed from Babylonian deities. It would appear that Ezekiel's four living creatures were symbolized by constellations[1]—probably Leo, Taurus, Aquila, and Scorpio; but the Babylonians had never associated them with gods. Consequently Ezekiel's conception of these beings was free from the objection which could be brought against the archangels: it was a Jewish conception without heathen associations, and this may have induced Ezekiel's successors to mould the theme of the seven archangels into conformity with the theme of the four living creatures, and to call them 'presences' rather than archangels.

But this title 'presences' also brings us back to the ancient Angel of the Presence, the Messianic Angel, whose titles in Isa. ix 6 are four in number, indicating his future Messianic functions. It may be that the functions denoted by his four titles became dispersed among the four 'presences' who had, by this time, obscured him. If so, we can equate the titles with the names of the four presences thus:—

1. Wonderful Counsellor = Michael (who is like God).
2. Mighty God = Gabriel (El Gibbor, Divine Hero).
3. Everlasting Father = Raphael (The Comfort, or Healing, of God).
4. Prince of Peace = Phanuel (The Presence, or Countenance, of God).

[1] Charles *Revelation* i pp. 119 ff.

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Thus a connexion is made between the newer archangels and the ancient Angel of the Presence. Taken together their functions are equivalent to his: he is the summary of their activities. But the important equation for our consideration is the last, which makes Phanuel the equivalent of the Angel of Yahweh in the capacity of Messianic Peace-giver to Israel.[1] As the representative of the (older) Prince of Peace, as well as by his name, Phanuel recalls Ps. iv 6 ff which ascribes 'the blessing of peace' to 'the light[2] of God's countenance'. Accordingly it seems unquestionable that the name Phanuel was given to this archangel because, as the archangel-equivalent of the Divine Presence, he was regarded as performing the function ascribed to the Messianic Angel of giving 'the blessing of peace' to Israel. But by the time that this name was fashioned for him he had become assimilated with Uriel,[3] as we have shewn above, and his derivation from the Messianic Angel of Yahweh, the Prince of Peace, had been forgotten. We have therefore to distinguish between (*a*) the Phanuel (early) who was the equivalent of the Messianic Angel, and (*b*) the Phanuel (late) who was Uriel, an archangel.

It is with the early Phanuel, the equivalent of the Messianic Prince of Peace, that we are now concerned. In the book of Daniel the term 'prince' is used as a description of the archangels who are there known as the 'princes' of the nations. In ch. viii 25 reference is made to a figure called 'the prince of princes' who is identified by commentators with the Most High. This interpretation is, however, very improbable,

[1] Cf. Micah v.

[2] This passage seems to have some bearing upon (*a*) the formation of the name Uriel (from אור = light), and (*b*) the equivalence of Uriel with Phanuel in late Jewish angelology.

[3] The identity of Uriel and Phanuel in late Jewish thought is illustrated by a passage in 2 Enoch xxii 11, 12, a work belonging to the early part of the first century A.D. Two MSS of this work, both Slavonic translations of Semitic texts, are extant, and are called by Dr Charles A and B (see his Introduction in A and P vol. ii). In MS A, the name of an archangel who interprets the visions to Enoch is *Pravuil*: in MS B, the name of the same archangel is *Vretil*. Neither name is found elsewhere in Jewish angelology, so that the Slavonic texts fall under suspicion. But if transcribed in Hebrew characters, the name Pravuil becomes פראור־איל, which is evidently a misreading of פאנור־איל. Similarly, Vretil becomes אורת־איל, which again is a misreading of אורי־איל. We conclude that the name of the archangel in MS A should be *Phanuel*, and in MS B *Uriel*, which proves their identity, and incidentally corrects the Slavonic texts at this point. The equivalence of these two archangels in both 1 Enoch and 2 Enoch supports Dr Box's suggestion (A. and P. ii, p. 564 note) that 'Phanuel is, apparently, Uriel under another aspect'. In both MSS the archangel is commanded to give Enoch 'a reed' wherewith to write the apocalyptical books: he thus preserves his connexion, through Uriel, with the Babylonian Nabu.

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since God would not be called 'prince' but 'King' of the archangels. Moreover, Daniel's usage in describing the ancient Angel of Yahweh by a title, and not by a personal 'name', was a usage which he had inherited from Hebrew thought, for the name of the Angel was 'unknown' to men; and other apocalyptists followed Daniel's example in this matter, as may be seen by comparing 1 Enoch lxix 14, and Rev. xix 12, which expressly state this doctrine.[1] Further, the title given to the Messianic Angel in Rev. xix 16, 'King of kings, and Lord of lords', reflects while it enhances the Danielic phrase, 'the prince of princes'. Thus to Daniel the title 'prince of princes' means that this Angel is something less than God, but something more than an archangel such as Michael or Gabriel.

For this reason I think he is to be identified with the great angel described in chs. x–xii, whom I have in former studies identified with the Messianic Angel of Yahweh, considering that he is Daniel's full-length portrait of the mysterious visionary figure of the 'one like unto a son of man'.

Daniel, however, seems to have regarded him as of the same being and nature as the archangels, though higher far than they. It may be that that idea of the archangels which made them personifications or hypostases of the Divine attributes had so far influenced the conception of the Messianic Angel as to make him one, though the chief, among them, just as in Philo at a later date 'the Logos' is but the chief of 'the logoi'. Not that Daniel has the idea that the archangels are mere personifications or hypostases; on the contrary, he keeps them as distinct personalities: and though he may have regarded his Messianic Angel as differing but little from an archangel in nature and being, yet that archangel remains what he had ever been, the one next in rank to God Most High, and so—if a name could be given to him at this stage —Phanuel, the Angel of the Presence, the Prince of Peace.

But even so, the process of degrading him from his earlier uniqueness as the Self-manifestation of God had begun by the time that Daniel wrote; for Daniel partly confuses him with another, viz. Ezekiel's 'man clothed in linen', the midmost of the seven archangels, and makes him fight battles against other 'princes' of the nations as if he were but one among their number. Though he is to Daniel the Messianic Angel, the Prince of Peace, he partakes nevertheless of some of Uriel's characteristics. In later works the confusion between these archangels grows until, in 1 Enoch for example, the angel-interpreter of the visions, who is called Uriel in one 'source' and 'the angel of peace' in another, is equated with Phanuel as one of the 'four presences'. Thus the later Phanuel is merely 'Uriel under another aspect', i. e. he has entirely lost

[1] See *J. T. S.* Oct. 1924, p. 6.

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his former state as the Messianic Angel of the Presence, and has been absorbed in the archangel theme.

The archangel Phanuel had thus gone through three stages of evolution:—

1. *Pre-Danielic.* He was originally what his later name Phanuel implies, the Messianic Angel of the Presence, the Prince of Peace foretold by the prophets.

2. *Danielic.* He was 'the prince of princes', the Messianic Angel; but he was becoming confused with Uriel, the chief of the archangels, though the confusion is not complete since he remains nameless and is to be identified with the 'one like unto a son of man'.

3. *Post-Danielic.* He became one of 'the four presences' who, when taken together, were equivalent in functions to the Angel of the Presence. He was then fully assimilated with Uriel, possibly because Daniel's description of him as 'the man clothed in linen' had suggested the identity of the two.

I agree, therefore, with Dr Charles's suggestion that the great angel in Dan. x is 'the angel of peace', but with two reservations[1]: (1) that to Daniel he was still 'the Prince of Peace', the Messianic Angel of the Presence, and (2) that he had not yet been fully identified with the archangel Uriel, 'the (later) angel of peace', who was Enoch's interpreter, and is spoken of in the Testament of Dan as 'the angel who intercedeth for you, for he is the mediator between God and man, and for the peace of Israel he shall stand up against the kingdom of the enemy... for the angel of peace shall strengthen Israel that it shall not fall into the extremity of evil'. This description of this (later) 'angel of peace' ascribes to him those functions which had been formerly given to the Messianic Angel in his role of 'Prince of Peace'. He will still save Israel in all their afflictions, though he has now become Uriel = Phanuel. Thus he preserves, on the one hand, his connexion with the Angel of the Presence, and on the other, the characteristics of Uriel—as described by Ezekiel—who carries no slaughter-weapon in his hand but preserves the faithful from destruction by their foes.

This function makes Phanuel the special angel of the righteous in Israel. To protect the community of the righteous he has to preserve Israel from the extremity of evil. It is on this account that in Daniel he fights against the 'princes' of Persia and Greece, and is supported by Michael, Israel's 'prince'. But he really represents 'the people of the saints of the Most High', the Messianic community, the Chasidim, who will form the Messianic kingdom which, on their behalf, he will receive from God when his work of destroying evil is ended, and he ascends to the throne escorted by 'the clouds of heaven'.

[1] See *J. T. S.*, Jan. 1926, p. 142, with references there given.

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IV.

Gradually, however, Michael came to be regarded as the chief archangel, and absorbed the functions of the others until he became almost —but not quite—the equivalent of the ancient Angel of Yahweh. The well-known passage in Philo's *On One Who is Heir*,[1] sufficiently demonstrates this: 'The Father, the Creator of the universe, gave to His archangel and most ancient Logos the privilege of standing on the confines separating the creature from the Creator. This same Logos is continually a suppliant to the immortal God on behalf of the mortal race which is exposed to affliction and misery; and is the ambassador sent from the Ruler to the subject.'

It must be remembered, however, that to Philo all angels were 'logoi', emanations from God, and that the 'Logos' is the chief of these. Though Michael is not here mentioned by name, he seems to be the 'archangel' referred to. If so, he is to all intent the equivalent of the ancient Angel of Yahweh, though he is but an 'ambassador', and not quite God in self-manifestation.

Probably because he ranked so high in late Judaism, Michael is found at length in the Antichrist theme of Rev. xii. In the original version of the legend, the fight with the dragon must have been assigned to Yahweh[2]; thereafter it was given to His Angel.[3] But when Michael had come to be accounted captain of the hosts of heaven—a title originally given to the Angel of Yahweh—he was sufficiently representative of the ancient Angel to be given the task of expelling the dragon from heaven.

V.

But if the archangels thus tended to usurp the place of the Messianic Angel of the prophetic predictions, what became of this Figure in apocalyptic? Was he lost from the Messianic theme when Daniel's great angel had become 'the angel of peace'?

The continuity of Babylonian literary imagery in the 'Son of Man' theme of apocalyptic shews that this Messianic Figure in the 'Son of Man sources' of 1 Enoch and in 4 Ezra is the developed survival of Daniel's 'one like unto a son of man'.[4] But his identity with Phanuel is lost, for Phanuel is now the archangel-equivalent of Uriel. The Son of Man of these late apocalypses holds an unique position; while he is representative of God on the one hand, he is yet a heavenly being distinct and separate from God, though far above all angels, on the other. He has become a Divine person, though he is not Deity;

[1] § xlii.
[2] Isa. xxvii 1.
[3] Isa. li 9: 'the Arm of Yahweh'.
[4] *J. T. S.*, April 1925, pp. 248–250.

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and in this separation from Godhead we may perhaps trace the influence of the archangel theme; for the archangels were conceived as heavenly beings in the apocalyptical circles, though not in the rabbinical schools.

Probably it was because of this separation, which made the Son of Man almost 'a second Deity'[1]—as Philo terms his 'Logos'—that official Judaism felt itself obliged to reject the apocalyptical form of the Messianic Hope, though this form was the continuation of the prophetic expectation, and to centre its hopes upon the coming of a Son of David.

Yet the Messianic Angel at length found his rightful place in Jewish apocalyptic, where also the idea of the essential unity of his Being with the Being of God was preserved. While in the equation, 'The Son of Man = (the early) Phanuel', the latter degenerated into an archangel and so was extruded from the Messiahship, the former still retained his place and function as Messiah. But even more, in Wisd. xviii 15 the title 'Logos' was applied to the Messianic Angel of Yahweh, and thereafter passed into the apocalyptic 'Wisdom source' and 'Noah source' of 1 Enoch, as I have shewn elsewhere. Thence it was taken over into the Jewish 'source' underlying Rev. xix 11–16; and when the Christian author of the Apocalypse made use of this 'source' he identified 'the Logos' with the figure of the 'one like unto a son of man' whom he knew as Jesus, ascended and glorified.

It must be emphasized that the title 'the Logos' thus applied to the Messianic Angel was Jewish, and that the idea expressed by it was derived from earlier Hebrew thought. For it had been originally applied to the Babylonian god Marduk, and was taken over by his Hebrew equivalent, the Angel of Yahweh. Therefore we have here a further example of the persistence of Babylonian literary imagery in Jewish thought concerning the theme of the Messianic Angel; and this supports the theory that the presence of such imagery is a test of the continuity of this theme throughout Hebrew and Jewish Messianism.

It was therefore no mere personal choice of a term of mystic meaning, nor was it due to the influence of Greek thought, that the author of the Fourth Gospel and the writer of the Apocalypse applied this title to Jesus, the Messiah at length revealed. The title implied that He was the pre-existent Angel of the Lord, the Self-manifestation of God; it linked the Christian Messiah with the visionary Son of Man of apocalyptic, and through that figure, with the Messianic Angel of the Hebrew prophets; it claimed for Jesus that, as the Logos, He was 'living and active', and 'having become by so much better than the angels, as He hath inherited a more excellent name than they', that He was Deity incarnate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, to whom was given all authority in heaven and in earth.

[1] Questions, § 62.

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B. The Seven Spirits

The doctrine of the Seven Spirits of God was developed in that school of thought which, preferring the conception of the Spirit of Yahweh to that of His angel, was strongly opposed to the popular angelology of later Judaism. This school was concerned to present a pure and rigid monotheism to counteract tendencies which appeared to threaten the unity of the Jewish faith in Yahweh as the sole Sovereign of the universe. It refused to accept the teaching which made angels the intermediaries between Yahweh and the universe over which He ruled: it would have no delegation of His powers to beings less in rank than Himself: it believed that 'whatsoever He doeth upon earth, He doeth it Himself'. For this school the angels of popular thought had no existence. Moreover, the idea of Angel of Yahweh was too concrete, too anthropomorphic, to appeal to these thinkers: they looked for the evidence of God's presence with the nation and in the world, not to visions, but to the effects which His Spirit produced in the lives and actions of men. For the Spirit was the invisible and intangible Energy and Agency of Yahweh Himself, actively present in the universe, manifesting His presence and His power in producing righteousness of life. Being without form and substance, the invisible Spirit was capable of symbolic representation only, whereas the Angel and archangels were thought of as wearing the form of men and so making themselves visible to men's eyes on occasion. If therefore we would understand the origin and developement of the theme of the Seven Spirits we must study the symbolic imagery which was employed to describe it. This imagery is found in its most exuberant form in the Apocalypse, and is of three types. Each type had its origin in earlier thought, so that if we trace the types back we shall cover the history of Jewish thought concerning the Seven Spirits.

I. *The Seven Lamps of Fire.*

In Rev. i 4 the Seer sends greeting to the seven churches 'from Him which is and which was and which is to come; and from the Seven Spirits which are before His throne; and from Jesus Christ'. Objection has been taken to the greeting from the Seven Spirits on the ground that they are created beings,[1] parallel in idea to the 'seven stars', i. e. angels of the seven churches, which Christ has 'in his right hand'. The Trinity thus fashioned has been styled 'grotesque', and the offending clause has been assigned to an interpolator upon whose character and workmanship Dr Charles passes very severe judgement.[2]

[1] See Charles *Revelation* i pp. 11 ff.
[2] *Revelation* Introduction, lv.

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A parallel to this Trinity is to be found in Justin Martyr;[1] but since Justin knew the Apocalypse full well, and made use of it in teaching the doctrine of 'the hidden name' of the Messiah, he probably followed his authority here also: moreover, in estimating Justin's theology, regard should be had to the two renderings of his Greek proposed by the translators in the Ante-Nicene Library, renderings which are grammatically permissible, make good sense, and preserve Justin's orthodoxy. It is possible, therefore, that the Apocalyptist—or his interpolator, if he inserted the greeting from the Seven Spirits—was not so ignorant as Dr Charles suggests.

But to turn to the symbolism of 'the seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the Seven Spirits of God' (iv 5) from whom greeting is sent to the seven churches. This imagery is first found in the vision of Zech. iv, whence it is taken into the Apocalypse. In the vision, the prophet sees a seven-branched golden lampstand with a central bowl upon it; from this bowl the seven lamps are supplied with oil which runs into the bowl from two olive-trees. The trees are interpreted to the prophet as signifying Joshua, the high-priest, and Zerubbabel, the expected Messianic ruler of the house of David. Both are 'sons of the oil', i. e. men anointed by the Spirit for their tasks in the Messianic age which is about to dawn for the returned exiles. In particular, Zerubbabel is commissioned to rule 'not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts'.

By virtue of his endowment with the Spirit, he will be able to rebuild the nation, and to make it righteous: the Spirit will be 'the plummet in the hand of Zerubbabel', his guide in the work of restoration, manifesting the Divine presence with him for all men to see. Further, the Spirit will reveal Itself to the nation through Zerubbabel, will exhibit sevenfold activity symbolized by the seven lamps. The new nation will be illumined and inspired by the Spirit's indwelling presence, for the Messianic Zerubbabel, Spirit-endowed, will make it the kingdom of righteousness and peace.

Now this imagery of the seven lamps set upon a golden lampstand to symbolize the Spirit's sevenfold energy is based upon the description of the seven-branched lampstand in Exod. xxv 31 ff and xxxvii 17 ff. Both passages belong to the P-stratum, and are therefore exilic or post-exilic in date, though they assign the fashioning of the lampstand to the time of Moses. There is no evidence, however, for its existence at so early a date. It is not mentioned in connexion with the first Temple, nor does Ezekiel speak of it. It would appear, therefore, that the priesthood of the latter part of the exile were the originators of the idea, and that in order to commend it to their readers they gave it the sanction

[1] *Apol.* i 6.

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of Moses's name. In reality the seven-branched lampstand was a new developement of an old symbol, as we shall now shew.

In the tabernacle at Shiloh there burnt a single lamp which came to symbolize the presence of God with His people. Reference is made to this lamp in Exod. xxviii 20, which is thus probably of earlier (priestly) composition than the passages which speak of the seven-branched lampstand. In 1 Kings xi 36, xv 4, this lamp is associated with David and Solomon, and is said to be in Jerusalem, i.e. it is found in the Temple as the symbol of the Spirit's presence with the king, and through the king with his people. After the exile, when the monarchy ceased, there were still those in Judah who remembered 'the faithful oath which Yahweh had sworn unto David' that his throne should be established for ever, and these expectants still looked for a Messiah from the royal house, Spirit-endowed, the 'Branch' of Jeremiah's prediction, who should be all that the latter kings had failed to be, and should restore the kingdom to righteousness that it might receive the fulfilment of the ancient promises. One of these expectants, the author of Ps. cxxxii 17, again associates the Messiah to come, the 'new David', with the lamp: 'I have prepared a lamp for Mine Anointed', i. e. he shall be endowed with the Spirit of Yahweh. It would appear therefore that the lamp which burnt in the sanctuary had come to be the symbol of the Spirit who indwelt the kings and who would again indwell the Messiah in the new age.

Why then was the symbol of the single lamp changed to that of the seven-branched lampstand in Zechariah's vision which gives the Messiahship to Zerubbabel? Evidently because the idea of the seven-branched lampstand had replaced that of the single lamp as a Temple ornament. But what had brought about this change of idea?

Both Philo and Josephus state that the seven lamps represented the seven planets; and this interpretation accords well with the fact that the first mention of the seven-branched lampstand occurs in the priestly document of late exilic or post-exilic date.[1] The influence which led the priestly school to develope the idea of the seven-branched lampstand from that of the single lamp, the symbol of the Spirit's presence, was the regard paid by Babylonia to its seven planetary deities, and the consequent impression made thereby upon the Jewish exiles—an impression which threatened to disintegrate Jewish monotheism. Thus while one school of Jewish thought, following the lead of Ezekiel, subordinated the planetary deities to Yahweh by degrading them into arch-

[1] Dr Stanley Cook in *Enc. Bib.* art. '*candlestick*' suggests a connexion between the candlestick and the tree of life seen in Assyrian monuments. It may be added that kings are often portrayed near to this tree, which may have suggested the similar connexion between the candlestick and the Messiah to the Jewish teachers.

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angels subservient to His will, the other school associated the planets with the idea of the Spirit, refusing to recognize any other heavenly being than Yahweh, and any other agency than His spirit active in the universe. Thus the idea of the One Spirit still remained, but of One Spirit in sevenfold operation symbolized by seven lamps upon the seven-branched lampstand.[1]

The priestly school thus had to come to terms with the new ideas which the Babylonian exile had deeply implanted in the minds of the people. These new ideas could not be ignored; their discords had to be resolved if Yahwism was to shew itself as the dynamic power in the life and thought of Judaism. Ezekiel and his successors pointed out one way in which this could be done; the priestly school of the latter part of the exile found another. It kept its own high doctrine of the sole majesty of Yahweh; it dwelt upon the ancient doctrine of Yahweh's Spirit as His sole Agent in the universe; but it developed that doctrine by assigning to the Spirit a sevenfold activity.

Thus the Messianic predictions of the priestly school differ very widely from those of the popular school which looked for the coming of the Angel. The Spirit, invisible and formless, would be embodied in, and donated to the nation through, a Messianic man, a scion of the royal house upon whom It would confer the gifts of wisdom and understanding, counsel and might, knowledge and holy fear,[2] thereby to make the nation in fact what it was in name, 'the people of Yahweh'. From the beginning of its developement, therefore, the doctrine of the Seven Spirits—unlike the doctrine of the seven archangels—had Messianic associations. Consequently the Seven Spirits were both the Spirit of God and the Spirit of the Messiah. Therefore the Seer's greeting from 'the Seven Spirits which are before the throne' is quite orthodox: he understood full well the meaning of the clause which he wrote.

II. *The Seven Horns and Eyes of the Lamb.*

The Apocalyptist describes the Lamb, i.e. the Messiah, as having 'seven horns, and seven eyes, which are the Seven Spirits of God sent forth into all the earth' (v 6).

(*a*) *The seven horns.* The symbolism is taken from Ps. cxxxii 17: 'there will I make the horn of David to sprout; I have prepared a lamp for Mine Anointed'. The 'horn of David' means his power, his

[1] Ezekiel makes the stars into 'lamps' (i 13) and 'eyes' (i 18).

[2] The Septuagint text of Isa. xi 1, 2 differs from the Hebrew, adding to it εὐσέβεια. One passage in 1 Enoch li 3 shows four of these gifts, viz. wisdom and might, counsel and understanding, and adds 'the spirit of those who have fallen asleep in righteousness'. In 1 Enoch lxi 11 the gifts are greatly modified, though they are evidently suggested by the Isaianic prophecy. Both the Enochic passages occur in the 'Elect One source' of the Similitudes.

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strength; the verb 'to sprout' recalls the Messianic title 'the Shoot' (Isa. xi 1); and the parallelism of the clauses suggests similarity of meaning in 'the horn' and 'a lamp', viz. that the Spirit shall endow Yahweh's Anointed as It had once endowed David.

In the Apocalypse, the lamp has become seven, and the horn has similarly 'sprouted' into seven. Both typify the Seven Spirits which are given as gifts to the Messianic Lamb.

(*b*) *The seven eyes.* But the Lamb has also seven eyes, and these are said to be 'the Seven Spirits of God sent forth into all the earth'. The origin of this imagery is Zech. iii 9 and iv 10, the latter passage equating the 'seven eyes' with the 'seven lamps', and defining both eyes and lamps as symbols of the Seven Spirits. The former is a highly Messianic prediction of the coming of Zerubbabel. He is there spoken of as 'the Stone', i.e. the Messiah (cf. Gen. xlix 24), and upon the Stone Yahweh promises to 'engrave a graving of seven eyes', i.e. He will endow Zerubbabel with the Sevenfold Spirit, as is predicted of the Messiah in Isa. xi 1, 2. Moreover these seven eyes are 'the eyes of Yahweh; they run to and fro through the whole earth'. They thus symbolize the activity of the Spirit in the world; they are alike the Divine Agency in manifold operation, and the Messianic endowment.

The origin of Zechariah's imagery would again seem to be the revolving planets, conceived as the ever-watchful eyes of Yahweh over every part of creation. The application of the imagery to Jesus, the Messiah of the Apocalyptist, shews Him to be the Spirit-endowed Messiah of earlier prophetic and apocalyptic predictions. The Sevenfold Spirit is both the Spirit of God and, in Pauline language, the Spirit of Jesus.

III. *The Four Winds.*

To complete this study of the contribution made to Judaism by the school which preferred the doctrine of the Spirit to the doctrine of the Angel, and chose to develope the theme of the Seven Spirits rather than the theme of the Seven archangels, we may observe that Ezekiel's 'four living creatures' find modification into 'four winds', or 'spirits', in the teaching of this school.[1]

The idea is first met with in Zech. vi 1 ff where 'the four winds (or spirits) of heaven go forth from presenting themselves before the Lord of all the earth'. They are symbolized by horse-drawn chariots which act as Yahweh's messengers. Ezekiel's complex imagery is altogether omitted: only in respect of their number do the winds resemble the living creatures. But that the four winds replaced the living creatures

[1] Zimmern identified the four living creatures and the four winds (see Charles *Revelation* i p. 122), but he did not dissociate the two schools of thought in which the two conceptions were formulated.

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in the teaching of this school is shewn by 1 Enoch xviii 2: 'I saw the four winds which bear [the earth and] the firmament of the heaven' (Charles's translation). Here the winds perform the same office as the living creatures of Ezekiel's vision.

There seems little doubt, therefore, that this school of thought in Jewry attempted to set forth a self-consistent body of doctrine founded upon its conception of the invisible and formless Spirit of Yahweh, which should take the place of the popular angelology. The parallels which exist between the two themes are complete: developements in angelology were met by similar developements in the theme of the Spirit. But if we may judge from apocalyptical writings, the more pictorial ideas of the Angel, angels, and living creatures had a larger sway over Jewish minds than the more difficult ideas of the Spirit, the Seven Spirits, and the four winds. The latter group of doctrines was preserved largely through the imagery with which these doctrines were clothed, the concrete symbols under which they were represented. But this imagery was of such power to influence men's minds that it survived to teach the early Christian church of the sevenfold gift of the Spirit of God donated to His kingdom through the Messiah of promise who, having led captivity captive, ascended up on high to give gifts unto men.

The Seven Spirits of God, therefore, are seven only in operation: they are One Spirit in essential Being. The Seven are extrinsically what the One is intrinsically, the Spirit of God and of Christ: they are 'before the throne' because the invisible Spirit cannot be represented as upon the throne.

G. H. Dix.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE THIRD GOSPEL, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CANON STREETER'S THEORY OF PROTO-LUKE.

The purpose of the following essay is to suggest a modification of the theory of the composition of the Third Gospel propounded by Canon Streeter in his recent book on the Four Gospels, and further elaborated by Dr Vincent Taylor in his study of the Proto-Luke hypothesis.[1] For the purpose of the argument the Lukan authorship is assumed.

1. It is in Chapter viii of his book that Canon Streeter sets out his theory of Proto-Luke. He begins by calling attention to the two

[1] *Behind the Third Gospel* (Oxford, 1926).

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large tracts of the Third Gospel, Lk. vi 20–viii 3 and Lk. ix 51–xviii 14 in which no use,[1] or practically no use, is made of Mark. The material in these tracts is derived either from Q or from a source peculiar to St Luke which may be styled L.

Canon Streeter then goes on to support the thesis that in the Passion narrative St Luke is 'in the main, reproducing an account of the Passion parallel to, but independent of, Mark, and enriching it with occasional insertions from Mark'.[2] Here he is on more doubtful ground to which I shall have to return a little later.

To the passages already mentioned (Lk. vi 20–viii 3 and Lk. ix 51–xviii 14), called by Sir John Hawkins 'the lesser interpolation' and 'the great interpolation' respectively, Canon Streeter next adds, as 'the third interpolation', Lk. xix 1–27, containing the story of Zacchaeus (L) and the parable of the Pounds (probably Q): and then Lk. iii 1–iv 30.

It is Canon Streeter's view of this last section which must first of all be examined in detail, for it is, as he himself asserts, fundamental to his argument. His view briefly is that in this section also the Third Gospel is practically independent of Mark. Here, indeed, according to Canon Streeter, we have the actual beginning of the document Q + L, i.e. Proto-Luke. That document opens with the chronological statement of Lk. iii 1 and 2: 'In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judaea, . . . the word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness'. It goes on to give an account of the preaching of John and the baptism of Jesus, and the first mention of the name of Jesus (*v.* 21) is followed as soon as may be (*vv.* 23 ff) by his genealogy. Then comes an account of the Temptation and of the preaching of Jesus at Nazareth. All this, Canon Streeter maintains, is independent of Mark. He points especially to the omissions of Mk. i 6 (camel's hair, locusts, and wild honey) and i 13 b ('and the angels ministered unto him'), which he thinks would not have occurred if St Luke had 'been following Mark as his principal source'.

But it is obvious that such a conclusion depends to a large extent upon the general conception which has been formed of the freedom with which St Luke uses his sources. It will be necessary to return to this point shortly. Here it must be observed that the omission of camel's hair may well have been deliberate and intentional. Linen, not camel's hair, would, to a Hellenistic mind like St Luke's, be the

[1] As Sir John Hawkins had pointed out in an essay in *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem* pp. 27 ff.

[2] *The Four Gospels* p. 202.

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proper material for the clothes of a religious teacher.[1] As for the omission of the sentence about the angels, it is easily accounted for when we note that the verb in Mark is *in the Imperfect*; that is to say, according to St Mark's account the angels kept coming to minister to Jesus all through the forty days, which, as St Luke may have perceived, is not a state of things contemplated in the Q narrative, here plainly St Luke's main source.[2] These omissions therefore have little weight in the argument that Luke is in this section independent of Mark.

Further, it is important to notice that Canon Streeter's view takes no account of what looks very much like an editorial conclusion in Lk. iii 18–20. If Lk. iii 1 and 2 reads like 'the opening section of a book',[3] Lk. iii 18–20 reads like the conclusion of a section about John the Baptist:

'With many other exhortations therefore preached he good tidings unto the people; but Herod the tetrarch, being reproved by him for Herodias his brother's wife, and for all the evil things which Herod had done, added yet this above all, that he shut up John in prison.'

Another suggestion therefore offers itself as an alternative to Canon Streeter's. St Luke in this section (Lk. iii 1–iv 30) may be fitting into a framework derived from Mark material from another document, Q+L; and this document (Q+L) may consist not of a continuous biography but rather of a collection of discourse, the discourse sometimes being attached to or embedded in anecdote.

Here, for instance, on this suggestion, the document Q+L would comprise two sections which might be headed as follows:

(*a*) What John the Baptist said to the people: Lk. iii 7–9 from Q; iii 10–14 from L; iii 15–17 from Q; iii 18–20 the editorial conclusion to this section of the document Q+L.

(*b*) What Jesus said to the devil before he came to Nazareth, Lk. iv 1–13 from Q: and what Jesus said to his own townsfolk at Nazareth, Lk iv 16–30 from L.

St Luke, on this theory, would be using Q+L to fill out a Markan framework.

Thus the setting given in Luke (Lk. iii 2, 3) immediately after the chronological statement (iii 1, 2) is precisely Mark's:

[1] Cf. Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* ii 20; viii 5, *Epistles* viii.

[2] The author of the First Gospel, who retains the notice about the angels, puts it after the sentence τότε ἀφίησιν αὐτὸν ὁ διάβολος (Mt. iv 11) and transforms it into καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελοι προσῆλθον καὶ διηκόνουν αὐτῷ.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 209.

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Mk. i 4	Lk. iii 2, 3
ἐγένετο Ἰωάνης ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ	ἐγένετο ῥῆμα Θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰωάνην τὸν Ζαχαρίου υἱὸν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς πᾶσαν περίχωρον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου [1]
κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.	κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.[2]

The quotation from Isaiah which immediately follows (Lk iii 4–6) is the quotation in Mark corrected and lengthened from the book of Isaiah itself (*vv.* 5 and 6).

It is at this point that St Luke begins to use the document Q + L.[3]

The section from Q + L—(*a*) above—ends with the editorial conclusion now found in Lk iii 18–20. St Luke, accordingly, turns again to Mark, and from Mark comes his account of the baptism of Jesus (Lk. iii 21–22).

Even if we adopt the Western text as the original text of Luke here, *υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγεννηκά σε*, it may simply represent a deliberate alteration on the part of St Luke himself, either in accordance with another tradition which he preferred, or because he recognized the saying in Mark as a quotation from the Old Testament but (as it stood) an inexact quotation which he identified with Ps. ii 7 (rather than with Is. xlii 1) and corrected accordingly.[4] This hypothesis[5] is at least as likely as the hypothesis that the saying in this form occurred in Q.

If, then, we may suppose that the Western reading gives the true text here, the words *ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε* may well have suggested the insertion of the genealogy of Jesus at this point. In any case the genealogy is probably not from Q; and it may just as well have been inserted for the first time in the Third Gospel itself as have been inserted earlier in the document Q + L.

If, on the other hand, the 'Neutral' text be adopted as the original text of this passage, the insertion of a genealogy at this point in the

[1] Cf. Mk. i 5; Matt. iii 5.

[2] This, as Canon Streeter himself notes, is much closer to Mark than Mt. iii 1, 2 : *παραγίνεται Ἰωάνης ὁ βαπτιστὴς κηρύσσων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, λέγων Μετανοεῖτε, ἤγγικεν γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.*

[3] iii 16 may come from Q, as Canon Streeter suggests, rather than from the practically identical passage in Mark. It may, on the other hand, simply be an insertion from Mark.

[4] Compare his correction and expansion of the quotation from Isaiah xl in *vv.* 4–6 of this same chapter (iii).

[5] There is no reason to suppose that St Luke would be specially on his guard against Adoptionist Theology. Cf. Acts ii 36.

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final 'drawing up of the narrative' of the Third Gospel needs no elaborate explanation. Where, more properly, should the author have placed it? Not at the beginning of the Third Gospel, for the Gospel begins not with the birth of Jesus but with the birth of John the Baptist. And if not at the beginning of the Gospel, then it is difficult to see how the present position could be greatly improved upon.

A somewhat similar consideration is applicable to the position of the chronological statement in Lk. iii 1, 2. Lk. i and ii, on any theory, must be regarded as a section prefixed to the main body of the Third Gospel. What is more natural than for St Luke, at the point when, on the hypothesis alternative to Canon Streeter's for which I am arguing, he first takes up the source which gives him the framework for the main body of his account, to make an attempt to date by reference to contemporary history the beginning of the Lord's ministry, which is to be the subject of his narrative? In the prefatory section he had already, apparently with less information at his disposal, made a similar attempt to define the year of the Lord's birth.

All depends in the last resort on our conception of the general character of the document Q + L, and of the manner in which the author of the Third Gospel uses his sources.

The hypothesis that such a document as Q+L once existed is confirmed by a detailed study of the way in which in the Third Gospel material from Q is almost (if not quite) always combined, not directly with Markan material, but with material from L; and further by the presence of such an 'editorial conclusion' as that to which reference has already been made (iii 18–20), which seems to be taken over from some earlier document and appears in the final Gospel in a less appropriate context.

It is, of course, very difficult, if not impossible, to define the limits of this document Q+L. It certainly did not contain all the sections peculiar to the Third Gospel.[1] That it was ever 'in circulation' is highly improbable. No trace of any such circulation has been discovered; and the language of the preface to the Third Gospel tells against it. We certainly gather that the Third Gospel itself is the first biographical narrative about Jesus to be published by the author.

But more important is the question whether the document Q+L was in any sense a biography? Was it not rather of the nature of a collection of discourse—discourse simple, and discourse attached to or embedded in anecdote, the whole somewhat loosely put together?

On any shewing the most considerable block of material from Q+L is the block Lk. ix 51–xviii 14. This block is sometimes spoken of

[1] E. g. Lk. i and ii. On this point see further below.

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as 'the Peraean section' or 'the travel document'; but these are misnomers. As Canon Streeter himself points out, 'geographical notices are of the vaguest'[1]: so also are indications of time.

No doubt the section preserves authentic tradition. The one thing it lacks is historical framework. It consists of a collection of sayings and anecdotes put together without any clear indication of sequence or lapse of time. The theory that this collection was formed by building on to extracts from Q material collected by St Luke himself during his visit to Palestine, particularly during his stay at Caesarea, is an illuminating theory which seems to fit the main facts and may well be accepted. But it may be doubted whether Q itself had any kind of definite framework. It is clear, at any rate, that very little trace of any such framework is left in the extract from Q+L as it now stands in Lk. ix 51–xviii 14: and there may have been even less of a framework in the section as it actually lay in Q+L before its incorporation in the Third Gospel. The same may be said in general of all the sections in the Third Gospel attributed by Canon Streeter to Q+L, with the possible exception of the Passion narrative. This must now be considered separately.

2. Many scholars have long been of the opinion that Q contained a Passion narrative.[2] If this be so Q may have consisted of a collection of discourse and anecdote followed by an account of the Passion, and thus it would still not have been intended to be a biography in the sense in which Mark was intended to be. But we must examine the Passion narrative (Lk. xxii 14–xxiv) more closely.

Canon Streeter emphasizes two points: first that in the 123 verses of Luke, which in substance have a parallel in Mark, the percentage of Luke's words which are found in Mark is only twenty-seven, whereas elsewhere in the Gospel where such parallelism exists the percentage is fifty-three; and second that there are in this section 'no less than twelve variations in the order in which incidents are recorded by Mark and Luke'.[3]

Before we attempt to arrive at any decision as to the weight to be attached to the first of these considerations, let us turn to another passage in the Third Gospel, the Apocalyptic section, Lk. xxi 5–36.

Is there any sign here that St Luke has any other source before him than Mk. xiii? Dr Vincent Taylor devotes a chapter in his recent book on Proto-Luke to the consideration of this question, and answers it in the affirmative. But his arguments fail to carry conviction, and

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 203.

[2] See V. H. Stanton *The Gospels as Historical Documents* ii p. 105. Dr Stanton argues strongly against this hypothesis.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 202.

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the great majority of scholars will probably agree with Professor Burkitt[1] that Mk. xiii is here the only written source before St Luke.

But if this be so, then it is worth notice that in these verses (Lk. xxi 5–36)[2] the percentage of Markan words is only thirty-seven. It must therefore be recognized that St Luke uses Mark with a degree of freedom which varies considerably[3] from section to section. The degree will depend very largely in any particular section upon whether St Luke feels he has in that section much or little to add or to improve.

We may pass to the second of the considerations referred to. Dr Vincent Taylor tabulates the twelve differences in order between the Lukan narrative and the Markan parallels.[4] They are reduced to eleven if we omit no. 8 (Lk. xxiii 36 compared with Mk. xv 16–20) as hardly a case in point.[5] Of these eleven, six represent differences not in the order of the events themselves, but simply in the order in which they are mentioned by the evangelist. There is no sign that St Luke regarded the denial of St Peter or the rending of the Temple Veil or the Preparation of Spices and Ointments as having occurred at points of time differing from those to which they are referred by Mark. That he should record the Superscription over the Cross after narrating the mockery of some of the onlookers rather than before, that he should make a statement as to time before mentioning the fact of burial rather than after, or that he should name the women who visited the tomb after rather than before giving an account of their visit, may be regarded simply as part of the reconstruction he felt to be desirable in order to improve the style of Mark and make his own narrative run smoothly.[6] In any case these six differences in order are so trivial as to carry little or no weight.

The remaining five instances are all to be found in connexion with the account of the night preceding the Crucifixion ; and here there can be little doubt that St Luke is following a tradition different from that preserved in Mark.

The simplest hypothesis is that St Luke deliberately corrects the Markan narrative. As Dr Taylor himself admits,[7] he had it in mind, 'very much in mind'. I would add that it seems to provide the general outline, the framework, of the whole story. It is significant

[1] In Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake *The Beginnings of Christianity* I ii pp. 113ff.

[2] This includes *vv.* 34–36 which appear to be a free composition of St Luke's on the theme of Mk. xiii 33–37 (St Luke having already recorded sayings similar to some of those in the Markan passage, cf. Lk. xix 12 ff., xx 9). If these verses be omitted from the calculation, the percentage of Markan words in Lk. xxi 5–33 is 41.

[3] Cf. V. H. Stanton *op. cit.* ii p. 278.

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 73.

[5] It is Lk. xxiii 11 which is to be compared with Mk. xv 16–20. For Lk xxiii 36 see below, p. 258 n.

[6] Cf. V. H. Stanton *op. cit.* ii p. 290.

[7] *Op. cit.* p. 73.

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that the fourteen passages which Dr Taylor calls 'Markan insertions' occur in Luke, with only one exception,[1] precisely in the same relative order in which they stand in Mark.

Moreover, let it be observed what these 'Markan insertions' are They are as follows:[2]

Lk. xxii 19 a	the breaking and distribution of the bread	Mk. xiv 22
22	woe to the betrayer	21
34	the warning to St Peter about the cock-crow	30
46 b	pray that ye enter not into temptation	38
50	the ear of the high priest's servant	47
52–53 a	Are ye come out as against a robber?	48–49
54 b–62	Peter's denial	54, 66–72
xxiii 3	Pilate's question, Art thou the King of the Jews?	xv 2
26	Simon of Cyrene	21
34 b	they part his garments	24 b
38	the superscription	26
44–45	the darkness and the rending of the veil of the temple	33, 38
50–54	what Joseph of Arimathea did	42–47
xxiv 10	the names of the women	xvi 1

But this list itself gives, roughly speaking, with certain important omissions mentioned below, a table of contents of Lk. xxii 14–xxiv 12. If these are 'Markan insertions' then the framework of the whole section is Markan.

Let us see how this hypothesis works out.

Lk. xxii 14–the end of Luke would be built up as follows:

(*a*) To an account of the Last Supper[3] taken from a line of tradition other than the Markan, St Luke adds some sayings of Jesus, the cue for them being the *Woe to the betrayer* (xxii 22). It is this *Woe to the betrayer* and the warning to St Peter (*v.* 34) together with the setting of *v.* 14 that form the attachment of the whole section (*vv.* 14–38) to its position in the Markan framework.

(*b*) The next section, *vv.* 39–62, is a revised version of the corresponding account in Mark.

[1] The words about the betrayer come in Mark before, in Luke after, the breaking and distribution of the bread (Mk. xiv 21, 22; Lk. xxii 19, 22); probably in order to make room in *v.* 15 for the saying (absent from Mark) 'With desire have I desired . . . '.

[2] See Dr Taylor *op. cit.* p. 74.

[3] The original text here would appear to omit not only *vv.* 19b and 20 (as in the 'Western' authorities), but also *v.* 19a which, though present in all extant authorities, would seem to represent a scribal attempt to bring the passage roughly into line with the parallel passages in Mark and Matthew.

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(*c*) There follows in xxii 63–71 the story of the mocking and the trial before the Council taken perhaps from a tradition which St Luke prefers to the Markan.[1]

(*d*) Next the account of the trial before Pilate is re-written, the question 'Art thou the king of the Jews?' remaining as its centre or pivot; and another tradition (preserved by St Luke alone) is inserted in its proper place, viz. that of the trial before Herod Antipas (xxiii 1–25).

(*e*) To the next section—Simon of Cyrene . . . the visit of the women to the tomb (xxiii 26–xxiv 12)—St Luke makes several additions from the material which he himself has collected: the Lord's words to the women of Jerusalem, the Lord's words to the penitent malefactor, the Last Words of the Lord.[2] And this is followed by

(*f*) the addition of narratives connected with the Resurrection (xxiv 13–end) which make up the rest of the book.

Whether all these narratives peculiar to St Luke came actually from Q + L, or from notes not directly attached to that document, must remain uncertain. Detached stories embodying pieces of real historical reminiscence, such as the story of the man working on the Sabbath (extant only in D after Lk. vi 4) and the *Pericope Adulterae*, were in circulation to some extent down to a considerably later period.

3. It remains to test the theory here advocated over the earlier parts of the Third Gospel. With this test in view we may formulate it thus:

(i) St Luke adopts the Markan framework, and (ii) freely re-writes the Markan narratives, correcting them and making additions to them from his own stock of material.

(iii) This stock of material consists of a document Q + L, together with other notes and records (L^1). Q practically enters into the final composition only through this document Q + L. In this document Q has already been treated rather as Mark is treated in Luke, that is to say, it has been, at least to some extent, worked over and improved upon.[3]

The stages in the composing of the Third Gospel will therefore be as follows:

(*a*) The gathering of material in notes, and the preparation of the collection of discourse and anecdote Q + L.

On the theory here put forward, the list of passages to be assigned to Q + L would be as follows[4]: Lk. iii 7–20; iv 1–30; vi 20–viii 3; ix 51–xviii 14; xix

[1] It is conceivable that St Luke is himself simply correcting the Markan account, knowing that the Sanhedrin did not meet by night, and perceiving that the mocking and buffeting (Mk. xiv 65) must be that of the temple police, and not of the chief priests and elders themselves.

[2] Besides a few minor additions like xxiii 36. Is this an inference of St Luke's, perhaps based on Mk. xv 36 (note the ὄξος, the ration wine)?

[3] See further below, pp. 260, 261.

[4] Canon Streeter's list is: Lk. iii 1–iv 30; iv 14–15; v 1–11; vi 14–16; vi 20–

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1–27; perhaps also v 1–11; xxii 14–38; xxiii 4–16; xxiii 27–31; xxiii 39–43; xxiv 13–53. But these latter sections may never have been incorporated in Q + L, and may have been added from St Luke's detached notes (L^1) only at the last stage when he was working on the Markan framework. Examples of additions clearly belonging to this last stage are: i 1–4; i 5–ii 52; and probably iii 1, 2; iii 23–38; xix 39–44.

All this material was prepared with a view to edification. It did not, for example, include the story of the anxiety of our Lord's friends[1] (Mk. iii 20, 21) or the story of St Peter's denial (Mk. xiv 66–72).

(*b*) The decision to draw up a connected biographical narrative and the adoption of the Markan framework for it. Mark was then re-written, shortened by certain omissions,[2] and supplemented chiefly from Q + L, but also by various pieces (L^1) which had been collected from time to time by the Third Evangelist. Birth narratives and finally an introduction were prefixed to the whole, which was itself planned to be the first volume of a large and comprehensive work.

Let us now see how the theory applies. We will take first a section independent of Mark, a section from Q + L, 'the lesser interpolation' (Lk. vi 20–viii 3), and observe how St Luke has used Q and added to it matter from L: and then we will examine the section which precedes this one (Lk. iii 1–vi 19), where Mark provides both the framework and a good deal of the substance.

Lk. vi 20–viii 3 begins with a collection of sayings which plainly comes from Q. In Matthew these sayings are found conflated with others. It may be that in the Third Gospel the block is retained in very nearly its original size, but St Luke certainly trims it in his usual manner. In some cases, where Luke and Matthew differ, it is not easy to decide whether two slightly different versions of Q lay before the two evangelists, or whether one retained the original wording of Q, and if so, which. But it is fairly clear, for instance, that Mt. v 45 is nearer the saying which must have stood in Q than Lk. vi 35 b; and that the form of the parable of the well-founded house is less primitive in Lk. vi 47–49 than in Mt. vii 24–27.[3] This collection of sayings was no doubt followed in Q by the anecdote about the Lord's power and the centurion's faith; and then probably by an account of the visit to Jesus of the disciples of John the Baptist and Jesus's words about John and about Himself. The quotation from Isa. lxi 1 in Q evidently

viii 3; ix 51–xviii 14; xix 1–27; xix 37–44; xxi 18, 34–36; xxii 14-end of the Gospel (except for certain verses derived from Mark). *Op. cit.* p. 222.

[1] See below, p. 260 n.

[2] On these see Sir John Hawkins *Oxford Studies* pp. 68 ff.

[3] Similarly the wording of the parable of the Pounds in Luke (with its extra point at the beginning) is probably not so near to that of Q as the wording of the corresponding parable of the Talents in Matthew.

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included the interpolated words "χωλοὶ περιπατοῦσιν, λεπροὶ καθαρίζονται καὶ κωφοὶ ἀκούουσιν, νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται" (Lk. vii 22 b: Mt. xi 5). But hitherto the narrative had contained nothing to justify the statement νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται. Thus, in anticipation of these words, St Luke introduced between this and the preceding section in Q a story from L of the raising of the Widow's son at Nain.

The account of what Jesus said about John the Baptist in Q seems to have ended with a statement of the contrast between John and Himself in which occurred the taunt "Ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος φάγος καὶ οἰνοπότης, φίλος τελωνῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν" (Lk. vii 34: Mt. xi 19). This probably determined St Luke's insertion here of the story (from L) of the meal and the encounter with ἡ γυνὴ ἁμαρτωλός in the house of Simon the Pharisee[1]; and this story itself concerned, as it is, with a woman's devotion would give a natural opening for St Luke's statement about the ministering women which follows it.[2]

As Q is no longer extant such results are, of course, at the best only approximate, and it is particularly difficult to judge of the amount of verbal alteration which St Luke has made in the material taken from Q. But the evidence points to the conclusion that he used Q in very much the same way as he used Mark.[3]

We may now turn to the other section which I proposed to examine, viz. Luke iii 1–vi 19. I have already touched upon this section and I will now attempt to carry the analysis a little further.

As we have already seen, to a statement from Mark of the beginning of John's preaching in the wilderness (Lk. iii 2 b–4) St Luke prefixes

[1] St Luke seems to have recognized that the story which had reached him was different from the story recorded in Mk. xiv 3–9. But the two were so similar that having recorded the one here, he omitted the other when he came to it. Cf. the omission in Luke of the visit to Nazareth (Mk. vi 1–6; cf. Lk. iv 16–30), of the second calming of the wind (Mk. vi 51; cf. Mk. iv 39), of the feeding of the four thousand (Mk. viii 1–9), of the withering of the fig-tree (Mk. xi 12–14—St Luke preferred the parable of the fig-tree xiii 6–9).

[2] The passage immediately following this section from Q + L furnishes a good illustration of the freedom with which St Luke uses Mark. The Markan narrative had been left at Mk iii 19 (Lk. vi 16). St Luke now (viii 4) returns to it. He does not wish to record the story of the anxiety of our Lord's friends (Mk. iii 20, 21): nor the Markan version of the controversy about Beelzebub (Mk. iii 22–30), which he has already in another place (in Q + L) from Q (Lk. xi 14–26). But he does wish to record the saying about the Lord's *Mother and Brethren* (Mk. iii 34, 35). This presupposes the presence of a crowd. Hence St Luke starts the section with the parable of the Sower (Mk. iv 1–25; Lk. viii 4–18).

[3] The difference, such as it is, in his handling of the two documents is probably very largely due to his dealing more freely with narrative (Mark being predominantly narrative), than with the reported words of Jesus and his disciples (Q being predominantly discourse).

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a chronological note (*vv.* 1, 2 a) and adds two more verses from the passage of Isaiah quoted in Mark. Then comes an insertion from Q + L (Lk. iii 7–20), setting forth the teaching of John and ending with a notice of his imprisonment. St Luke now returns to Mark for the story of the Baptism of Jesus (*vv.* 21, 22) and inserts the genealogy of Jesus (*vv.* 23–38) before passing on to the account of the Temptation. He follows Mark in putting this account here, but takes the story itself from Q. In Mark the story ends with the statement that after the temptation Jesus went to Galilee: and similarly in Q, where probably His destination was given more precisely as Nazareth.[1] It may have been the observation in Mark that Jesus 'came preaching the gospel of God' (Mk. i 14) that led St Luke to give here (from L) a short account of his preaching at Nazareth (iv 16–30). After this, St Luke turns again to the Markan narrative and tells of the descent to Capernaum (*v.* 31), but as he has a different story of the call of the first four apostles which he prefers and puts at a slightly later stage, he omits the corresponding account in Mark and passes straight on to the narrative of the healing of the man with an unclean spirit in the synagogue (*vv.* 33–37). Here and to the end of chapter iv he follows Mark closely, although with considerable modifications. Mark's notice of the departure from Capernaum (Mk. i 39) is repeated by St Luke and gives him an opportunity to recount the call of the four apostles (v 1–11), which, as he observes, took place not in Capernaum but on the sea-shore. Having thus made up for his earlier omission, St Luke returns again to Mark and relates the healing of the leper (v 12–16). After this he reproduces the Markan narrative, introducing certain emendations (mostly of style) as he goes along, through the whole of the next chapter (Mk. ii) and the first part of the following chapter down to the call of the disciples. This took place, according to Mark, on *the mountain* (Mk. iii 13; Lk. vi 12), and it may have been this mention of *the mountain* which gave St Luke the cue for the insertion here of 'the lesser interpolation' (vi 20–viii 3; already examined above) which began with a section from Q containing a collection of sayings associated[2] with *the mountain* (Mt. v 1).

An analysis of this kind might be carried throughout the whole of the Gospel, but space forbids and what has been done must suffice.

4. It may be well in conclusion to draw attention to a misconception which may arise as to the bearing of the theory of Proto-Luke, whether in Canon Streeter's version of it or in the form of it which has been adopted here, on the question of the historical value of our sources for the life of Jesus.

Some writers, e.g. Dr Taylor, go so far as to suggest that now for

[1] Streeter *op. cit.* p. 206.

[2] Already, apparently, in Q.

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the first time L may be put upon the same level as Mark and Q as a primary source for the life of Jesus.

But this is to say at once too much and too little. It is to say too little, for the fact that L is based, at any rate to a very large extent, upon genuine dominical reminiscences, has long been granted by the great majority of scholars—of British scholars at least.

On the other hand, it has been widely recognized that Mark stands by itself for *naïveté* and for closeness to primitive historical reminiscence. Q might perhaps have stood with it if we had Q in its original form. But we have not, and so Mark still stands by itself. For if the material from Q has been to some extent worked over by its editors in the First and the Third Gospels, so also has the Third Evangelist remoulded—and perhaps more freely remoulded—the material which he collected in L and L[1].[1]

Thus a suggestion like Dr Taylor's seems to go too far as well as not far enough. Whatever L and L[1] are, they are certainly not naïve or primitive in the sense of being unrevised. The material they contain is good material, but not raw material. It is material which has been so skilfully woven into a patterned fabric that the original constituents of it can now be distinguished with difficulty and recovered only in part.

J. W. HUNKIN.

A STUDY OF ST MARK x 38, 39.

THE purpose of this article is to examine the meaning, in their original context, of the words addressed by Jesus to the sons of Zebedee on the occasion when they asked for seats by His side in His expected kingdom. The episode is contained in Mk. x 35–45, which is reproduced with important alterations in Mt. xx 20–28. It does not appear in St Luke.

ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Οὐκ οἴδατε τί αἰτεῖσθε· δύνασθε πιεῖν τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω, ἢ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθῆναι; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτῷ Δυνάμεθα. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω πίεσθε καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθήσεσθε, τὸ δὲ καθίσαι κτλ. (St Mark x 38, 39).

Was this meant by St Mark to be a prediction by Jesus of the death by martyrdom of both James and John? Some of those who take this view hold that when the Gospel according to St Mark was written, it was believed that John (as well as James, Acts xii 2) had already died

[1] As one small indication of such remoulding note the use of κύριε in the sections from L and Q + L: see Streeter *op. cit.* pp. 213, 214.

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a violent death. The further inference is drawn that this represents the early belief of the Church, which was superseded in the second century by a later tradition to the effect that John lived to be an old man (cf. Jn. xxi 22) and died a natural death at Ephesus. I am here concerned only with the exegesis of the Markan passage.

I

The first thing to be noticed is the absence of any hint in Mk. x 35 f that James and John, to whom the words were addressed, understood them as predictive of a violent death either for them or for their Master. Jesus had spoken clearly to the Twelve of His impending death for the first time after the Confession of Peter (Mk. viii 31, Mt. xvi 21, Lk. ix 22). None of them believed this sombre forecast (Mk. viii 32, Mt. xvi 22). He spoke again in Galilee of His death in similar terms (Mk. ix 31, Mt. xvii 22; cf. Lk. ix 44); but, again, they did not understand, being indeed afraid to question Him as to what such incredible words could mean (Mk. ix 32, Lk. ix 45; cf. Mt. xvii 23). Once more, as they were going up to Jerusalem for the last scenes, He told them explicitly that He would be mocked and scourged and killed, and the third day rise again (Mk. x 34, Lk. xviii 32, 33, Mt. xx 19). Lk. xviii 34 adds the comment 'They understood none of these things and this saying was hid from them and they perceived not the things that were said'. 'Instead of this comment Mark, followed by Matt., gives the story of the sons of Zebedee and their claim (Mk. x 35 f, Mt. xx 20 f).

It appears from Mk. x 35 f that the preceding words of Jesus about His Resurrection (Mk. x 34) were misinterpreted by James and John. They thought that Jesus had been speaking of an approaching assumption of Messianic sovereignty, and so they asked that they should be given special dignities as His viziers. Something similar had happened on the last occasion when Jesus had predicted His Resurrection (Mk. ix 31 f); for, this being misunderstood, a dispute began among the Twelve about precedence (Mk. ix 34).

But not only did the Twelve fail to understand what Jesus meant by 'rising again'. They, one and all, failed to understand that He was going to die. This was the mental attitude of all the apostles before the Crucifixion; they did not believe that their Master was to die a martyr's death. Nothing is clearer in the Synoptic Gospels than this. Accordingly, when Jesus asked James and John 'Are ye able to drink the Cup that I am drinking, or to be baptized with the Baptism that I am baptized with?' neither of them supposed for a moment that He meant to ask them 'Are you ready to die?' for they did not believe

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that He was going to die at all. Whatever the sharing of His Cup or His Baptism meant for *them*, it did not mean red martyrdom, for they did not think of Jesus as moving to death. They were ready, or thought they were, to face tribulation and persecution with Him. 'We are able', they said, beginning perhaps to understand that danger and suffering might come upon them as His followers. But death was not in their minds, either *their* death or His. And Jesus does not again repeat the explicit warning, so often misunderstood, that He was on His way to death. But He takes His eager disciples at their word, accepting the best that they knew how to offer, their promise that they would experience sorrows and tribulations such as were His. So it will be, He said, repeating the words which He had used before. The same warning was given to James and John with others, a little later; 'they shall deliver you up to councils, and in synagogues shall ye be beaten ... ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake' (Mk. xiiii 9, 13).

The Ministry of Jesus was, throughout its course, in many ways a ministry of pain and hardship. 'The Son of Man hath not where to lay His head' (Lk. ix 58). He had reminded the Twelve already that it had been written of Him that 'He should suffer many things and be set at nought' (Mk. ix 12, cf. Isa. liii 3). The whole story of the Ministry confirms this, and the warning to James and John 'The Cup that I am drinking ye shall drink, and with the Baptism that I am being baptized withal shall ye be baptized', was certainly fulfilled in the sense that they must have understood it: viz. that they would have to endure tribulation and hardship similar to that which, as they knew, He was experiencing every day. If the words 'Cup' and 'Baptism' were used here by Jesus as explicitly pointing to His Death and theirs, then they must have been used *ironice*, for none of His listeners understood them in that sense, and He knew this.

II

Before proceeding with the exposition of the Markan passage, the Matthaean version of it claims a word or two. In Mt. xx 20 it is the mother of the sons of Zebedee who makes the bold claim for their future precedence, not James and John in person. That is a characteristic toning down of the story, so as to save James and John from the charge of undue forwardness, although Mt. xx 24 (from Mk. x 41) notes the indignation of the other disciples.

More important is the change of the Markan τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω to τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ μέλλω πίνειν. Here Matthew alters the words before him, so as to make the reference to the future Passion of Jesus

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unambiguous.[1] Mark's 'the Cup which I am drinking', sc. at the time of speaking, is changed to 'the Cup which I am about to drink', sc. in the future. Thus, according to Mt. xx 23, Jesus made the explicit prediction that James and John would share the Cup of Death with Him, i.e. would suffer a violent death. But this is not in the Markan narrative, which is the original.

Further, Matthew does not reproduce at all the second clause of the words of Jesus as given by Mark. There is nothing in Mt. xx 21, 22 corresponding to 'the Baptism with which I am being baptized' of Mk. x 38, 39. Salmon suggested that Matthew did not understand these words and omitted them on that account.[2] It may be so, but in any case the words have an important bearing on the interpretation of the original Markan story, as we shall see.

III

We have next to enquire if the metaphors of 'Cup' and 'Baptism' in Mk. x 38, 39 necessarily or naturally signify a violent death. The words must be examined separately.

(*a*) In the O.T. the 'Cup' which God gives men and nations to drink is a familiar metaphor. It may be a cup of happiness (Ps. xvi 5, 6, xxiii 5), but more frequently it is a cup of pain, administered by God because of human sin (Ps. xi 6, lxxv 8, Isa. li 17, Jer. xxv 15, xlix 12). So in the Apocalypse ποτήριον is the Cup of the Divine Wrath (Rev. xiv 10, xvi 19). It is not necessarily the Cup of Death (cf. Lam. ii 13 ἐμεγαλύνθη ποτήριον συντριβῆς σου), while it may involve death. The image of a Cup of Suffering, it must be remembered, is *always* applied in the O.T. to suffering ordained of God. So in the story of Gethsemane, the Cup which Jesus was to drink, and from which He shrank, was the Cup given to Him by His Father (Mk. xiv 36, Lk. xxii 42, Mt. xxvi 39, 42, Jn. xviii 11). It is clear from these passages that Jesus knew that this ποτήριον would involve His death; but the use of the O.T. designation 'Cup' implies that it is the Cup appointed by God because of human sin, predetermined in the Divine Wisdom. And the emphasis is the same at Mk. x 38, 39. The ποτήριον which Jesus told His disciples that He was drinking was the Cup of Suffering ordained for Him by God. He added that this, too, would be given them to drink. It may be the Cup of Death, as in His

[1] This is pointed out by Spitta in Preuschen's *Zeitschr. für die neutest. Wissenschaft* 1910. He holds that Mk. x 39, 40 does *not* refer to the death of the apostles. I have treated the subject somewhat differently, while I agree with Spitta's exegesis in the main.

[2] *Human Element in the Gospels* p. 419.

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own case, and as in the case of James; or the Cup of Tribulation, as in the case of John. They are asked if they can drink it, without refusal. They say that they can, and so it came to pass. For James suffered by Herod's sword (Acts xii 2), and John accepted His share in the common tribulation which came upon the Church διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ (Rev. i 9).

Hence ποτήριον, the word used in Mk. x 38, 39, suggested the Cup of Suffering ordained by God, and so the Twelve would have understood it. But it did not necessarily connote or suggest a violent death.

(*b*) We have now to consider the sentence καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθήσεσθε. This is not reproduced in Mt. xx 23, and the only N.T. parallel is Lk. xii 50 βάπτισμα δὲ ἔχω βαπτισθῆναι.

In the N.T. βαπτίζειν is generally used to signify the Jewish or Christian initiatory rite of baptism, a meaning which it cannot have in Mk. x 38, 39 or Lk. xii 50. Jesus had, indeed, been 'baptized' in the Jordan, but in these passages there can be no allusion to that.

The primary meaning of βαπτίζειν is 'to dip' or 'to wash' (as in 2 Kings v 14, Judith xii 7). This appears also in Mk. vii 4 βαπτισμοὶ ποτηρίων κτλ.; a close parallel to which is found in a Greek rendering of Lev. vi 28 'shall be scoured and *rinsed in water*', viz. σμηχθήσεται καὶ **βαπτισθήσεται.**[1] Cf. Lk. xi 38.

There is, however, a frequent secondary use of βαπτίζεσθαι which must be noted. The word is used of the submerging of a ship (Polybius i 51, 6). Moulton-Milligan s.v. βαπτίζειν give a similar usage from a fourth-century papyrus; and this passes into metaphor. In a papyrus of 153 B.C. βαπτίζεσθαι means 'to be overwhelmed', sc. with the floods of misfortune. So Plato (*Euthyd.* 277 D) has βαπτιζόμενον τὸ μειράκιον of a youth 'overwhelmed' with questions. Plutarch (*Galba* 21) has ὀφλήμασι βεβαπτισμένος 'overwhelmed' with debts. Josephus has ἐβάπτισαν τὴν πόλιν of the crowds who flocked into Jerusalem at the siege and so 'overwhelmed' it (*Bell. Jud.* iv 3, 3).

Now this metaphorical use of βαπτίζειν, βαπτίζεσθαι is found in the Greek versions of the O.T. The mention of the 'deep waters' of tribulation or danger is frequent in the O.T. (Pss. xxxii 6, lxix 14, cxxiv 4, cxliv 7, Isa. xliii 2, Lam. iii 54), and the image has found its way into English speech. Sometimes these waves and storms of distress are expressly described as sent by God (Ps. xlii 7, lxxxviii 7, Ezek. xxvi 19). In at least three passages the overwhelming force of these waters of calamity is described by the verb βαπτίζεσθαι, βαπτίζειν. Thus the LXX of Isa. xxi 4 has ἡ ἀνομία με βαπτίζει 'lawlessness overwhelms me'. Again, the cry of Ps. lxix 2 'I sink in deep mire where there is no standing: I am come into deep waters where the floods overflow me'

[1] See Field's *Hexapla* in Lev. vi 28.

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was rendered by Symmachus in his flowing Greek, ἐβαπτίσθην εἰς ἀπεράντους καταδύσεις καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν στάσις· εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὰ βάθη τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ ῥεῖθρον ἐπέκλυσέν με. And in Ps. ix 15 'the nations are *sunk down* in the pit that they made' is rendered ἐβαπτίσθησαν by another Greek translator of the O.T.[1]

For βάπτισμα 'an overwhelming' there seems to be no parallel in Greek literature, although βαπτίζεσθαι 'to be overwhelmed' is amply justified by examples. But our Lord spoke in Aramaic, not in Greek; and although βάπτισμα βαπτίζομαι might be a Greek idiom, it more naturally recalls an Aramaic way of speech which has been literally rendered into Greek. I understand, then, τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθήσεσθε to mean 'You shall be overwhelmed by the same flood of tribulation by which I am being overwhelmed'. So Lk. xii 50 βάπτισμα ἔχω βαπτισθῆναι signifies 'I am being overwhelmed by a flood of tribulation'. The present tenses βαπτίζομαι (Mk. x 39) and ἔχω (Lk. xii 50) must be given their natural meaning. In neither case does Jesus say 'I shall be overwhelmed', i. e. in the moment of His impending death, but 'I *am being* overwhelmed'. The words which follow in Lk. xii 50 πῶς συνέχομαι ἕως ὅτου τελεσθῇ express the weariness of endurance which would be His until the end of His Passion.

That our Lord should speak of Himself as being 'overwhelmed' by the waters of God's appointment is entirely in accordance with the language already cited from the Psalms of the afflictions of the righteous. 'Thy wrath lieth hard upon me, and thou hast afflicted me with all thy waves' (Ps. lxxxviii 7) is the experience of the saint, whose long drawn out suffering elicits at last the cry 'Lord, why castest thou off my soul? Why hidest thou thy face from me?' (Ps. lxxxviii 14).[2] Such a βάπτισμα or overwhelming flood of tribulation may issue in death, as in the case of Jesus; but it may also be that the afflicted saint survives the deep waters of calamity or persecution. Just as the *Cup* of tribulation which is God's appointment for His witnesses is to be accepted voluntarily, so must the *Baptism* of tribulation, whether it end in a violent death (as in the case of James the son of Zebedee), or whether it is survived (as in the case of John). But *Baptism* does not connote *Death* by violence, although a flood of persecution or misfortune which overwhelms a man may, in some cases, bring him to death.[3]

[1] See for these citations Field *Hexapla* in loc.

[2] Cf. Ps. xxii 1, Mk. xv 34.

[3] St Paul's doctrine of baptism being 'into the death of Christ' (Rom. vi 3; Col. ii 12) is not related at all to the later doctrine of a 'baptism of blood', and is not apposite in the examination of Mk. x 39, 40. I have discussed the Pauline doctrine of baptism in *Studia Sacra* pp. 57 ff.

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IV

Attempts have often been made, both in ancient and modern times, to interpret *βάπτισμα* in Mk. x 39, Lk. xii 50, as if it meant a martyr's death; and it is suggested that our Lord referred in these sayings to His approaching 'baptism of blood'. To expose this curious anachronism, the growth of the later Christian conception of martyrdom as a 'baptism' must be briefly indicated.

It is fundamental in Christian literature from the earliest times that baptism is 'for the remission of sins', *εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*. Can then sins be remitted in any case *without* baptism? Origen, commenting on Mk. x 39,[1] raises this question, as it must doubtless often have been raised in days of persecution. He argues that a *martyr* (whether he meets death for his faith or is only what was afterwards called a *confessor*[2]) may claim the promise of Christ in Mt. x 32. If he confesses Christ before men, he may be assured that Christ will confess (or recognize) him before the Father. But that is to say that he will receive the remission of his sins, which is the baptismal gift. Hence martyrdom may be called a *βάπτισμα*, and have its efficacy. Here is the origin of the conception that martyrdom in death was a 'baptism of blood', and this conception affected Christian doctrine throughout the third and fourth centuries.

But no such reasoning is found in the N.T., and Origen vainly struggles to connect the idea of 'baptism of blood' with Mk. x 39. He notes that the baptism of John to which Christ submitted in His own person was for the remission of sins (Mk. i 4), i. e. of *our* sins, which was completely accomplished on the Cross. But, while this is true, it does not justify the exegesis of *βάπτισμα* in Mk. x 39 as the Atoning Death of Christ for sin, or its connexion with Rom. vi 10 which Origen suggests. In like manner when Tertullian speaks of a *lauacrum sanguinis* (*de bapt.* 16), and interprets the *βάπτισμα* of Lk. xii 50 in this way, he is using the later conception of a 'baptism of blood' which had become familiar in days of persecution, as if it were included in the connotation of *βάπτισμα* in the time of Christ. The Fathers were much better theologians than exegetes; and in this matter, as in others,[3] their

[1] *Comm. in Mt.* tom. xvi 6.

[2] That *μάρτυς* has this double meaning is abundantly established. See Lommatzsch *Origen* xx p. 316; Lightfoot *Clement* i 86 f; and my *Studia Sacra* p. 266.

[3] Thus Origen (*l. c.*) commenting on the 'drinking of the Cup' in Mk. x 39 cites not only Mk. xiv 36 but also Ps. cxvi 13–15. The 'cup of salvation' of which the Psalmist sings must be, he says, the cup of martyrdom, as is shewn by the Psalmist's comment 'Precious in the sight of the Lord is the Death of His saints'. This is very perverse; but Theodoret (*in* Ps. cxvi) has the same comment.

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exegesis was coloured by the beliefs of their own day. Another illustration of the same inaccuracy of interpretation is provided by Cyril of Jerusalem who says (*Cat.* iii 10) that Jesus called *martyrdom* a *baptism* citing Mk. x 39 in proof.

It is worth noticing that Clement of Alexandria does not fall into this trap. He discusses martyrdom at great length (*Strom.* iv cc. 4 to 17), recognizing (quite in the manner of Heb. xi 32–39) that a *martyr* may be such by the witness of his life, no less than by a violent death. Chap. ix professes to bring together the sayings of Christ περὶ τοῦ μαρτυρίου, citing Lk. xii 8, Mt. x 32; but neither here nor elsewhere does he make any allusion to Mk. x 39, 40 or Mt. xx 22, 23.

V

It is not the purpose of this article, which is purely exegetical, to discuss the statement ascribed (erroneously, as I believe) to Papias, that John the son of Zebedee died a martyr's death.[1] But it may be added to what has been said of the treatment of martyrdom by Clement of Alexandria, that he has nothing anywhere which suggests that John died by violence, and that he has preserved traditions about this apostle's ministry in Asia Minor in his old age.[2]

To Origen's comments on Mk. x 39, 40 reference has already been made. It must be borne in mind, when they are considered, that he follows them up by the following summary: 'The sons of Zebedee drank the cup and were baptized with the baptism; for Herod slew James the brother of John with the sword, and the King of the Romans, as tradition teaches, condemned John, bearing witness (μαρτυροῦντα) for the word of truth, to the island of Patmos'.[3] Whatever be thought of Origen's exegesis, he did not believe that Mk. x 39, 40 implied a prediction of the death by violence of John the son of Zebedee.

Chrysostom seems, at first sight, to deduce the martyrdom of John from Mk. x 39, for he says[4]: 'His meaning is that you shall be counted worthy of martyrdom, and shall suffer those things which I suffer; you shall end your life by a violent death, and in these things you shall be partakers with me'. This has been thought to be explicit and to represent Chrysostom's considered belief. But (1) on Acts xii 2 he cites Mk. x 39 as fulfilled in the case of James, not mentioning John at all; and (2) on Mt. xxii he notes that John lived 'for a long time' after the Fall of Jerusalem, which proves that he did not hold that John died an

[1] I have examined this in *Studia Sacra* ch. xi.
[2] *Quis diues saluetur* § 42.
[3] *Comm. in Mt.* tom. xvi 7.
[4] *In Mt.* xx 23, which he quotes as if it were Mk. x 39.

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early death by violence. It is probable that, when writing his comment on Mk. x 39, Chrysostom (like others) was misled by his failing to perceive that the doctrine of a martyr's 'baptism' by blood was the product of a later age.

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1 TIM. vi 12, 13: ἐπὶ ΠΟΝΤΙΟΥ ΠΕΙΛΑΤΟΥ.

ἀγωνίζου τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς πίστεως, ἐπιλαβοῦ τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, εἰς ἣν ἐκλήθης καὶ ὡμολόγησας τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν ἐνώπιον πολλῶν μαρτύρων. παραγγέλλω σοι ἐνώπιον θεοῦ τοῦ ζωογονοῦντος τὰ πάντα καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ [v.l. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] τοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πειλάτου τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν . . .

I believe that we have here a more or less intentional echo of the primitive nucleus of the Creed: and that therefore (1) *ζωογονοῦντος τὰ πάντα* means 'creator of all things'; (2) *ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πειλάτου* means 'under Pontius Pilate'; (3) 'witnessing the good confession' is the equivalent of 'crucified'. I should paraphrase verse 13*a* 'I charge thee before God the Creator and Christ Jesus the Martyr and Confessor under Pontius Pilate'.

Let us see how far usage in early Christian literature bears out this interpretation of the phrases.

1. *ζωογονοῦντος*. So A D_2 etc.: *ζωοποιοῦντος* ℵ etc. There is perhaps no difference in the original meaning of the two words: L-S. *ζῳοποιέω* = *ζῳογονέω*: and, so far as that remained the case, the question of reading may of course be put aside. The only real parallel in the LXX is Neh. ix 6 (= 2 Esdras xix 6) *Σὺ ἐποίησας τὸν οὐρανὸν . . . τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῇ, τὰς θαλάσσας . . . καὶ σὺ ζωοποιεῖς τὰ πάντα*, where obviously *ποιεῖν* is used of God as creator of inanimate things, *ζωοποιεῖν* of animate, though also the difference in tense indicates that the giving of life is not a single act in the past, but a continuous process: possibly because living things are continually being brought into existence, more probably because the continuance in life of each living thing depends on the continual imparting of life from the Source of life. *ζωοποιέω* is used in Barnabas of the new life acquired through the Redemption (xii 5, 7), and in Hermas of the new life imparted in Baptism (*Sim.* ix 16 §§ 2, 7) and regained in repentance (*Mand.* iv 3 § 7). *τὸ ζωοποιόν* in the Constantinopolitan Creed, 'The Giver of life', presumably should be taken in a similar sense. *ζωογονεῖν* is much rarer in Christian writers: it is used some few times in the LXX, practically always with the meaning to 'save alive' (but not of God, except in one

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case, in the Song of Hannah, 1 Reg. ii 6), and it is hardly possible to give it that sense here. Whether in fact we read ζωογονοῦντος or ζωοποιοῦντος, I suspect that the word does in effect mean here 'creator', and is nearly equivalent to Tertullian *praescr.* 36 (quoted by Dr Lock in his *Commentary*) 'unum deum novit, creatorem universitatis'.

2. ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πειλάτου. Hort (on Apoc. i 2) translates 'before Pontius Pilate'; so too does Dr Lock, who says ἐπὶ Π. Π. corresponds to ἐνώπιον πολλῶν μαρτύρων. But the double use of ἐνώπιον suggests that ἐνώπιον πολλῶν μαρτύρων corresponds rather to ἐνώπιον θεοῦ . . . καὶ Χριστοῦ, and if so it cannot correspond to ἐπὶ Π. Π. To translate 'before Christ Jesus who before Pontius Pilate . . .' would imply what is on the face of it an extraordinarily improbable collocation. Even to put Pilate in a parallel position to the 'many witnesses' is a thing which I cannot bring myself to believe any Christian writer would have done. I can only give a meaning tolerable for a Christian writing if we are allowed to use ἐπί of Pilate in some quite different sense from that in which ἐνώπιον is used of God and Christ and the Christian people. Treat ἐπὶ Π. Π. as a historical reference, and this difficulty vanishes. Moreover we are then taking ἐπὶ Π. Π. in the sense in which the whole tradition of Christian language has used the phrase, beginning at least from Ignatius (*Trall.* 9 ὃς . . . ἀληθῶς ἐδιώχθη ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, ἀληθῶς ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν: *Smyrn.* 1 ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ Ἡρώδου τετράρχου καθηλωμένον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν σαρκί: cf. *Magn.* 11 τῇ ἀναστάσει τῇ γενομένῃ ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Ποντίου Πιλάτου) and Justin *Apol.* i 13 τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, *Dial.* 30 τὰ δαιμόνια . . . ἐξορκιζόμενα κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου.

3. μαρτυρήσαντος . . . τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν. To some extent the interpretation of these words hangs together with the interpretation of ἐπί. If with Dr Lock we take the καλὴ ὁμολογία to mean the 'noble profession of His Messiahship and the nature of His Kingdom', then no doubt we must understand ἐπί as 'in presence of Pontius Pilate': or perhaps we ought rather to put it conversely—if ἐπί is taken in a local, not a temporal, sense, we are driven to explain the ὁμολογία as limited to the nature of the Messianic kingdom.[1] But this seems to me to give an extraordinarily inadequate content to μάρτυς and ὁμολογία in connexion with the name of Christ. I cannot put any lesser meaning to St Paul's solemn charge than 'before God our Creator and Christ Jesus our Redeemer'. The appeal must be to the Crucifixion: μαρτυρέω and

[1] And for that the Fourth Gospel is our only authority. I do not at all doubt the truthfulness of the interview as recorded in St John: I do doubt whether the author of 1 Tim. vi 13, even if he were not St Paul, can have had the information at his disposal.

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ὁμολογία belong to the technical language of the Church from the beginning, and they meant in substance the same thing. Later on a distinction grew up between the two groups of words: μάρτυς came to be limited to 'martyrs', ὁμολογητής to those who had confessed the Name in persecutions, but had not been actually put to death. That distinction certainly does not go back to the date of the Pastoral Epistles: but the association of both words, 'martyr' and 'confession', with suffering and death is, I should suppose, unquestionably early. Origen (ap. Eus. *H.E.* iii 1) speaks of St Paul as ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος μεμαρτυρηκότος, where the rendering 'was martyred' is inevitable. Clement of Alexandria says that some heretics taught φονέα εἶναι ἑαυτοῦ καὶ αὐθέντην τὸν διὰ θανάτου ὁμολογήσαντα.[1] Still earlier is the passage in the wonderful Letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons, ap. Eus. *H.E.* v 2 §§ 2, 3 εἴ ποτέ τις ἡμῶν δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἢ διὰ λόγου μάρτυρας αἰτοὺς προσεῖπεν, ἐπέπλησσον πικρῶς. ἡδέως γὰρ παρεχώρουν τὴν τῆς μαρτυρίας προσηγορίαν τῷ Χριστῷ, τῷ πιστῷ καὶ ἀληθινῷ μάρτυρι[2] . . . καὶ ἐπεμιμήσκοντο τῶν ἐξελυθότων ἤδη μαρτύρων καὶ ἔλεγον "Ἐκεῖνοι ἤδη μάρτυρες οὓς ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ Χριστὸς ἠξίωσεν ἀναληφθῆναι, ἐπισφραγισάμενος αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς ἐξόδου τὴν μαρτυρίαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὁμόλογοι μέτριοι καὶ ταπεινοί . . ." καὶ τὴν μὲν δύναμιν τῆς μαρτυρίας ἔργῳ ἐπεδείκνυντο . . . τὴν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τῶν μαρτύρων προσηγορίαν παρητοῦντο. Christ was the martyr of martyrs: among his followers the name should only be given to those whose 'confession' was ratified by death for His sake. But obviously the distinction between 'martyrdom' and 'confession' was then still only in the making: and the writers of the Letter, like the writer of 1 Timothy, combine both words in the phrase (*ib.* 1 § 11) τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς μαρτυρίας. And in § 30 ἀπεδίδου τὴν καλὴν μαρτυρίαν is (I think) a clear echo of the phrase τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν in 1 Tim. vi 13. Hegesippus too, their contemporary, says that the grandsons of St Jude presided over the churches as being at once 'martyrs' and of the family of the Lord (ap. Eus. *H.E.* iii 20 § 6).

Not till the third century was the distinction well established that a martyr had confessed the faith and died for it, a confessor had confessed and survived: the distinction is presumably drawn by Hippolytus, when he speaks (ap. Eus. *H.E.* v 28. 8) of 'a certain Natalius a confessor', and by pope Cornelius (*ib.* vi 43. 5) 'Novatian had with him at the first the confessors', and certainly by Dionysius of Alexandria (*ib.*

[1] I take the reference from Suicer, who gives '*Strom.* iv p. 401', which does not enable one to verify it in Stählin's edition.

[2] Apoc. iii 14. I cannot doubt that the authors of the Letter are right in supposing that μάρτυς in this passage means 'Witness faithful to death', 'Martyr'. Do let us rid ourselves of the presupposition that the writers of N.T. and the writers of the rest of early Christian literature used two different languages.

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vii 11. 24) 'Eusebius ministered to the confessors in prison and saw to the burial of the blessed martyrs'. Yet in the middle of the century Cyprian, though he drew like the others a definite line between confessors and martyrs, drew it at a different point: to him any one who endured torture for the name of Christ was a martyr, even though he survived. And this was apparently the established usage at that time of the African Church, see Cypr. *epp.* x, xv, xviii, lxxvi.

One word in conclusion as to the meaning, under the hypothesis of this interpretation of verse 13, which should be put on verse 12. The 'good confession before many witnesses' I take to be the Renunciations and Profession of faith in the face of the congregation which preceded Baptism. But the 'good' confession cannot be separated from the 'good' fight earlier in the same verse: both are forms which the 'witness' takes. Only we must not suppose that the 'good fight', either there or in 2 Tim. iv 7, has necessarily anything to do with martyrdom The Christian's whole life is a contest: and I see no reason to suppose that the apostle, though he was clearly expecting death when he wrote 2 Tim. iv 6–8, was expecting any other than a natural death.

C. H. TURNER.

'LEVI SON OF ALPHAEUS'.

THERE is a well-known various reading in Mk. ii 14, where instead of Levi (or Levis) son of Alphaeus the Western texts have '*James* son of Alphaeus'. The attestation is

D Θ 565 69 &c *a b c e ff g r* § 10 Ephr.*Diat.* 58 Diat.*arab.* vii 9

The Sinai Palimpsest has lost a leaf here. Both readings were known to Origen when he wrote the *Contra Celsum* (c. 249). In the above list § denotes De Bruyne's African *Capitula*.

The special object of this Note is to point out that both MSS of the Arabic Diatessaron actually read 'James' (يعقوب), as is duly recorded in Ciasca's Arabic apparatus, though he regarded it as a scribe's blunder and put *Levi* in his text and in his Latin translation. From Ciasca it passed to the English editions of Hamlyn Hill and H. W. Hogg, and also to the recently published German translation by Preuschen and Pott (Heidelberg, 1926)!

It may be added by way of confirmation on Syriac ground that Barsalibi in his Commentary on the Gospels, commenting on the List of the Twelve in Matt. x, says that two Apostles were Publicans, *viz.* Matthew and James son of Alphaeus. It is therefore certain that the

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Syriac Diatessaron attests 'James' for 'Levi' in Mk. ii 14 and probable that *syr. S* and *C*, had they been extant, would have had the same reading. In the Latin Diatessaron only one Publican is called; he is named Matthew (F 20, L 31): the Arabic (A vii 25 ff) gives also the call of Levi the Publican who made a feast (Lk. v 27 ff), but this Levi is not represented as an Apostle, or as the same as 'James son of Alphaeus' in A vii 9.

It should be noticed (1) that there is no sign of a various reading 'James' for 'Levi' in Lk. v 27, and (2) that the Western reading 'James' in Mk. ii 14 is obviously a blunder or blundering correction, suggested by the fact that James son of Alphaeus was the known name of an Apostle, whereas Levi son of Alphaeus is otherwise unknown. 'Levi' therefore is genuine in Mk. ii 4: the strongest external testimony is the fact that it is the name in Luke v, in a section of that Gospel directly based on Mark, while among our MSS its best supporters are ℵ B W and 1 &c.

But how large and how various is the 'Western' phalanx! Now that the correct text of the Syriac Diatessaron is assured we have the solid support of all Latin texts before the Vulgate, all extant Syriac texts before the Peshitta. In Greek we have D, the two Pontic texts Θ and 565, the 'Ferrar Group', and (if we may press the evidence of Origen) the text current at Caesarea. Granted that 'Levi' is right and 'James' is wrong, the problem that demands a solution is how 'Levi' managed to survive into the 4th century.

F. C. BURKITT.

MARK VIII 12 AND εἰ IN HELLENISTIC GREEK.

MR COLEMAN'S interesting and suggestive article in the last number of the JOURNAL seems to me to call for a reply by some one who like me feels that it is unsound, or at least contains some leading ideas which are unsound. And to begin at the end, I cannot think that his explanation of Mark viii 12 is convincing. It is true that the First and Third Gospels both report our Lord as saying that no sign would be given to that generation but the sign of Jonah. Granted: but the insertion of the sign of Jonah in Matt. xvi 4[1] is surely due to the Evangelist. At another time and place our Lord doubtless 'reserved to Himself the sign of the true prophet', to use Mr Coleman's excellent phrase, but at 'Dalmanutha' (i. e. Tiberias) in the presence of carping adversaries the blunt refusal of Mark viii 12 seems to me alone appropriate, much more appropriate than the vague announcement

[1] On p. 166, l. 20, Matt. xvi 16 is a slip for xvi 4.

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imagined by Mr Coleman and dignified by him with the title of a Divine paradox. 'No sign' and 'the sign of Jonah' are not inconsistent with one another, according to the certainly genuine interpretation of the phrase given in Lk. xi 30 ff. The Ninevites heard the message and repented, a similar opportunity had been granted to the contemporaries of Jesus. And further, Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν εἰ . . . is not an 'oath', except to the Grammarian. It is no more of an oath than μὴ γένοιτο is a naming of the Name of God. The understood apodosis, for the Grammarian's requirements, might just as well be 'I am very much mistaken' as 'God do so to me and more also', or any similar clause.

For these reasons I still prefer to interpret εἰ in Mk. viii 12 as a negative, in company with the Sinai Palimpsest (followed by the Peshiṭta), with the Coptic versions, with codd. W Δ 5 and the Ferrar Group, and finally with Origen who says εἰ . . . τοῦτ' ἐστιν οὐ δοθήσεται.

And I doubt very much whether Mr Coleman be right in regarding the Biblical Aramaic הֵן 'if' as connected with the Hebrew particle הֵן the shorter form of הִנֵּה 'behold'. The Biblical and Nabatean Aramaic הֵן is surely a side-form of the more widely spread אִן (ܐܝܢ and אין, found in Syriac and other Aramaic dialects, corresponding to إِنْ (*'in*) in Arabic, and also to אִם (*'im*) in Hebrew. All these forms mean 'if' and do not mean 'behold'. As to form, *hēn* is quite in accordance with analogy: the initial *h* corresponds to initial ' in Syriac just as Biblical Aramaic *haf'el* corresponds to Syriac *'af'el*, and the final *n* for Hebrew *m* corresponds to Aramaic plural *-īn* corresponding to Hebrew plural *-im*. On the use of הֵן for 'if' in Biblical Hebrew we read in Gesenius-Cowley § 159 *w* (ed. of 1898, p. 524): 'Probably . . . הֵן *if* is a pure Aramaism, and since the Aramaic word never has the meaning *behold*, it is at least improbable that it had originally any connexion with הֵן or הִנֵּה'. Among other passages in illustration they quote Jer. iii 1.

One further Semitic use of an 'if'-clause is not noticed by Mr Coleman, *viz.* the total suppression of the apodosis. This is so strange to English idiom, that English translators of the Bible have usually added '*well and good*', or some such phrase. The best known example is Dan. iii 15: very likely Dan iii 17 ought to be similarly translated, with a '*well*' at the end. But this idiom seems to have been tolerable in Greek, even to St Luke's ears ('if it bear fruit, *well*': Lk. xiii 9), and it seems to me possible that some of Mr Coleman's examples from the Old Testament were meant to be taken that way. 'If I have made Jacob's brothers his bondmen—*then it will be so*' (Gen. xxvii 37). Yet

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the passage as it stands in the LXX must surely be regarded as translation Greek.

What Mr Coleman seems to me to have proved is that the translators of the Greek Bible took *hen*, which usually stands for 'behold', in the sense of 'if' more often than is now recognized in Hebrew grammatical tradition. But it is a long step from that to infer a questionable derivation for the common Biblical Aramaic word for 'if', and a still longer one to apply the result to reverse the hitherto accepted meaning of Mark viii 12.

F. C. BURKITT.

YĀHŌ[h].

IT seems almost impertinent to reopen in England[1] the question of the vocalization of the Tetragrammaton, when the term Yahweh has spread to the very text-books of our secondary schools. Yet there is something to be said.

Not that anything is to be said in favour of the name Jehovah. That word is not to be found earlier than the beginning of the fourteenth century, when Porchet wrote his *Victoria* in 1303,[2] and it is (to my mind) doubly wrong. First, it represents merely the vowels of Adonai, the 'surrogate' of the Tetragrammaton[3]; and secondly, it gives a consonantal value to the third letter of the Four. The form Jehovah cannot be right.

I. Is then Yahweh? It may be granted at once that no vocalization is more natural to any reader of the letters YHWH in Exod. iii 15, vi 3, if the word be considered in itself. It looks like an 'imperfect' of a ל״ה verb, and the only doubt would be the quality of the first syllable and the 'voice' which the word was intended to represent.[4] Nor again can it be denied that the curious *'Ehyeh* in Exod. iii 14 ('I AM hath sent me unto you'[5]) suggests a verbal form like Yahweh as the actual Name. But one cannot say more. Scholars have hardly

[1] The subject has recently been discussed from points of view other than that of this paper by Luckenbill in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* xl 277–283 (July 1924), Albright *Journal of Biblical Literature* xliii (1924) pp. 370–378, and xliv (1925) pp. 153–162, and Burkitt, xliv pp. 353–356.

[2] Printed in 1530.

[3] All the available information on this subject is given by Dr Dalman *Der Gottesname Adonai* 1889, to whom I would say 'Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume,' &c.

[4] It must, however, not be forgotten that the system of punctuation which ultimately prevailed was only one out of several, though I do not know that there would have been any difference in the case before us.

[5] I assume that the text is not interpolated, in spite of W. R. Arnold's arguments in his essay 'The Divine Name in Exod. iii 14', in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* xxiv 1905, pp. 129, 134.

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attempted to explain why in *Yahweh* the form is archaic, and in *'Ehyeh* ordinary Hebrew. Nor have they given sufficient weight to the suggestion that *'Ehyeh* itself may be a kind of 'surrogate' (throwing no more light on the original word than does Adonai); for to later Hebrew minds it seemed impossible that God should tell Moses to pronounce the Tetragrammaton with its proper vocalization, and the verse implies that it was to be so pronounced.[1]

There is, however, some external evidence in favour of *Yahweh*. Such force as this evidence possesses depends chiefly on a statement expressed clearly in the Palestinian Talmud, and probably (but very obscurely) in the Babylonian. A discussion was held with reference to those who have no share in the world to come, to which R. Saul in the Mishna contributed the saying, 'also he who expresses the Name by its letters'. To this R. Mana (Cent. iv) adds in the Gemara, 'As these Cuthaeans (Samaritans) when they take oaths'.[2]

What, then, did the Samaritans say? First, what *do* they say? For they have been an extraordinarily conservative race, and the old traditions remain among them.[3]

It appears that in their religious services they do not pronounce the Tetragrammaton, but use the surrogate *Shemmah* (שמא, *The Name*), or occasionally *Elohim* (God). But, as J. A. Montgomery shews, there is some evidence (though it is rather obscure and uncertain) that in the sixteenth century and even later they said *Yahweh* or *Yahwah*. He ends his paper, however, in a remarkable way: 'But conclusive evidence on this question (whether it is *Yahwe* or *Yahwa*) was given by Prof. N. Schmidt in the discussion of the present paper at the meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature. He said that he had learnt orally from the son of the Samaritan high priest, whom he had met in the preceding winter in Jerusalem, that the Samaritans pronounce the name either as *Yahwa* or *Yahu*'.[4] If both the young man and his reporter may be trusted, and there is no reason, so far as I am aware,

[1] It can hardly be doubted that God is described as giving to Moses a name by which He had not been known to the Patriarchs, though Lagarde and others think the reference was only to the carrying out of what the Name implied (*Psalt. juxta Hebr.* 1874, pp. 154 sq.). Van Hoonacker rightly points out that there is no reason why the Name when first given should have been of a normal and readily intelligible formation (*The Schweich Lectures of 1914*, p. 72).

[2] ההונה את שם באותיותיו . . . כנון אילין כותאי דמשתבעין: T. J. *Sanh.* x 1 end, p. 28[b] top. cf. T. B. *Sanh.* 101[b]. The words of Raba bar Ḥama in T. B. *Kiddushin* 71[a] also imply that the true pronunciation was known by the Jews in the middle of the fourth century.

[3] See Gaster's Schweich Lectures, *The Samaritans*, 1925.

[4] 'Notes from the Samaritan. A nineteenth-century witness to the pronunciation of YHWH' (*Journal of Biblical Literature* xxv 1906, pp. 50 sq.).

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why they should not be, the conversation makes the evidence of the Samaritans in modern times much less certain than has been assumed to be the case.

Secondly, what *did* they say? There is one witness of fairly early date. Theodoret (born *c.* 393 at Antioch, died *c.* 458 as Bishop of Cyrrhus, some seventy miles north-east of Antioch) twice mentions the Samaritans in this connexion.

In *Quaest.* xv on Exodus (Exod. iii 14) speaking of the Tetragrammon (*sic*) he says that the Hebrews are not allowed to utter it. 'But the Samaritans call it *Yabe*, but the Jews *Aia*.'[1] It will be observed, by the way, that he here puts the Samaritans and the Jews on precisely the same footing.

When the *Quaestiones* were written we do not know. But the *Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium* evidently belongs to the late years of Theodoret's life, if the chapter in it attacking Nestorius is his.[2] In this work he speaks of certain stolid folk who suppose that every name of God represents a different God, e. g. *Adonai*, *Elohi*, and *Sabaoth*, because they do not know the signification of the Hebrew names. He therefore will explain these. At last he says, 'Now Saddai signifies Him who is sufficient and able, but Aia Him who is. This also was not to be uttered among the Hebrews. But the Samaritans call it *Iabai*, not knowing the force of the expression'.[3]

Now it is not surprising that many suppose that the question what was the old pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton by the Samaritans is settled by these two statements of Theodoret's. Possibly, but far from certainly. The *Aia* assigned to the Jews is evidently used as a surrogate for the Tetragrammaton and may be the equivalent of *'Ehyeh* ('I am') in Exod. iii 15. It is not impossible that the Samaritans used *Yavai* for a surrogate also. Further, it must not be forgotten that Theodoret, who wrote a hundred years later than R. Mana, had no personal acquaintance with Samaria proper, and depended on wandering members of the tribe, and also that these were not always distinguished from those of other tribes and sects, being given, like them, to posing as exorcists and sorcerers. Further, it is

[1] Hatch and Redpath's statement (*Suppl.* i p. 9) that in Exod. vi 3 the Sam. reads 'Αϊά seems to be due to a confusion of Theodoret's words καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ Σαμαρεῖται μὲν 'Ιαβέ, 'Ιουδαῖοι δὲ 'Αϊά. Migne *P. G.* lxxx c. 244. There is unfortunately no critical edition of Theodoret's writings. The Greek is also in Field's *Hex.* at Exod. vi 3, where for ἀϊά is a *var. lect.* 'Ιά. I print *b* in *Yabe* to represent the Greek β, but presumably it was sounded *v*.

[2] iv 12 sq. Migne *P. G.* lxxxiii cc. 432–437.

[3] V. 3 end, τὸ δὲ Σαδδαΐ, τὸν ἱκανὸν καὶ δυνατὸν σημαίνει· τὸ δὲ 'Αϊὰ τὸν ὄντα. Τοῦτο καὶ ἀνεκφώνητον ἦν παρ' 'Εβραίοις. Σαμαρεῖται δὲ 'Ιαβαὶ αὐτὸ λέγουσιν, ἀγνοοῦντες τὴν τοῦ ῥήματος δύναμιν. Migne *P. G.* lxxxiii c. 460.

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one thing to pronounce the Holy Name in solemn oaths, and quite another to use it in a casual way, or even in charms. Theodoret may easily have heard the use of *Yabai* in cases of the latter kind, and yet never have heard the proper pronunciation in an oath. In any case, he is the only person who attributes the use of *Yabai* to the Samaritans.

What, then, of Epiphanius (born between A.D. 310 and 320, died 403)? For, though he does not say anything in this connexion about Samaritans, he lived most of his life (save for a few years with monks in Egypt) in or near Eleutheropolis, which is about twenty miles north-west of Hebron, and about sixty miles from Mount Gerizim.

In *Panarion* xl § 5, he is speaking of certain heretics called Archontics, who have come from Armenia to Palestine, and suppose that *Sabaoth* is God of the Jews, and the devil is His evil son. 'They think that Sabaoth is the name of a certain God, as we have already explained at length with reference to the other heresies,' where we have shewn that the various names are terms of the one God, and do not represent different Gods. He then gives a list of such names, viz. '*Eli*, *Elohim*, *El*, *Saddai*, *Ellion*, *Rabboni*, *Ia*, *Adonai*, and *Iabe* (Var. lect. *Iaue*)'. He then explains each. '*El* is God, *Elohim* Ever God, *Eli* My God, *Saddai* The Sufficient, *Rabboni* The Lord, *Ia* Lord, *Adonai* The Lord who is, *Iabe* (Var. lect. *Iaue*) He who was and is, the ever Being, as He interprets to Moses, "He who is hath sent me, shalt thou say unto them," and *Ellion* the Highest, and *Sabaoth* is interpreted Of Hosts,' which he further explains.[1]

It will be observed that Epiphanius makes here no special claim for the term Iabe or Iaue. It is just one of the names of God, and apparently a Biblical name (judging by the others), and in this, no doubt, lies the strength of its evidence. The pronunciation of Ἰαβέ is clear; that of Ἰανέ not so clear.[2]

Again, there is no doubt that the term Yahweh occurs sometimes in magical formulae and charms. But it would be very strange indeed if it did not, considering the endless permutations and abbreviations of the Tetragrammaton to be found in such sources.[3] This part of the evidence for Yahweh is of little weight.

[1] *νομίζοντες ὄνομα εἶναι [τοῦ] θεοῦ τινὸς τὸ Σαβαώθ, ὡς ἤδη καὶ ἐν ταῖς πρότερον αἱρέσεσι διὰ πλάτους ἡμῖν πεπραγματεύεται . . . τοῦ τε Ἠλὶ καὶ τοῦ Ἐλωείμ, τοῦ τε Ἦλ καὶ τοῦ Σαδδαὶ τοῦ τε Ἐλλιὼν τοῦ τε Ῥαββωνὶ τοῦ τε Ἰὰ τοῦ τε Ἀδωναὶ τοῦ τε Ἰαβέ* (Ἰανέ M) . . . *τὸ Ἦλ Θεός, τὸ Ἐλωεὶμ Θεὸς ἀεί, το Ἠλὶ θεός μου, τὸ Σαδδαὶ ὁ ἱκανός, τὸ Ῥαββωνὶ ὁ κύριος, τὸ Ἰὰ κύριος, τὸ Ἀδωναὶ ὁ ὢν κύριος, τὸ Ἰαβέ* (Ἰανέ M) *ὃς ἦν καὶ ἔστιν ὁ ἀεὶ ὤν, ὡς ἑρμηνεύει τῷ Μωυσῇ "Ὁ ὢν ἀπέσταλκέ με, ἐρεῖς πρὸς αὐτούς", καὶ τὸ Ἐλλιὼν ὕψιστος, καὶ τὸ Σαβαὼθ δυνάμεων ἑρμηνεύεται* (Leipzig 1922, ii p. 86).

[2] On Clement of Alexandria, *vide infra* p. 282 n. 2.

[3] See, for example, Gaster *The Sword of Moses* 1896, pp. xi sq., 34.

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It will, I hope, be admitted that neither by literary arguments nor by external evidence can the claim of Yahweh to be the true pronunciation of the Name be considered established.

II. There is, however, a further consideration which has been entirely overlooked, but is now becoming prominent, in view of recent investigations of the nature of the Hebrew cult. For it is more and more evident that this was not that decorous, almost silent, worship to which we ourselves are accustomed. It was a loud worship, such as orientals love, and part, perhaps even a large part, of it (but the proportion is wholly unimportant) consisted in calling upon the sacred Name aloud. Gunkel has shown this, as, for example, in the brief summary in his Commentary on Ps. xx 6.[1]

What, then, was the Name which was invoked so loudly?

Was it YĀHWEH, with a long 'a'? Certainly not, for no scholar, so far as I know, has ever proposed that as the Name of the Tetragrammaton. YĀHWEH is only our English and typically clumsy pronunciation.[2] The Name proposed is YĂHWEH or YĂH^{a}WEH. True, there is some question about the exact shade of the pronunciation of the first vowel, whether it should be 'a' as in 'pat', or 'e' as in 'pet', or 'i' as in 'pit'—it matters little—but in any case it is short, very short.

This being so, a congregation at worship, or even a body of soldiers charging the enemy, would find YĂHWÉH a poor word to shout out.

As a word to be used in public worship or in solemn and personal invocation, YĂHWEH seems to be improbable to a degree.

What other form is there? There is YĀŌ or YĀHŌ. That this existed in early, and even in pre-Mosaic days, is, I believe, generally acknowledged, though this is more a matter of inference than of sharp and undisputed evidence. There are, for example, the names of Hebrew men or women, in which it occurs either at the end, e.g. נתניהו (Nethaniah, Jer. xl 8 and often), which is like נתנאל (Nathanael, Num. i 8), or at the beginning, e.g. יהונתן (never יהנתן, Jehonathan, 1 Sam. xiv 6 and often) and יונתן (Jonathan, 1 Sam. xiii 2 and often). The name of Jochebed (יוכבד), Moses' mother, is an early instance.[3]

[1] Cf. the Baal worship 1 Kings xviii 26. So in India devotees will call out 'Ram', 'Ram', repeatedly. See further Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *RE der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* xxii (1922) s.v. *Kultus* sp. 2154 sq.

[2] It should, however, be mentioned that the vocalization YĀWĒ occurs in a list of magical names in an Ethiopic document of unstated age (Driver on the Tetragrammaton in *Studia Biblica* i 20, 1885).

[3] Much ink has been spilled in endeavouring to show either that 'Yahweh' has

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So in the Assyrian period Jehoahaz is represented in cuneiform by Ia-u-ḫa-zi; Hezekiah by Ḫa-za-ḳi-ia-a-u; Azariah (not the king of Judah) by Az-ri-ia-a-u.[1]

The Jews at Elephantine worshipped Yau or Yao (יהו, once יהה), as stated in documents ranging from 465 to 407 B.C.[2] Diodorus Siculus, who finished his book in 8 B.C., speaking of the God of the Jews, says that He was called Ἰαώ.[3] Origen uses the same name of Him.[4] Porphyry, as quoted by Eusebius, cites Sanchuniathon as using Ἰευώ of Him.[5] Similarly the margin of Cod. Marchalianus (Q) has at Ezek. xi 1 an explanation of the name Βαναίου (בניהו) *οἰκοδομὴ ἢ* (perhaps *ἢ*) *οἶκος* Ἰαώ.[6] Jerome says that the Name 'can be read IAHO'.[7]

Further Ἰαώ is much more common in charms and amulets than Ἰαβέ or the like, and Epiphanius records that among the Marcosian heretics when a man is baptized by them he says, 'I have been redeemed, and I redeem my soul from this age and all the things that are from it in the name of Iao who redeemed his soul unto redemption in the living Christ'.[8] *Yahweh* is not mentioned, but *Yao*. I suggest, then, that this YA-O or YA-HO is fundamentally the right pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton. It gives a solemn and a sonorous cry, fitted for a very emotional people, whether as a prayer for help, or as

given rise to such forms, *or* that they have produced 'Yahweh'. The possibilities on either side hardly come within the compass of the present paper.

[1] See D. D. Luckenbill *The Pronunciation of the Name of the God of Israel* (*AJSL.* xl p. 278, [1923-1924]). My friend Mr Chauncey Winkworth tells me that Zimmern *KAT*[3] 1903, pp. 465-468, is still the best authority. Zimmern is more than doubtful about the Divine reference of Ja-u-um-il, &c., in the time of Ḫammurabi, as these have no 'Gottesdeterminativ' before them.

[2] See Cowley *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C., 1923*, nos. 6, 13, 22, 25, 27, 30, 31, 33, 38, 45, 56.

[3] *Hist.* i 94. Irenaeus i 4. 1 uses the word in connexion with the Valentinians.

[4] *In Joan.* ii p. 49 (Brooke, 1896).

[5] *Praep. Evang.* i 9, p. 31 (Gifford).

[6] The text of Q is said to be 'not later than the sixth century' (Swete), and this note (which is in uncials) is little if at all later (Ceriani *De Codice Marchaliano*, 1890).

[7] '*Domine, Dominus noster.* Prius nomen Domini apud Hebraeos quattuor literarum est, *Jod, He, Vau, He*: quod proprie Dei vocabulum sonat: et legi potest IAHO, et Hebraei *ἄῤῥητον* id est ineffabile opinantur' (*Breviarium in Psalmos* Ps. viii, Vallarsi vii 21; Migne *P. L.* xxvi c. 838). Thought by Vallarsi to be spurious, but now considered genuine, and to be dated before A.D. 392. See Bardenhewer *Altk. Lit.* iii 620 (1912).

[8] *λελύτρωμαι καὶ λυτροῦμαι τὴν ψυχήν μου ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου καὶ πάντων τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰαώ, ὃς ἐλυτρώσατο τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν ἐν τῷ χριστῷ τῷ ζῶντι*: *Panarion* xxxiv 21. Leipzig 1922 ii p. 36. Migne *P. G.* xli c. 623. It is sometimes quoted as Lib. I. iii 20. It should be noted that several strange Hebrew words have preceded, evidently used as a kind of incantation.

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a paean of victory, or as an acknowledgement of the claims of Him who is addressed.

III. But it will be objected that while this theory accounts plausibly for three of the letters of the Sacred Name, it says nothing of the fourth, the final H.

I suggest that this H represents only the explosion of breath after the loud and prolonged O. If the reader will pronounce YĀHŌ in this way, he will find himself involuntarily uttering a something, comparatively slight, I grant, but there, unavoidably there, if the O be closed sharply.[1]

I suggest, further, that, as in calling upon a God the exact and full pronunciation was deemed to be of the greatest possible importance, it became *de rigueur,* when using the sacred Name in worship, or on solemn occasions, always to express this final sound fully. Hence, when the time came that the Name was put into writing the writer was careful always to add a letter to indicate its full pronunciation, i. e. the pronunciation of the Name *in its sacred use.* We, no doubt, in such a case would write YAHOʰ, in capitals, with a little 'h' at the top, but of old they had no such a device. They had to write an H of the same kind as that of the second letter.

Thus, when the Name was written down for sacred purposes (but only then, and *not when it formed part of an ordinary proper name*) it was written YHWH, the Tetragrammaton.[2]

IV. Lastly, it may be asked what is the meaning of the word YĀHŌʰ? Frankly, no one can tell for certain. For it belongs, presumably, to a primitive language at present unknown. But this much is clear, that it seemed to the Hebrews to have some connexion with their own word, HAWAH or HAYAH, 'to be'.

[1] This may lie at the basis of the fact that a final ה often represents the O sound. See, for example, the Moabite Stone, l. 12, דודה (Dodo). The Stone is the oldest inscription or document of any kind that contains the Tetragrammaton. It is unfortunate that the destruction of two letters in the preceding words (or possibly the preceding word) makes the exact sense of the clause doubtful. Dr Cowley even supposes יהוה here not to be the Name at all, and translates, 'And I took from thence what *should be* for myself', but this makes an awkward sentence, and the name of the God of Israel is to be expected at this point.

[2] If we wish to express the sacred pronunciation by the recognized system of vocalization we may possibly point יְהוֹהַ, but this would represent an exaggeration. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* V. vi 34, Leipzig, 1906, ii p. 348) tells us of 'the mystic four-lettered Name, which only they who had the right of entering the shrine had upon them—now it is said Iaoue (Ἰαουε)'.

On the analogy of Σουε for סוּחַ and שׁוּעַ, and Ἰκουε for וְקוֹעַ this may have represented YAHOʰ. But *ου* does often represent a *waw* pronounced to-day as a consonant, e.g. οὐλώ for וְלֹא and, in consequence, Clement's statement has been claimed as evidence for *Yahweh.*

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Thus to the Hebrews the fully pronounced Tetragrammaton suggested 'being' or perhaps 'becoming' (see God's words in Exod. iii 14 sq.), and that in a timeless, or rather all-time, sense, of which the Apocalyptic ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος[1] is a not unfair expansion.

In conclusion, then, I submit that the evidence for Yăhweh is by no means as sure as is commonly asserted, and that an unbiased examination gives reason to suppose that, while Yăhweh was known (as could hardly fail to be the case on any hypothesis), the term Yāhō, or Yāō, was far more usual, and that the definitely sacred name was Yāhō^{h}. Yăhweh was probably a purely literary, though extremely natural, formation, but the original and religious sound of the Tetragrammaton was Yāhō^{h}, the cry of full-lunged, strong-voiced men.

A. Lukyn Williams.

THE TARGUM ON THE LATER PROPHETS.

Mr. A. Sperber's communication to *ZAW.* N.F. iii 175 f on a proposed edition of the Targum on the Earlier Prophets raises the hope that his work will be extended to the Later Prophets. Lagarde's work (*Prophetae Chaldaice*) is worthy of Lagarde, but it needs the addition of an Apparatus containing at least the readings of the Yemenite MSS. I have examined the text of these for about thirteen chapters of Ezekiel, and have found a good number of variants worth recording. I append a small selection of these by way of illustration. I should add that I have not been able to examine the MSS a second time for verification. I offer these notes only in support of my contention that work can be done and should be done on the Targum of the Later Prophets.

Ezekiel

(Lag. = Lagarde's *Prophetae Chaldaice*, 1872.
Bxt. = Buxtorf's text in his Rabbinic Bible, Basel, Anno 379, i.e. A.D. 1619.
b = B.M. Or. 1474. m = B.M. Or. 2211.
y = B.M. Or. 1473.
The three MSS are Yemenite, the oldest of them being m, which is dated A.D. 1475.)

[1] Rev. i 8.

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i 1. בפלגות ליליא בתר מעלני סיהרא Lag. Bxt.
om. b m y
גלותא Lag.
pr בני Bxt. b m y
[נבואה] בחיזוי Lag.
בחיזו [Bxt. בחֲזו] m [b y *e silentio*]

2. חמישיתא Lag. m [b y *e silentio*]
חמשתא Bxt.

3. הוה Lag. (דהוה Corr) *tantum* m
pr מהוי Bxt. [b^{mg} מהוה; y^{mg} מהוא]

iv 2. בצייר Lag. [m בציר]
ציר Bxt.
כרכום Lag.
כרקום Bxt. b m
משיריין Lag.
משרין Bxt. m [b^{sil}]
איפרורין Lag. [אֶפ׳ Bxt.]
אפ׳ (i.e. *aphrōrāvān*) b m

3. פרזל [כותל] (ברזל supra) Lag.
ברזל Bxt. m

viii 4. שרי [תמן] Lag.
om. Bxt. [b *e silentio*] m y

5. הדא [קינאתא] Lag.
הדין Bxt. [b *e silentio*] m y

6. [את] חזי Lag. Bxt.
החזי [b *e silentio*] m y [cf. *vv.* 12, 15

16. מתחברין Lag. b m y [So Bomberg
מתחבלין Bxt.

ix 2. מלאכיא מחבליא בדמות גברין Lag.
גברין *tantum* Bxt. b^{sil} m [y]

4. לי [ואמר י״י] Lag.
ליה Bxt. b^{sil} m y
דמתעבדא Lag.
דאתעבידא Bxt. b^{sil} m y

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5. ולאילין שיתא מלאכיא מחבליא Lag.
ולאלין *tantum* Bxt. [b^{sil}] m
עיניכון [תחום] Lag. Bxt.
עינכן b^{sil} m

10. חוביהון Lag.
ארחתהון Bxt.
אורחהון [b^{sil}] m y [cf. Ezek. xi 21, ed. Lag.

W. EMERY BARNES.

NOTE.—Bxt.'s simple נברין for אנשים in Ezek. ix 2 corresponds with the rendering of Onkelos in Gen. xviii 2, xxxii 25, but the fuller rendering preserved in Lag. agrees with that of 'Ben Uzziel' in the two passages of Genesis, and is doubtless to be accepted as the better reading.

TWO FORGOTTEN WORDS IN THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

I HAVE already drawn attention in the pages of this JOURNAL to a number of forgotten or misunderstood words in the Old Testament. These fall into two classes: (*a*) those whose meaning has been lost owing to the rarity of their occurrence, and (*b*) those which have been confused with well-known roots of similar form.

Another such word, belonging to the second class, may perhaps be found in 1 Sam. xxiv 8: וַיְשַׁסַּע דָּוִד אֶת־אֲנָשָׁיו בַּדְּבָרִים which the Revised Version translates: 'so David checked his men with these words'. This is frankly a guess, as also are the renderings of the versions: for example, the Greek καὶ ἔπεισεν[1] Δαυειδ τοὺς ἄνδρας αὐτοῦ ἐν λόγοις and the Syriac ܘܦܨ ܠܓܒܪܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܕܘܝܕ ܘܐܫܬܩ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܡܠܐ ܗܠܝܢ. Modern interpreters have either tried to see some metaphorical use of the well-known verb שׁסע Q. 'clave' and Pi. 'tore in two', which here really yields no sense, or have had recourse to emendation, with equally little success.[2] But once again Accadian offers a more probable solution; for the Hebr. שׁסע here appears to be cognate with the well-known Acc. *šasú* 'to call'. This verb is used in the sense of calling or summoning persons in a number of passages: for example, *alsi*[3]*-ma* (*LÙ*)*turtān* (*LÙ*)*piḫāti adi ṣābi qātišunu* 'I summoned indeed the commander, the prefects

[1] Cp. the Targum's פַּיֵּם 'persuaded'.

[2] See S. R. Driver *Samuel* pp. 193–194.

[3] For *alsi*, to avoid the clash of two sibilants (Meissner *Kurzgefasste Assyrische Grammatik* § 11 d).

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and the troops under their command,[1] where the Acc. *šasú* is used precisely as the Hebr. שׁסע in the passage under discussion.[2] Whether the Pi'ēl (וַיְשַׁסַּע) is original or whether the verb was intended to be read as Qal (וַיִּשְׁסַע) cannot now be determined and makes little difference to the sense; for the Pi'ēl is merely the intensive, the Qal the ordinary theme of the same verb. The sentence, therefore, should be translated: 'and David called' or 'summoned his men with words', and the two verbs, (1) שׁסע 'clave' and (2) שׁסע 'summoned', should in future be sharply distinguished.

Another word which, I suggest, has been wrongly ousted from the Hebrew text is חֲוָחִים 'holes' in 1 Sam. xiii 6. The Revised Version wrongly takes it from חוֹחַ 'bramble' and translates it 'thickets', although the plural of this word is חוֹחִים (Ct. ii 2 and 2 Chron. xxxiii 11); most scholars, however, are unable to resist the temptation of emending it, with Ewald, to the very similar חוֹרִים (cp. 1 Sam. xiv 11).[3] Yet the LXX, for what their evidence is worth on such a point, imply different words in these two passages; for they have *ἐν ταῖς μάνδραις* 'in the enclosed places' in the first place, where they are guessing roughly from the context, and *ἐκ τῶν τρωγλῶν* 'from the (mouse-) holes' in the second place. The Syriac version has ܡܥܪܬܐ 'caves' or the like in both passages. This may also be a conjecture; but there is reason for believing that it is the true meaning. Marwân ibn Janâḥ[4] explains חוחים as المواضع المخوّخة من الجبال 'places hollowed out of the hills'. Now he might be suspected of coining a verb خوّخ 'hollowed out' to explain the Hebrew חוח, if the √*ḫwḫ* were not well-established in the

[1] Schrader *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* vol ii pp. 236–237, II l. 11.

[2] The only objection which can be brought against this explanation of שׁסע arises from the doubt about the third radical of *šasú*, which is generally taken to be *y*, because (i) it prefers *i* to *e* (cp. *išši* and *išasi* or *išessi*) and (ii) the nouns *šisītu*, *šassaitu* and so on never shew any trace of the lost ע; to this it may be replied that (i), although *šemú* (שׁמע) makes *išme* and *išemu*, yet *šabû* (שׁבע) makes *išbi* and *išebbi* (cp. *lisiyau* with *lušabbiyau* beside *lušabbiu* and *lušabbi'u*), and that (ii) the ע is represented merely by *i* or *y* in *sibi*, *sibit* (שׁבע) and in *ṭebitum* (טבע) 'sunk' or *erbaya* (ארבעים). In fact, this preference for *i* to *e* is simply due to the sibilant (Meissner, *Kurzgefasste Assyrische Grammatik*, § 20 d).

[3] The ancients did not affect a verbal accuracy in allusions and quotations: e. g. יחדו (Isa. xi 6 and 7) is replaced by כחדא (Isa. lxv 25) and רחץ (Ps. lviii 11) by מחץ (Ps. lxviii 24), where again the temptation to 'emend' an unknown verb has proved too strong; but Delitzsch (*Prolegomena*, pp. 69–71) has shewn that the Hebr. מחץ here corresponds with the Acc. *maḫâṣu* 'to besprinkle', 'to dip'. The same false assumption, that identical words must be used in parallel passages, underlies both 'emendations'; and there is little doubt but that כחדא would have been altered to יחדו if it had not been a known expression!

[4] Neubauer and Wright *Marwân ibn Janâḥ's 'Book of Roots'* col. 784 ll. 13–14.

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Semitic languages; but the existence of the Syr. ܚܘܚܬܐ,[1] the Arab. خَوْخَةٌ,[2] and the Eth. ኍኅት:[3] 'hole', 'aperture' makes such a supposition improbable. The root, in fact, is so well attested in the Semitic languages that it must be allowed to have existed also in Hebrew. Again, therefore, two words, which have been confused by lexicographers—namely, (1) חוח 'bramble', and (2) חוח 'hole', 'hollow place'—must be kept apart.

Such interpretations, though based on the cognate languages, are not 'Assyrianisms' or 'Arabisms' and therefore to be rejected. The limited range and small bulk of classical Hebrew literature has brought it about that the Old Testament is full of ἅπαξ εἰρημένα, which can be explained only by reference to the cognate languages. Such words are not to be regarded as 'borrowed' from the neighbouring language; they have come down from the parent Semitic language into Biblical Hebrew, where by chance they have survived in so few passages that their meanings have been long forgotten. But the fact that with the increase in our knowledge of the related vocabularies an increasing number of these rare words is being interpreted should put a stop to hasty 'emendation'; in fact, the time has come to lay down the rule that NO WORD, and ESPECIALLY NO VERB, IN THE HEBREW BIBLE, IF ONLY IT PRESENTS A TRULY SEMITIC FORM, MAY BE EMENDED. Many, if not most, such words will find an explanation some day in the cognate languages, while there will generally be no reason to suppose that those which cannot be so explained have been incorrectly handed down, although their meaning remains hidden to us.

G. R. DRIVER.

THE INSCRIPTION ON AARON'S HEAD-DRESS.

IN a note in this JOURNAL of October 1924 (vol. xxvi p. 72) I suggested that the inscription on Aaron's head-dress was the Tetragrammaton only—a single word, and not two words as implied by the English Version 'Holiness to the Lord' (Exod. xxviii 36, &c.). This suggestion was fortunate enough to be approved of by Dr Burkitt (*ib.* p. 180), who cited in support of it Origen and Bar Hebraeus. I have now come across a relevant passage in an author prior to Origen and also (in all probability) to Philo and Josephus, which seems to confirm my view as

[1] Brocklemann *Lex. Syr.* iii 219.

[2] Lane *Arab. Engl. Dict.* I ii 820 b.

[3] Dillmann *Lex. Aeth.* col. 606, where the author actually compares the Hebrew word under discussion!

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to the Inscription and to throw some further light on the subject. This passage occurs in the *Letter of Aristeas* (sect. 98) where the dress of the High Priest is described. The head-dress is referred to as τὸ καθηγιασμένον βασίλειον ἐκτυποῦν ἐπὶ πετάλῳ χρυσῷ γράμμασι ἁγίοις ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ (Thackeray's text).

The above quotation is thus rendered in Charles's *Pseudepigrapha* (p. 104): 'The royal diadem full of glory with the name of God inscribed in sacred letters on a plate of gold.' A foot-note runs thus: '*Sacred letters*, i.e. the older Hebrew characters . . . before they had changed into the square characters.'

The phrase γράμμασι ἁγίοις ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ represents the same thing as Josephus' ἱεροῖς γράμμασι τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν (*Ant. Jud.* iii 7 6) and Philo's τέτταρας ἔχον γλυφὰς ὀνόματος (*De Vit. Mos.* iii 114, 152 M). Origen says the Tetragrammaton ἐπὶ τοῦ πετάλου τοῦ χρυσοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀναγέγραπται (on Ps. ii 2, Migne *P. G.* xii 1104), and these words are quoted by Dr Burkitt. There are thus the *Letter of Aristeas*, Philo, Josephus, Origen, Bar Hebraeus, all in favour of the view that what was inscribed on the front of Aaron's head-dress was the Sacred Name only, the Tetragrammaton and nothing further.

The ἱερά or ἅγια γράμματα are indirectly referred to in the passage from Origen (not quoted by Dr Burkitt), besides being referred to directly in the *Letter of Aristeas* and by Josephus as already quoted. Origen's words are, after mentioning the common substitution in Greek MSS of κύριος for the Tetragrammaton: Καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀκριβεστέροις δὲ τῶν ἀντιγράφων Ἑβραίοις χαρακτῆρσι κεῖται τὸ ὄνομα, Ἑβραικοῖς δὲ οὐ τοῖς νῦν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀρχαιοτάτοις. An example is given in Swete's *Introd.* (p. 39) of Aquila's practice of transliterating the Tetragrammaton in archaic Hebrew characters. It seems to be a fair inference from these references of the *Letter of Aristeas*, Josephus, and Origen to a special kind of Hebrew character that (as implied in the foot-note of Charles's *Pseudep.* already quoted) when the change to the square character took place the archaic form of Hebrew character continued to be used for writing the Tetragrammaton, or (as in the case of Aaron's head-dress) engraving or otherwise representing it. No other words seem to have had conferred on them the privilege of continuing to be thus expressed in archaic character. This seems to be some confirmation of the view that קדֹשׁ ליהוה (as used in Exod. xxviii 36, &c.) really had the meaning 'the sacred name "Yahweh"'.

JAMES EDWARD HOGG.

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PAGAN BAPTISMS IN TERTULLIAN.

TERTULLIAN is concerned in the early part of the *De baptismo* to shew the appropriateness of water. He refers, therefore, to its pagan use, ch. v: 'nam et sacris quibusdam per lauacrum initiantur, Isidis alicuius aut Mithrae; ipsos etiam deos suos lauationibus efferunt. ceterum uillas domos templa totasque urbes aspergine circumlatae aquae expiant passim . certe ludis Apollinaribus et Pelusiis tinguuntur idque se in regenerationem et impunitatem periuriorum suorum agere praesumunt . item penes ueteres quisque se homicidio infecerat purgatrices aquas explorabat.'

Pelusiis is given to us by the Clairvaux MS as corrected (*Pelasiis* first hand) by Gelenius, and by Mesnart. The proposal of Ursinus to substitute *Eleusiniis* has commonly been accepted. Professor Souter in a note in his translation remarked on the uncritical nature of this proceeding. It remains to explain the reference. *Pelusiis* refers to a festival called the *Pelusia*, mentioned in the Calendar of Philocalus as celebrated at Rome on March 20.[1] Joannes Lydus tells us that a daemon called Pelusius proclaimed to the Egyptians that the Nile had risen, and then fell into the waters. At first they disbelieved, but when facts bore him out they established a festival called Πηλούσιον among them and among the Greeks. Of the nature of this festival we know nothing more. The idea that it contained some ceremonial bathing is slightly confirmed by Ammianus Marcellinus xxii 6, § 3, 'in Augustamnica Pelusium est oppidum nobile, quod Peleus Achillis pater dicitur condidisse, lustrari deorum monitu iussus in lacu quod eiusdem ciuitatis adluit moenia cum post interfectum fratrem nomine Focum horrendis Furiarum imaginibus raptaretur'. By Pelusium there was a lake, which was thought by some to have been used for a mythical lustration, and in which actual lustrations may have taken place. The transference of its rites to other cities was natural; Pelusium was a famous seat of excited popular worship.[2]

[1] Joannes Lydus *De mensibus* iv 57, p. 112. 18. Wünsch says πρὸ δεκατεσσάρων Καλενδῶν Ἀπριλίων. This should probably be emended to δεκατριῶν (a change of ιδ' to ιγ'), to bring it into harmony with Philocalus and Silvius.

[2] Cult of Isis (Auien. *Arat.* 282); of Zeus Kasios (Sext. Empir. *Pyrrh. hypotop.* iii 224). On the interesting reference in *Hist. Aug. V. M. Anton.* 23 to the purging of the cult of Sarapis from Pelusian vulgarity, cf. U. Wilcken *Klio* ix 131 sqq.; *P. Oslo* i 107 speaks of Min as ὁ ἀναφανεὶς ἐν Πηλουσίῳ (cp. S. Eitrem *ad loc.* p. 56). For the transference cf. that of the Syrian Maioumas festival (which certainly included bathing) from Antioch to Ostia.

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The localization of the rite is not certain. We know of its celebration at Rome, and we know of *ludi Apollinares* at Rome, held from July 5 to 13. and it is natural to think of the Roman festival in each case. At the same time we know of no ceremonial bathing at *ludi*, and it is possible that Tertullian is here, as elsewhere, naming a non-Roman festival by a Roman name.[1] He may have had before him some Greek source which said ἐν τοῖς Πυθίοις γοῦν καὶ Πηλουσίοις βαπτίζονται.[2] In any case, *certe* seems to contrast public and visible ritual with the mysteries of Isis and of Mithras, concerning which anyone not initiated would speak with less knowledge.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that *efferunt* which J. M. Lupton translates as 'exalt, extol' may rather be taken literally as 'carry out', with *lauationibus* either as dative ('for washings') or as ablative ('in washing ceremonies'). The reference is to processions carrying an image out of a temple to a stream for a solemn annual bath; so for instance Cybele was at Rome carried to the Almo for a ceremony called *lauatio*.[3]

A. D. Nock.

[1] So *De spect.* 11 'Olympia ... quae sunt Romae Capitolia'. The reference may be to Alexandria, where games were held in honour of Apollo (J. Vogt *Die alexandrinischen Münzen* i 89), and *Pelusia* would be in place.

[2] The source might be some cynically coloured treatise directed against popular belief in the efficacy of a rite as an *opus operatum*. The thought is developed by Ovid *Fasti* ii 35–46, which is perhaps based on a similar source, and discusses methods of purification, in particular from the guilt of murder, ending 'nimium faciles, qui tristia crimina caedis | fluminea tolli posse putetis aqua'. βαπτίζονται need not imply immersion; it can mean as little as 'wash', cf. *P. Oxy.* 840. 15 τῶν μαθητῶν τοὺς πόδας βαπτισθέντων.

On ancient lustrations I may be allowed to refer to ch. iii § 2 of my forthcoming essay in *Studies in the Doctrine of the Trinity and of the Incarnation*, edited by K. E. Kirk.

[3] I wish to thank Professor H. J. Rose and Professor A. E. Souter for their kind help with this note.

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REVIEWS

History of Mediaeval Philosophy, by MAURICE DE WULF. Translated by ERNEST C. MESSENGER, Ph.D. (Longmans, Green & Co., 1926.)

DR MESSENGER'S translation, in two volumes, of de Wulf's well-known book is based on the fifth French edition, published in 1924–1925. The translation of an earlier edition by Dr Coffey appeared in 1909, but since that date abundance of fresh material has been brought to light, and de Wulf has made a heroic attempt to incorporate the results. To this end he has omitted—without much loss—the sketch of ancient philosophy included in the earlier editions, thus securing more space for the discussion of properly mediaeval thought, without unduly increasing the size of his book. To appreciate fully the additions and modifications introduced by the revision would require a minute and laborious study. Many sections have been rewritten; the bibliography has been greatly enlarged, and a special effort has been made to mention works published since the edition of Ueberweg-Baumgartner which appeared in 1915. At the same time, de Wulf has not altered in any important respect his general conception of the subject. He retains his antithesis of scholastic and anti-scholastic philosophies, reserving the name of scholasticism for the movement towards 'a synthesis wherein were treated all the questions with which philosophy is concerned, and in which the solutions were harmonized and controlled by one another'. The real trouble now for any student of mediaeval philosophy, much more for one who aspires to write its history, is to preserve a sense of proportion and a coherent grasp of the whole. Not only has the age of mere contempt for scholasticism passed away, but the pendulum seems to have swung so far in the opposite direction that there is, in some quarters, a tendency to regard any philosophical document as important, so long as it is mediaeval. The main result, however, has only been to increase the difficulty of finding a third alternative to the isolated monograph and the compressed history, which serves, indeed, the purpose of a dictionary of reference, but is frankly unreadable as a book. Much as one must admire the indefatigable industry displayed in a book like de Wulf's, one feels all the time that the author is wrestling with the impossible task of keeping up to date. What we need is a history that will not begin to grow obsolete every time that some second-rate commentary on Boethius or the *Sentences* is rescued from the oblivion in

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which it might advantageously have remained. Perhaps, however, the time for such an undertaking is not ripe, and for the present we must be grateful to scholars like de Wulf, who are doing their best to describe the materials and co-ordinate the results.

Institutiones Metaphysicae Generalis, Elements d'Ontologie, by P. PEDRO DESCOQS, S.J. (Beauchesne, Paris, 1925.)

WITH enormous irony Father Descoqs begins his preface (aptly entitled *Monitum*) with the words 'praesens opus non est liber manualis qui alumnis Seminariorum tradendus sit ut in scholis explicetur'. It would, indeed, be a large-handed and large-hearted alumnus who would undertake to cope with this volume of nearly 600 quarto pages, more especially as, after mastering some 40 of them, he would learn that the 'manual' was only the first instalment of the projected four. Frankly, the book throws almost every possible obstacle in the way of the prospective reader. To begin with, it is written in two languages, a procedure defended by the author on the ground that the purely scholastic material is properly expressed in Latin, while the developement of the doctrine is more easily accomplished in French. But in fact there seem to be many passages of exposition in Latin which might just as well have been written in French, and in any case there is a perpetual awkwardness in the sudden transitions from the arid terminology of scholasticism to the fluent vernacular discourses on all manner of authors and topics. One cannot but think that Father Descoqs would have done far better had he first set forth the whole of his 'theses' in Latin, and then appended a series of critical dissertations in the modern tongue. As it is, the most persevering effort to detect and follow any connected line of thought is likely to be disappointed.

On the other hand, it is fair to say that the amount of learning and industry required for the composition of such a work is astonishing. Father Descoqs seems to be acquainted with all philosophy from Pythagoras to the latest articles in current periodicals. He is prepared to discuss every known kind of metaphysics, and always with the evident intention of doing justice to views with which he disagrees. After a long introductory section on the general notion, the divisions, and the method of metaphysics, he proceeds to the main subject of the present volume, indicated by the sub-title *De Ente in Communi*. Being in itself, being in all its subordinate manifestations and relations, the principle of 'analogy', the nature of unity, of truth, of goodness, and the fundamental principles of reasoning are the topics set forth in order and treated with an admirable wealth of knowledge. To give

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even an abstract of the results would require the whole of this JOURNAL, and in the end one can only regret again that Father Descoqs has tried to write two books in one, and that he has forgotten, apparently, how comparatively small is the number of years allotted by the Psalmist to human life.

Autour du Décret de 1210: (1) *David de Dinant*, (2) *Alexandre d'Aphrodise*, by G. THÉRY, O.P. (Le Saulchoir, Kain.)

FATHER THÉRY'S two able and interesting volumes throw new light on the state of mediaeval philosophy at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and especially upon the notorious David of Dinant, whose doctrines were explicitly condemned in the famous decrees of 1210 and 1215, which prohibited the study of Aristotle's physical and metaphysical works at Paris. There is, indeed, little doubt that the unusually strong language applied to David by Albert the Great and St Thomas Aquinas (roughly speaking, they called him an ass and a fool) was provoked by the fact that he had brought discredit upon Aristotle by pretending to extract from his writings a kind of materialistic pantheism plainly incompatible with the Christian view of the world. At the same time, there has always been much obscurity about the exact character and source of David's teaching, and even about the man himself. Father Théry has found some evidence for identifying him with a David who, in 1206, was chaplain to Innocent III and stood high in the great Pope's favour. Be this as it may, he had wandered into heresy by 1210, and his book, officially described as *Quaternuli*, was ordered to be burnt. More commonly the work is called *De Tomis* (i. e. *De Divisionibus*), though in one place Albert complicates matters by referring to it as *Liber Atomorum*. Despite these variations of title, Father Théry is probably justified in assuming that there was only one book. The question is, what did it contain, and what was the source of this 'asinine' doctrine?

Our most authentic information comes from Albert the Great, who had read either the *De Tomis* itself or an abridged version prepared by the theologians responsible for its condemnation. St Thomas, very probably, derived his knowledge from Albert, but the attempt to destroy the book cannot have been wholly successful, for it seems that, in the fifteenth century, Nicolas of Cusa was acquainted with the text. After that date it disappears again, and no research in the Vatican Library or elsewhere has yet brought a copy to light. Fortunately, however, the statements of Albert are sufficiently copious to make it possible for Father Théry to make an ingenious reconstruction of the

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argument, with the result that we are fairly entitled to say that we know what David taught. Briefly expressed, his doctrine is that all individuality is merely 'appearance', while reality belongs only to a single substance, in which matter, spirit (*νοῦς*, *mens*, or *intellectus*) and God are virtually reduced to one. In a limited sense of the word, David is no materialist; for his 'matter' is no kind of body that can be apprehended by sense-perception. Somewhat in the style of Spinoza, he identifies God with the world, and treats body and mind or spirit as alternative manifestations of God. It is easy to understand that Paris would not tolerate such a doctrine, but the difficulty begins when we seek to determine its source.

In the first place, there is no doctrinal connexion between David and Amalric of Bena; this confusion arose from the simple fact that both men were condemned in the same decree. Secondly, there is no ground, in Father Théry's opinion, for calling David a Neo-Platonist, or for supposing him to have been directly influenced by the study of Joannes Scotus Erigena. We thus arrive, thirdly, at a very precise statement by Albert the Great, who declares that he had found the original of the *De Tomis* in a book, discovered by himself in a German monastery, which he calls by two titles, *De Noï, hoc est, de Mente et Deo et Materia Prima*, and *De principio incorporeae et corporeae substantiae*. The authorship he ascribes to Alexander, but what Alexander does he mean? Father Théry is probably right in maintaining that Albert's Alexander, whether styled *Peripateticus*, or *Graecus*, or anything else, is always one and the same person, namely, Alexander of Aphrodisias, the famous Aristotelian, who was known as 'the Commentator' before that title of honour passed to Averroes. The difficulty is, however, that the genuine *De Intellectu* of Alexander, which is an extract from his commentary on the *De Anima*, does not contain anything like the doctrine ascribed by Albert to David of Dinant. This we can see for ourselves, thanks to Father Théry, who has printed the text in the second of these two volumes. What conclusion, then, is to be drawn from this puzzling complication of evidence? Father Théry simply dismisses Albert's statement as untenable; in other words, he disallows the pretensions of Alexander, and proceeds to adduce evidence to the effect that David's views were derived from Aristotle's statements about some of the early Greek philosophers in the historical sketches given at the beginning of the *Physics* and the *Metaphysics*.

But here, surely, there is a flaw in the argument. David himself may have known the genuine *De Intellectu* of Alexander in a translation by Gerard of Cremona, and Albert, writing some thirty or forty years later, certainly had that knowledge. Now Albert was by no means an

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uncritical person, and it is almost impossible that, after reading two treatises with much the same title, yet containing quite different doctrines, he should have ascribed them both to the same author. What, then, becomes of Father Théry's contention that Alexander, for Albert, always meant the same person? The only way of evading a contradiction is to suppose that Albert, knowing the attribution to Alexander of the work discovered in the German monastery to be mistaken, still referred to it (as in some parallel cases) by Alexander's name, merely because it was so described in the work itself. Even so, it is difficult to see how we can be justified in rejecting Albert's explicit statement that this *libellus de noï* (no matter who was the author) was actually the main source of David's heresy. Or was his meaning, perhaps, that David had pretended to derive his opinions from Aristotle, whereas really he had taken them from an obscure *libellus* bearing Alexander's name? Whatever may be the true way of escape from these complications, the fact remains that Father Théry has given to David of Dinant more reality and substance than he has ever enjoyed before.

The second volume, dealing specifically with Alexander of Aphrodisias, owes its existence to the negative result of Father Théry's enquiry into the connexion between Alexander and David, but has a very positive value of its own. We get a very careful account of Alexander's influence on Greek commentators, on the 'Arabs' (especially in relation to Averroes), on Boethius, and, finally, on the mediaeval Latins. In his interpretation of the *De Anima* Alexander was remarkable for his introduction of the term *intellectus adeptus* (as the Latins called it) and for what was understood as a clear denial of immortality. Besides his own exposition, Father Théry prints a text of the *De Intellectu*, the *De Sensu*, and one or two more of Alexander's tracts. The result of these two volumes is to make a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of a certain current in the Aristotelianism of an age when the interpretation of Aristotle was of decisive importance for the developement of mediaeval thought.

Scholastik: Vierteljahresschrift für Theologie und Philosophie. Heft I. Edited by the Professors of Ignatius College in Valkenburg. (Herder & Co., Freiburg in Breisgau, 1926.)

THE character of the new quarterly edited by some members of the Society of Jesus is sufficiently indicated by its title, though with this qualification, that the contributors do not regard their work as merely elucidating a bygone epoch of philosophy, but rather as testifying to the

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continuity of past and present. In addition to some smaller discussions and a rather full survey of recent literature, this first number contains three principal articles, each in its own way well deserving attention. Father Joseph Ternus considers some of the relations of scholasticism to older sources in the form of reflexions upon Hans Meyer's *History of Ancient Philosophy*. Father Christian Pesch discusses the rather abstruse question, whether the foundation of all Christian philosophy is the distinction between *existentia* and *essentia* (*wesenheit* and *dasein*); a view which has been upheld by one recent and drastic critic of the whole Christian position. Father Pesch is successful in proving that the said distinction has never been more than an opinion held by some writers and contested by others. It has no authoritative sanction, and is only one of the possible ways of affirming the distinction between the Creator and His creatures. Father Franz Pelster's account of the first Commentary on the *Sentences* by an Oxford Franciscan should be of special interest to English readers, because the manuscript (Cod. 62) was found at Balliol College among those bequeathed by William Gray, Bishop of Ely from 1454 to 1478. Father Pelster makes out a strong case for assigning the authorship to the Ricardus Rufus or Cornubiensis who is said by Roger Bacon to have lectured at Oxford on the *Sentences* in 1250. The actual MS appears to be a direct transcription of the original, made at Oxford, and, if Father Pelster's interpretation of certain marginal notes be right, overlooked by the author before publication. One puzzling fact is that we find one note in which Ricardus is referred to in the third person (*cui consentit frater Ricardus*), while in another place we get the words *quae mihi videatur vera: Ricardus*. In spite of this variation, Father Pelster may well be right in judging that the said Richard was the author, and in identifying him with Bacon's Ricardus Cornubiensis.

W. H. V. READE.

Religion in the Making, by ALFRED NORTH WHITEHEAD. Lowell Lectures. (Cambridge: University Press, 1926.)

THERE is no other thinker at present who interests me as much as Mr Whitehead, and yet I do not find it easy to say why. His general contention that we must determine our explanations by our whole experience, and not limit our awareness of the world by the amount of it we can explain, is not new, though it has a certain newness of aspect as coming from a mathematician. What he means by nature all being organic is not as plain as it might be. A person who commands so

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effective an English style has no need to invent such perplexing terminology for the obscuring of his thought. His historical summaries are brilliant, but he quite frequently misses what is most important for his purpose, as, for example, when in *Science and the Modern World* he devotes all his attention to cosmologies, when plainly his real concern is with the developement of interest and awareness; and so entirely fails to see the true significance of the sixteenth century for the rise of science. Even in this book he puts things like ritual and feeling in succession, while quite plainly feeling must be first at least in principle, and both be together. He fails to see the most important thing in the Hebrew prophets, which was the challenging of a cosmogony of law, as action and award, a cosmogony which was a kind of moral Newtonism. The prophets made an appeal to experience and found a larger purpose of pardon and service and atonement, in the sense of the victory of the good by the sufferings of the righteous, exactly as Mr Whitehead would appeal from Newtonism.

At the same time, there is no one among us who is doing quite as much to create a truer, freer, more reverent, more gracious view of the universe: and the only explanation I can give is that this belongs more to the man with his wide, sincere, and independent interests, than to anything he has yet achieved in theory. We might sum it up as the humility of the really wise man before the depth and wonder of the universe, which makes him a power for an entire change of outlook. A criticism quoted on the cover of this book says of *Science and the Modern World* that it is 'perhaps the most important book published in the conjoint realm of science and philosophy since Descartes' *Discourse on Method*'. This is possibly true, but it is for the reason that, most freely, it challenges Descartes' method. Though not by any means the first challenge, it has a special value if only because Mr Whitehead is a mathematician, challenging Descartes' mathematical method. Descartes starts from a postulate and builds on it by reasoning: Mr Whitehead knows that we only dimly understand the world at the utmost stretch of our awareness and knowledge.

For this reason I fail to understand what the particular debt to Mr Alexander and Mr Lloyd Morgan is which Mr Whitehead so warmly acknowledges. Both are still attempting the old Cartesian task, Mr Alexander with Darwin and Einstein grafted on to Hegel and Mr Lloyd Morgan with Spinoza turned biologist. But I fail to see how Mr Alexander's Time-Space is any improvement as a beginning on Hegel's Reason or how the blessed word 'emerge' works more effectively than 'Negation'. As for Mr Lloyd Morgan, the only thing his Spinozism seems to do is to take out of Darwinism the sole force that keeps evolution in motion, which is the subjective selection and effort of the

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living creature. The most characteristic element in Mr Whitehead, on the contrary, is that he is a mathematician interested above all else in individuality. If he has an intellectual ancestor it would rather seem to be Prof. Ward. Ward's pan-psychism, his pluralism, his idea of science—not as the fullest account of reality, but as the most abstract statement of some useful uniformities—are probably not forms which Mr Whitehead would accept, but they are all attempts to express the same view of the world as organic and not mechanical, and as something to be understood from our fullest, most concrete experience and not from our limited power to explain.

With regard to the present book, apart altogether from the measure of success the author may achieve in shedding light on the problem of religion, it is of interest to know how a mind of this type regards it. Therefore, we turn to *Religion in the Making*, certain that, even if there should be nothing new to learn, there will be ways of looking at reality which will be a new challenge to reconsider our own position.

The work consists of four lectures: I. Religion in History; II. Religion and Dogma; III. Body and Spirit; IV. Truth and Criticism. It is only a small book of 160 not very closely printed pages, but to give any summary of it is almost impossible because it is itself a summary. Still something must be attempted if this review is to serve any any other purpose than a mere advertisement.

I. *Religion in History.*

Religion is the practice and the theory of the internal life of man, so far as this depends on man himself and on what is permanent in the nature of things. Character is developed according to a man's faith. Religion is force of belief cleansing the inward parts, and its primary virtue is a penetrating sincerity. Religion is solitariness; and if you are never solitary you are never religious. It is not necessarily good, but it is of transcendent importance as possibility.

The order of its emergence is ritual which developes emotion, emotion which stirs belief, belief which leads to rationalization. Ritual, in which seems to be included all action for its own sake and not for supplying animal necessities, developes emotion. Conversely religion in its decay sinks back into sociability, whereupon collective ritual replaces what is higher. The myth is a sort of isolated, half-way house to belief. If the hero be a person we call it religion, if a thing magic. Religion has the possibility of progress—apparently as the person is more highly conceived—magic has not. But uncriticized religious belief can also be stagnation.

Only with the coming of rationalism does the age of martyrs dawn. No more are all chosen, but 'strait is the gate . . . and few there be

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that find it'. For a religion to forget this is to relapse into atavistic barbarism, to fall away from the intuitions of the few to the mass mind. The note of religious progress is increasing solitariness in the religious idea. The highest example is one in awful loneliness forsaken even of God.

Rational religion has also to do with an ordering of life 'which shall be coherent both in the elucidation of thought and in the direction of conduct towards a unified purpose commanding ethical approval'. Its doctrines aim at being that metaphysics which can be derived from the supernormal experience of mankind in its moments of finest insight.

This is in the main true and finely said. But now comes what is less sure. The emergence of rationalism was strictly conditioned by the general progress of the races in which it arose; it had to wait for the relevant general ideas and the relevant ethical intentions.

Is this not putting the cart before the horse? No doubt both developements took place together and there was action and reaction. But what gave man the emancipation from the immediate which enabled him to have free general ideas, and what gave him the human values which enabled him to turn a tribal group into an ethical society, if not the sacredness which is religion? This failure to see that religion is the environment in which higher developements of the spirit were alone possible leads to much too subjective a view of religion, without shewing an environment towards which a 'penetrating sincerity' is necessary. Why did the Hebrew prophets attain the idea of one ordered universe so many centuries before the scientist? It was at least not by an advanced process of ratiocination. Is the scientist's conviction of it, even at this date, a scientific, or is it really a religious faith? In one sense we might say 'that the coming of rational religion is the growth of a world consciousness', but it would be much truer to say that the growth of a real world consciousness is essentially the work of a developing rational religion.

Mysticism, for example, is no doubt an evasion and an escape from the tasks and trials by which progress is made, but it shews that there is a unifying something of which the religious mind is directly conscious into which the escape can be made. And, though this is too large a subject to enter on here, it is precisely the reflexion of the universe in all things, which Mr Whitehead finds, as a sort of blind perception, down to the atom.

II. *Religion and Dogma.*

The great rational religions, we are told, mark the emergence of universality in the religious consciousness. This introduces solitariness, because universality is disconnexion from immediate surroundings to seek

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abiding principles to interpret all. On the basis of this there is a discussion of the Old Testament religion, Buddhism, and Christianity.

To criticize the treatment in detail would require more space than the lecture itself, but there is one broad criticism which applies to the whole. The first great generalization in history was that action and award are exactly equivalent, like the equivalence of cause and effect in Newtonism. Buddhism accepted this as a complete metaphysic. But the Hebrew developement more and more realized its inadequacy, till Jesus flatly contradicted it as the ultimate scheme of the universe. Mr Whitehead's failure to see this makes his account of the developement miss the essential religious quality. In a sense we can accept his account of the teaching of Jesus as 'a thorough-going rationalization of the Jewish religion carried through with a boundless naïveté, and motived by a first-hand intuition into the nature of things'. It is 'rationalism derived from direct intuition and divorced from dialectics'. This gives it the decisiveness of a supreme ideal which is the watershed of history. This religious intuition is something which reaches beyond inferences, as when we go beyond the evidences of a man's action to know himself; and its essence is a sense of the fundamental rightness of things. This concerns objective values, in respect of which we may say that religion is world-loyalty.

This, he thinks, is religion, while a doctrine of God is theology, which apparently means that it is an inference from the total metaphysical situation. But religion has never been interested merely in the question of the God of the world. Its interest is in the difference between a world with God and a world without God. Why the Eastern religions are pantheistic is that they are not interested in the world at all. The moment religion is interested in conquering the world, in finding a power by which all things can be ours, a personal God is the supreme necessity of religion, because the power for this victory is certainly not in the world itself or in any pantheistic conception of it. Moreover, all our victory has been by ourselves having free, independent, courageous personality. Therefore, while God is in a sense secondary to the world, as Mr Whitehead says, God's personality is not an inference, but is the discovery of a certain kind of victory in the world. Thus when Christianity betook itself to Greek metaphysics, it departed from its own religious basis. The failure to realize this accounts for Mr Whitehead's misunderstanding of Judaism as Deism, which no living religion ever was, and the still greater failure to have any understanding of Paul. And yet with all this, there is a great deal of acute and first-hand thinking, with the right conclusion that difficulties and even complete failures cannot justify us in abandoning the task of thinking things through. 'The ages of faith are the ages of rationalism.'

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III. *Body and Spirit.*

This chapter is still more condensed and impossible to summarize, and it is still more quite unnecessarily abstract, so that I do not profess to understand it wholly. But I think the difficulty lies largely in conceiving God purely as the aesthetic order and not as an order of freedom, and in conceiving values as a merely rising series, instead of in principle natural or relative and ideal or absolute, and in failing to consider adequately the relation of this to the individual spirit which embraces them. Further, there is a failure to see that metaphysics can never be more than an inference from the sum of experience, while religion must because there is no real religion which is not religion in the making. Also the ultimate importance of the personality of God concerns an order of freedom and not a mere aesthetic order. Therefore, it is an experience of religion, and not a demonstration of metaphysics. Religion is concerned with reality, but its reality is not what the world is but what God is to make of it: and that which is the ground of the possibility of achievement of what ought to be is as real as what is. This is the actuality of the kingdom of God. The importance of history for religion is connected with this, and what interprets it is not metaphysic but prophetic insight. This also goes with the fact, as our author expresses it, that the universe is through and through interdependent, so that, in a sense, every reality is its history. Further, he says, 'The world is at once a passing shadow and a final fact', yet 'the fact is prior to the shadow'. But could such a notion ever have been arrived at without history? Therefore, history has more value for religion than the author assigns it. The difference in the use of history between science and religion is that science is concerned with the uniform in the past so as to find it again, religion with the unique so as to prophesy beyond the customary.

This would naturally go with the insistence on the value, individual and separable, of actual beings, which makes the world a scene of solitariness in community, so that Mr Whitehead creates for himself confusion from lack of a clear recognition of the task of freedom. The taking up of what is relevant in the past into the picture of new forms is used to explain the sequence in evolution, whereas it is the fact that this is the work of freedom which requires what we have for the accomplishment of the new. This explains why evil is essentially insincerity in dealing with our situation, whereas, in Mr Whitehead's account, evil does not amount to much more than a failure to achieve an artistic possibility, or the use of bad colours which time blots out. Yet even here there is a very important recognition that the essential evil arises from the possibility of good.

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God seems to be the ultimate aesthetic order, reflected in all things, whereby they become an ordered universe and which is the presupposition of all progress. Progress has as its condition God's purpose as the attainment of value in the process of time. Value is aesthetic value in the universe. But has value in the highest sense any meaning except as an achievement of freedom? And has it existence apart from an ideal value in the being which, by achieving it in freedom, becomes one with it?

Something of this kind seems to be maintained in the idea that all things have self-value, as well as value for the universe, and in the idea of the self-creating creature, but it seems to be taken by the wrong end, the end which does not agree with his own starting-point which is the fullness of experience.

The main purpose of this lecture is to shew the relation of what is called a physical epochal occasion and a mental epochal occasion, but this is precisely where I begin to be most doubtful of my interpretation.

From a physical occasion there is a route to other physical occasions, and another to derivative reflective or mental occasions. As this is the central question of mind and body, it is better to quote. 'The physical route links together physical occasions as successive temporal incidents in the life of the body. The other route links this bodily life with a correlative mental life. A mental occasion is an ultimate fact in the spiritual world, just as a physical occasion of blind perceptivity is an ultimate fact in the physical world. There is an essential reference from one world to the other.'

This raises some difficulties. How are mental facts derivative? Are they knowledge or merely some kind of parallelism? Is that what is meant by correlative? Is the spiritual world apart from the physical, or are mental events causes in the physical, in the strict sense the only causes? If the foundation of the world is in the aesthetic experience, which seems to mean in feeling and value, and this order presupposes the immanence of God, which seems to mean an ordering mind, all must be a spiritual order and all things derivative from it. Man is a combination of material and mental routes, or events which have a history, but as there are material routes regarding which we can ignore what is mental, so there may be mental routes regarding which we may ignore what is material.

That I understand the rest of the lecture is doubtful, and that I could give an account of it intelligible to others is more doubtful still. Probably I am merely imposing my own views on it when I interpret it as meaning that physical quantities are symbols of meaning, that evolution is the expansion of meaning, and that this is possible because it is within the meaning of the universe, the ground of which is God.

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IV. *Truth and Criticism.*

The above interpretation seems to be borne out by the view of religion as providing a meaning for our own existence, a meaning which flows from the nature of things. But how is this limited to general truths? Religion is surely a dealing with an environment of absolute value, and not the generalization of final truths; and while dogmas as general truths are dependent on religion, religion is not to the same extent dependent on them. Dogma, our author rightly maintains, is necessary because we need concepts for experience, yet, just because of its use for us within our own system of thought, it is not final for all systems. Any kind of expression, so long as we bear in mind what is expressed, gives community of intuition. First-hand expression is the rare work of genius, but derivative expression is a useful, educative, expansive response. Yet it stifles life when it becomes mere formula. While the inspiration of religion is from the intuitions of the finest types of religious lives, dogmas are necessary to give it universality. Yet they are limited and untrue beyond the scope of their utility, which is to say the moment we regard them as the whole and not merely as a useful abstraction. 'Idolatry is the necessary product of static dogmas.' Yet it is never easy to retain at once the primary inspiration and the criticism necessitated by the widening of knowledge and experience.

The extremes of doctrine are God as the impersonal order of the universe, and God as the one person creating the universe. God is something decided, and is thereby limited; but he is complete in the sense that his vision determines the possibility of all value.

The only perplexity in the doctrine of God which follows is the meaning of 'conceptual'. 'This ideal world of conceptual harmonization is merely a description of God himself. Thus the nature of God is the complete conceptual realization of the realm of ideal forms.' Perhaps it means that He 'calls things that are not as though they were', but I am not sure. Anyhow we are told that this is not inconsistent with evil in the process of realizing it. As such He transcends the temporal world. Yet the evolving world is actual by the presence of His order in it. But can this be so, unless it is an order of freedom and not of mere aesthetic harmony?

The universe is physically wasting and spiritually increasing, till it will finally be represented physically by a ripple barely to be distinguished from non-entity. Meantime there is the 'inexhaustible realm of abstract forms, and creativity, with its shifting character, ever determined afresh by its own creatures, and God, upon whose wisdom all forms of order depend'.

The praise of the book may be summed up by saying that this con-

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clusion is reached by emancipated, sincere, earnest thinking; and the criticism by saying that the way is made unnecessarily difficult by not giving a right place to freedom as a condition of value, and the evolution of the creature as determined by the necessity of realizing value in freedom. There are parts, especially in the third lecture, where I have only attained what the author calls a 'blind perceptivity'; but this has repaid the trouble, and especially it has left me with a still warmer feeling of admiration and regard for the author as one of the most emancipated and suggestive minds of our age.

JOHN OMAN.

The Metaphysics of Evolution, with other Essays, by T. WHITTAKER. (London, Williams & Norgate, Ltd., 1926.)

THIS is a book of considerable size, containing two series of essays on philosophical questions and the history of philosophy. The philosophers to whom essays are devoted, Erigena, Bruno, &c., are those representative of the writer's way of thinking, or, in the case of Renouvier who receives some attention, influential in modifying the metaphysical and ethical ideas that are expounded in the last part of the work. In the preface is indicated the connecting thread by which articles on seemingly heterogeneous topics, and even reviews of books, are strung together into a series which, as a whole, has one tendency. As most of the essays have been published before, and the one that figures in the title of the collection is the climax of the series, this alone may here be singled out for notice.

Mr Whittaker advocates an ontology based on science and idealism or what he sometimes calls phenomenism. It is not put forward as dogma, but is confessed to contain imaginative or hypothetical elements. One can agree with the author that 'for further progress the modern mind must cease to be afraid of hypothesis and imagination as aids in the search for truth not only in science but in philosophy' (p. vii). But one may also think that both in modern endeavours and also throughout the history of philosophy the imaginative and hypothetical element has been unduly prominent, and that in our forthcoming presumptive knowledge, which is the sole extant version, however corrupt, of truth about reality, there lies to hand a good deal more of external control than free speculation or original composition has been wont to recognize. In this case one will have more hope of advance in philosophy when actuality shall be given a fairer chance of telling its own tale instead of being more or less silenced while abstractionism is encouraged to talk fiction.

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Mr Whittaker begins his essay on 'A new metaphysic of evolution' by asserting that the question as to whether the past series of events is infinite or finite cannot be set aside if we would seek a philosophy of the cosmos. He seems to use 'infinite' in the sense of endless in time and innumerable in number; at least he does not invoke the 'new infinity' of mathematicians. It has been a common opinion since Kant that this question cannot rationally be put because it involves application of the forms constitutive of phenomenal knowledge to the ontal or noumenal. Mr Whittaker, however, takes the question to be soluble, saying that the indefinite regress is not only unimaginable but inconceivable or unthinkable. By this he apparently does not mean that indefinite regress is ruled out by the laws of thought, which are not laws of reality (actuality) but rules for thinking or for its thought-products. He appeals to the individual thinker and asks if he has the capacity to think, e. g. of his having had an endless number of previous lives. I fear this appeal can decide nothing: equally competent thinkers answer questions of this sort differently. And that is natural enough if what an individual finds thinkable is dependent on his apperception-systems. The thinkable-in-itself, like self-evidence when taken (so to speak) as *per se*, is an abstraction and a nonentity. And if, psychologically, ideas or concepts are but images 'defecated to pure transparency' or, though derived from images, are no longer imaginal because only forms without quasi-sensory content, the hard and fast line between the imaginable and the conceivable must perhaps disappear in so far as guidance as to the actual is concerned. In any case Spencer's principle of the inconceivability of the opposite seems to be a criterion of believing, not of truth. However, not to waste time on a preliminary matter, and assuming it to be settled that endless regress is actually impossible, we may agree as to the next step in the argument, viz. that the proximate causes of physical science are, at least from the point of view of scientific exposition, but 'occasional' causes: not that 'power' or efficiency is denied everywhere, but that it is not to be placed in moving mass-particles or in laws of impact. But even so, though science, in the exposition of its achieved results, may dispense with the anthropomorphic notion of efficiency, it remains true that the work of science would be impossible if she did not recognize actual determination and the *conditio sine qua non*. And if this actual determination be vaguely said to be 'analogous to' logical necessitation, such as only can obtain between forms of propositions, it differs from timeless implication even to disparateness, although rationalists have identified, numerically or qualitatively as the case may be, the order and connexion of things with the order and connexion of ideas.

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At this stage the author resorts to another 'axiom', 'nothing from nothing'. This is applicable only to what begins to be, else we are back at the endless regress and there never was not a world, of some sort. The world that began to be, I take it, is the world of events in time; the self-subsistent world from which the temporal world is 'evolved' is timeless. We observe that Mr Whittaker deliberately applies 'evolution' to the world as a whole. Of course as 'evolution' is currently used in science, this application of it to the world as a whole is impossible. Evolution as epigenesis involves an environment as well as the evolvent; but to the world as a whole there is no environment, no opportunity for give and take. 'Evolution', then, as used by the writer, must be of the 'preformation' kind; whatever comes out of the potential must already have been in it. And then we have on our hands the old puzzle how the temporal emerges out of the timeless. 'Possible' and 'potential' have ever been words to conjure with; and despite Mr Whittaker's awareness of the cautions of Ward and Bradley which he has duly weighed, I venture to think he has not succeeded in escaping the net of ambiguity. Whether the 'possible' means the ideal that may become actual, like Stevenson's idea of the engine before it was constructed in iron, or whether the 'potential' be understood in the sense in which we say an acorn is a potential oak—in which case the potential is already an actuality of some kind—there is no transition from the possible or the potential *alone* to the actuality derived from it. Stevenson needed artificers; and an acorn needs air, water, &c., if it is ever to become a tree. Thus potentiality such as we ascribe to the seed is irrelevant to the universe. Mr Whittaker seems to have committed himself to a task similar to that of Spinoza, though *prima facie* not so hopeless because, instead of the infinite substance which is nothing in particular because everything in general, he endows his pre-mundane and timeless world, from which the temporal world is evolved, with differentiation into many within the one; to effect which Spinoza had to resort to a kind of causality which his premisses precluded.

But, again approaching Spinoza, Mr Whittaker refuses to regard his pre-mundane Eternal One as a creative spirit. The 'principle' of the pre-mundane is 'thought'. But whether 'thought' means the product of thinking or the thinking-process, it should imply a thinker or thinkers; if it denotes neither, I can but take it to be a name denoting nothing. A 'teleological idea of the individual', as pre-existent, while neither existing as an actual soul nor 'existing'—in quite another sense—as an idea, in the ordinary modern acceptation of the word, in the mind of a willing Spirit with a τέλος, is a phrase to which I can attach no meaning and to whose denotation I can assign

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no ontological status. Such 'uncreated pre-existent possibilities', not being actualities like acorns, I cannot distinguish from nothings incapable of developing into anything. The same is the case with 'impersonal intellect', and with the 'Thought before the world' that 'must include thought of will and events in time', and that 'must manifest itself'. In short Mr Whittaker's new metaphysic of evolution seems to me a rehabilitation of the old method of hypostatizing abstractions, of conjuring actuality out of possibility, of giving to airy nothings, not indeed a local habitation, but a name: as if naming them conferred actuality upon them.

If the main argument of this essay will not commend itself save to those who can take abstractions for realities of the highest order, the reader will nevertheless find in the essay many reflexions of an able and learned philosopher that it will repay him to consider.

God and Reality: the Bishop Paddock Lectures for 1925–1926, by M. B. STEWART, D.D. (Longmans, Green & Co., New York, &c., 1926.)

THESE lectures are a plea for searching examination into the various meanings which have been, and are, attached to the term 'God', and are concerned to distinguish between them and to ascertain how far the Christian religion relates and combines them. The lectures are semi-popular and colloquial, and move rather on the surface. They are perhaps more useful to the general reader than to the thorough student of difficult problems.

F. R. TENNANT.

A Study in Moral Theory, by JOHN LAIRD, M.A., Regius Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Aberdeen. (George Allen & Unwin, 1926.)

IN a useful preface Professor Laird explains his plan. The treatise will fall into four parts: General analysis; Soul; Society; Philosophy. The Soul is central, for though goodness may be discovered in the large ideal city (after the Hellenic way), Ethics is concerned with Duty; and duty is the best use a Moral Being can make of his own capacities and opportunity. And Soul is a large affair; not merely will. The common opinion, 'though but central in a tangled situation', is right; conduct depends on our intelligence, which is authoritative and powerful.

Mr Laird analyses in earnest; but holds by common sense, pressing

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it. 'Those philosophers who, like Aristotle, have busied themselves with the opinions of the many as well as with the opinions of the wise have treated their subject as it ought to be treated: there is a massive stubborn wisdom in current beliefs though but half articulated; and ultimate problems in morals have presented themselves in the same essential fashion to a great multitude for a great while.' This trustfulness is a key to Mr Laird's final idealism.

He distinguishes Reasons that explain from Reasons that justify: Morals themselves are his inquiry, not the Natural History of morals: the central theme is the Justification of Imperatives. For this the dominant good, not the merely intrinsic good, must be sought; and it is not the end that justifies the means, but the whole series must be justified; and the moralist has to master the rules, not simply to obey. 'The virtues, seen from this angle, are the beauty and the bloom of certain patterns of living. These patterns, in their turn, have the distinctness of perspectives rather than the individuality of agencies'. In knowing Good and Evil, 'what we have to deal with are values of interlacing patterns—as subtle a web as life itself'. Yet, as being life, it enfolds a reasonable simplicity: 'We have rational grounds for a discriminating confidence in our moral beliefs', and 'Even when our estimates are impressionist or directed to wavering patterns, they are not therefore misleading. Tact and *l'esprit de finesse*, although they may not calculate, need not be unthinking, or impervious to reflexion and incapable of being improved by it'.

With the fifth chapter we come to the Soul, psychology. And again, natural history only comes in to purge and test: 'the moral question proper is about the control of action in accordance with our knowledge of good and evil': have we, being men, now, in such and such circumstances, that power of control? Is it a 'reflective' conscious intelligent power? Is it 'determined'? are we 'free'? Formal answers to the abrupt questions are impossible. But careful attention, circumspection, good sense, bring real answers continuously nearer: e. g. a great part of our conscious control holds sway over unknown forces whose effects alone are within our ken, but that would not shew that the control does not exist, or that the effects cannot be ascertained. The best we can make of them is still something we can intentionally make. Freedom is no absolute to be weighed in air. In its reality it regulates 'determinism' or else 'tychism'. And Mr Laird prefers 'tychism, of the type which inclines without necessitating' as being the more probable state of crude fact, and it is also more congruent with the stubborn moral fact: for 'However carefully we phrase our determinism, it seems in the end to evade a certain portion of the moral issue'.

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After a retrospective chapter (ix) in which we are reminded that Obligations (not merely values) are justified in terms of the Best, Mr Laird goes on to consider social environment, 'Self and Others' and 'The Ethics of Collective Action'. Though a man is ultimately responsible for his own actions, 'life would be indeed an easy thing if conscience were only a matter of private beliefs'. And yet, he asks, 'Who told Mr Alexander that no one could understand what value meant except through the aid of his fellows?' and, sure as he is of the reality of Self and Selves, he is quite as sure that there is no such thing as a Mind, Self, or Soul, of a Group. Nevertheless groups, be these country, state, or what not, play an engrossing part in the drama of the ethics of living souls: 'The tension and turmoil of our loyalties are very far from being things we can hope to escape from, and the incidence of them in our souls is not eradicable by any summary simplification'.

In this chapter we have reached open water and sail on a fair wind. Still more so in the next, the final chapter, in which Mr Laird writes most readably on Moral Philosophy, placing his 'values' in a more general scheme of reality; for 'while value and obligation may indeed be ultimates, they should at least be capable of vindicating and exhibiting their ultimacy in the panoply and panorama of all existence'. He glances at Hegel, Bradley, Bosanquet, and McTaggart, allowing that his own remarks are—in a sense—*ad homines*: in and from experience we must work: 'it seems best to choose a metaphysico-experiential method': and 'knowledge may be finding not making'. He passes to the discussion of Naturalism, which in its marrow is 'the decree that human nature, in all its aspects, is nothing but a department of Nature in general'. As for 'the more blatant and exuberant thesis' of naturalists the greater moralists have been right; such naturalism must presuppose a certain value in Nature itself. But that could only be found in Biology among the natural sciences, and what relation is there between biological purpose and moral endeavour? We are forced back upon Ethics: 'This revelation of the good is axiology, and the use of it is ethics. There is no other monitor. Instead of attempting to determine ethics from the outside we have to work from within'. And the argument, too, from social solidarity leaves huge gaps. Even the mediaeval cosmologists were more right here: 'They took the Earth to be the Lord's, and instead of regarding man as the aim of all things, or the only arbiter of values, they asserted him to be the servant of the highest. This was the salt of their other-worldliness'.

And once again Mr Laird approves his formula: 'Ethical naturalism, like any other theory that is truly ethical, leads us to the absolute sovereignty of commandments grounded upon the best we may achieve'.

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Revelation, and life future or eternal, remain to be considered. 'The principles of morals, however, do not stand or fall with the possibility of revelation or any similar assurance. . . . That which I ought to do is not logically dependent upon that which I hope for except in so far as the things I may reasonably hope for affect the use of my capacities that I take to be possible; and this is the fundamental question of the relation of moral principles to God and freedom and immortality.' As rider to which let these two aphorisms be quoted: 'What could our morals be if we never are, and never were, in our sins?' and 'It can never be plausible to make an axiom out of the consequence and application of a greater principle'.

Thus at last is rounded off 'The autonomous ethic which this study has attempted to analyse and defend'. The phrase exactly and sufficiently describes the book. It is a well arranged, well thought-on book. 'During several years', says Mr Laird in his preface, 'I have spent much of my time in attempting to put my ideas about moral theory upon paper and in tearing the paper up again.' Therefore he pleases us at last with sobriety and wit, freshness and truth, winning, as he has rendered, the respect that is due.

A. NAIRNE.

The Psychology of the Methodist Revival, by S. G. DIMOND, M.A. (University Press, Oxford, 1926.)

IT has been a peculiarity of the developement of the psychological study of religion (particularly in this country) that far more writers have contributed books dealing with the whole subject in small compass than have made a detailed study of a restricted field. Yet it is a multitude of such detailed studies, undertaken accurately and scientifically, that are most urgently necessary if the psychological study of present-day religion is to be put on a sound empirical basis.

The present work is, therefore, to be welcomed. The author shews himself well equipped for his task, shewing familiarity with the documents of the early Wesleyan movement and sound knowledge of modern psychology.

The author notices the changed social conditions created by the Industrial Revolution as the external condition which gave Methodism its opportunity. This change, coupled with the failure both of Church and State to provide, under the new conditions, for the intellectual and spiritual needs of the people, produced a mental instability which made men ready for the formation of new social organizations which would meet the new needs.

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This was the situation which the work of Wesley had to meet. The fervid preaching of the field preachers fell on the ears of those whose hard conditions of living had made them ready to direct their emotional energies into the life of another world. Its doctrine of Grace promised effective strength to those who were morally weak by the fact of their lack of a long established social tradition such as would have belonged to their parents or grandparents in the villages. To meet this lack the Wesleyan societies were closely organized. In this respect they contrasted so strongly with the loosely knit organization of the parochial system of the Established Church that Wesley was charged with 'popery'.

Mr Dimond's study of the personality of Wesley himself is very valuable. It is interesting to notice that he makes use, for this purpose, of the scheme for the study of a personality which is suggested by Professor Watson. Most English psychological writers with theological leanings have allowed their horror at the crudities of the behavourists' metaphysics to blind them to the fact that there is much that might be useful to them in their psychology. Sometimes, perhaps, the author seems a little too tied to current psychological terminology and inclined to suppose that a fact has been explained when it has been stated in the technical language of psychology instead of trying to relate it to other facts of mental life. This, however, is only an occasional tendency, and generally the book is singularly free from the vice of treating the terminology of psychology as a kind of strait-waistcoat into which the facts of the religious life have to be fitted. Decidedly this is a book which should be read.

R. H. THOULESS.

Modern Psychology and the Validity of Christian Experience, by CYRIL H. VALENTINE, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.). (S.P.C.K., 1926.)

IN this excellent first book the author, with obvious knowledge of both sides of his subject, surveys the problems presented by Modern Psychology, and endeavours to meet the challenge of some of its uncritical metaphysical assumptions. Modern psychological theory and practice properly interpreted and applied reinforces Christian experience. While the language is not difficult, the well-sustained and systematized argument is not easily grasped. The book is best suited for the exact student, and is full of valuable knowledge and suggestiveness.

Part I deals with the psychological challenge to Christian doctrine and experience. The tendency of certain psychologists to deny the

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objectivity of reality is unwarranted. 'Rationalization' is a source of error distorting our vision of the objective world and is due to a defect in the subject and not in the object itself. But reasoning and directed thinking are possible and necessary to inward harmony, which is the condition of true knowledge of objective reality. Nor are things necessarily false because they are 'projections'. Only projections with 'false reference' invalidate our knowledge of reality. But who is to tell us whether our projections have a true or false reference? Our own experience is not enough. According to the measure of moral imperfection will there be rationalizing and projection with false reference. The subjective element in experience does not necessarily invalidate the objective truth of experience. The weakness of subjectivism is its emphasis on intellect. A properly adjusted and fully developed all-round personality, cleansed from secret faults, is best fitted to gain true knowledge of reality.

In Part II the author shews what value psychological theory has for the restatement of Christian doctrine. Certain theories of Psychoanalysis are examined side by side with correlative doctrines of Christianity; and the conclusion is that Christianity can do for personality all that Psychology demands, and do it more effectively. It is the most Christlike who are best able to reveal the truth concerning reality. Man is helped towards the developement of perfect personality by the Holy Spirit. God through His Holy Spirit prepares man for knowledge of Himself. A 'supraliminal' or 'supraconscious' mind is postulated to explain the influx of Divine power.

Part III is the most interesting section of the book. Here the author indicates the surer guidance, because truer understanding of Christian experience, which psychological practice gives. The transition is made from doctrine to experience—from the intellectual to the emotional aspect of religion. True worship is a combination of the personal and the social. Aggressive individualism on the one hand, and empty formalism on the other, must be avoided. When worship is most objective the subjective effect upon the worshipper is greatest. 'As in worship the stress is laid on the social, without exclusion of the personal; so in prayer the stress is upon the personal, without exclusion of the social' (p. 125). Prayer must be personal and not individualistic. Prayer that is mere auto-suggestion cannot give knowledge of objective reality. Auto-suggestion is prayer stripped of its faith in objective reality.

Since there is both personal and racial sin there is need for both private and corporate confession. Confession relieves and prevents repression. Only God's forgiveness can bring that inward peace which can guarantee knowledge of perfect personality.

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Deliverance from disintegration of personality resulting from sin does not give immunity from temptation. Repression is not avoided by yielding to temptation; for this is to repress conscience. As personality developes and advances, the baser and the lower temptations cease to attract. 'The force of the temptation should decrease as the distance of the desire from present attainment increases' (p. 148). Personality should be developed all round, otherwise the part that is left undeveloped will be the vulnerable point.

The best chapter in the book is that in which the psychological value of the Christian graces is shown by contrasting them with fear, anger, and hate. It must be read to be appreciated. Dr Valentine, although setting out from a different starting-point, and employing a different method of analysis, arrives at the same conclusion as Mr Shand; 'that fear draws its power from hate; that the danger of fear is only to be overcome when love is developed; and that hate and love are alternative responses and are closely related' (p. 170). Love is the voluntary acceptance of the 'be-killed alternative',—the choice of the Cross. 'The attitude of love is met by the response of love. Love by its trustfulness awakens a trustful love' (p. 177). Self-assertion, the way of hate, is a reversion. Reality at its highest is love.

In Part IV a justification is offered for the philosophical implication of Christian doctrine and experience. The validity of experience is to be tested by the authority of Christ, who represents sinless and perfect personality. He is such a person as psychology demands to explain experience. The more we become like Christ the more we shall know of God.

The chief defect of the book lies in the disagreement between the title and the treatment. Psychology unaided cannot do justice to questions of validity, and there is necessarily much that is philosophical and metaphysical in the book which is outside 'Modern Psychology'.

J. C. M. Conn.

Punishment, Human and Divine, by the Rev. W. C. de Pauley, B.D., Senior Moderator, Trinity College, Dublin, Professor of Systematic Theology, St John's College, Winnipeg. (S.P.C.K., 1925.)

The first part of this book is taken up with a painstaking study of the theories with regard to punishment held by Plato, Plotinus, St Augustine, St Thomas Aquinas, and Grotius; together 'with the necessary theological background in each case' (p. v). All this is 'by way of illustration' of the central theme of the book: 'that punishment is

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a complex conception composed of three elements—namely, retributive, reformative, and deterrent'. The series of illustrations thus provided, however, leaves upon the reader an impression of disjointedness, and he is so long detained in 'theological background' that he is in danger of losing sight of the main subject which he has been invited to study.

At length, in chapter vi, Mr de Pauley comes definitely to an exposition of the view of punishment which has been in his mind throughout. But here his argument would probably have been much clearer if he had kept the order of his title and considered first human punishment and then divine punishment. The whole idea of punishment belongs primarily to human society, and the application of the idea to the relation between God and man involves an anthropomorphism which may easily be carried too far. Moreover, Mr de Pauley's exposition is still too much taken up with 'theological background', and is somewhat over-burdened with quotation. The result makes rather heavy reading. Nevertheless Mr de Pauley's book is useful for reference, and the persevering student will find in it some interesting things. One example must suffice: 'The State deters and reforms by painful means, simply because no other means is possible to it; the retributive element is to be found in its right to punish, and never may this element be allowed to determine the degree of the penalty, else it is wrested from its sister element, and becomes revenge' (p. 207).

J. W. HUNKIN.

Can we then believe?, by CHARLES GORE, D.D. (Murray, 1926.)
Essays Catholic and Critical, by Members of the Anglican Communion Edited by E. G. SELWYN, M.A., B.D. (S.P.C.K., 1926.)
The Inescapable Christ, by W. R. BOWIE. (Murray, 1926.)

BISHOP GORE has planned his latest volume to be a summary of three earlier books which went under the title of the *Reconstruction of Belief*. This, like his other works, impresses us with his sincerity and real belief in all he writes, so that we can never be wholly out of sympathy with him. But this hardly lessens the difficulties of his position. What he gives us here is not so much a theology as a series of descriptions of religious beliefs which are represented as Christianity. Constantly the language in which he writes is that of religion and not of theology, and the sanctions to which he appeals—power in human life, the certainty which comes with accepted belief—are religious and not theological. Questionable as many of his statements of detail may be—for Dr Gore seems often more certain than facts will sometimes allow—the chief dissatisfaction with which the book leaves us lies in the

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seeming arbitrariness of many of its more fundamental arguments and distinctions which often relieve one element in our experience only at the cost of another.

The main position of *Essays Catholic and Critical* is somewhat similar to that of *Can we then believe?*, but there is lacking in this larger work the simplicity—almost naïveté—which characterizes Dr Gore's attitude. It is impossible to give an account of the various essays which compose this volume, but it is, perhaps, worth while to indicate its general tendencies. Christianity is conceived of as something static, made, and not even in a process of being understood; it is a 'definite, historical, and positive religion'. Consequently 'the Church is not primarily a society for spiritual or intellectual research, but a society of which it belongs to the very essence to put forward the emphatic claim to be the bearer of a revelation'; and Christian Theology is simply Christianity rendering its own life and truth explicit or, at most, a process of deducing the implications of Catholic doctrine. Any doctrine or practice which does not conform to this definite and positive religion is 'un-Christian', and any theologian who does not first accept it is 'non-Catholic'. These judgements necessitate some standard, and it is found in the authority of 'revelation, in the form of the message of the Gospel' as interpreted by 'a genuine consensus of competent and adequately Christian minds' or 'the general Christian consciousness'. This view seems to carry with it a general readiness to judge scholarship by its results, and to conclude that it is faulty when it does not come to 'catholic' conclusions. Sometimes also we are presented with ill-examined or even false alternatives, as when we are bidden choose between the Dominical institution of Baptism and the Eucharist, and 'the hypothesis of a fortuitous origin', or between the rejection of the 'mystery hypothesis' of the origin of the Eucharist and 'the end of historic Christianity as we know it'. No sort of discussion is allowed of the exact theological value of Dominical institution, which, whatever our views, can hardly rest satisfactorily on mere assumption. History, at best, we are told, gives no more than 'a very high degree of probability', but the difficulty of basing the whole value of this absolute religion upon a probability of any sort does not seem to have been fairly faced. There are many points of interest in the volume, but I cannot but think that it loses force owing to the fantastic nature of some of its arguments—when, for example, we are asked to believe *that* a thing is true while it is admitted that the question of *what* it is, is still open (pp. 101, 114, cf. *Can we then believe?* p. 165). We miss from this collection of essays any clear consciousness that Christianity is a difficult thing to *understand*, and a still more difficult thing to explain at once unambiguously and coherently.

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Although Dr Bowie disclaims any intention of presenting a 'compendium of theology', he is moved by a genuinely theological impulse, a desire to find *a* meaning in the religion of Jesus Christ, and a meaning, above all, which is intelligible to the present day. A theology, whether or not in the end it turn out to be true, must at least be reasoned and coherent, and the value of Dr Bowie's book lies very much in the fact that he has seen this more clearly than most.

Modernism in the Church of England, by PERCY GARDNER, D.Litt. (Methuen, 1926.)

DR GARDNER has given us an interesting sketch of Modernism to-day in theology and in practice. But, although he tells us that it is 'a tendency rather than a school', his view of it is not altogether without ambiguity. A 'consensus of Modernist opinion' is contemplated as possible (though not actually extant), and Modernism is even spoken of as a 'religion'. We leave the book with the impression that Modernism is somehow connected with particular tenets, but with no sense of it being something which has always existed and must always exist—a striving to make theology give some answer to 'the force and patience of the present time'—and, indeed, we are told that before 1800 there is small trace of any such tendency. In Dr Gardner's view the only sound philosophy upon which Modernism can be based is 'activism or pragmatism'.

M. OAKESHOTT.

The Anglo-Catholic Faith, by T. A. LACEY, D.D., Canon of Worcester. (Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1926.)

THE series in which Canon Lacey has written is called 'The Faiths', and is edited by Dr Jacks, who, in an editorial preface, has something to say in justification of the not very happy title.

It would be impossible for Canon Lacey not to be interesting, suggestive, and, at times, provocative, in anything he might write. And, despite the vein of paradox in him, he is a persuasive apologist. That as an Anglo-Catholic he is fully representative seems to me doubtful, for he sees things very much in his own way, and that way is not always the way of other men. But while not all Anglo-Catholics would find themselves quite at home on every point with Canon Lacey, it is possible that, if the agreement were more exact, Anglo-Catholicism would make a wider appeal.

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The ecclesiastical question, that of the nature and the unity of the Church, of its constitution and ministry, and of its relation to the State, has long been of special interest to Canon Lacey, and two of his most important chapters—on 'Church and State' and on 'The Organic Church'—deal with it. In the former he shews how, despite legislation and law-suits in the nineteenth century, in which no friendly intention towards Anglo-Catholics could be discerned, they 'have taught successfully that the Church is one society, the Commonwealth another'; in the latter he argues that the apostolic Foundation of the Church is permanent, that the apostolate is identical with the episcopate, that the organic episcopate remains one, so that 'when Anglo-Catholics say that the Church of England must conform to the faith and practice of the whole Catholic Church, they are referring to this one episcopate of the organic Church'. So the Catholic Faith will be what 'all have agreed to receive as revealed truth'. The obvious objection from the impossibility, at present, of an Ecumenical Council, is met by a reference to the possibility of agreement being ascertained as completely as if such a council could be held. Canon Lacey does not accept every element in the Cyprianic theory of the episcopate, but his conception of the relation between the episcopate and Catholic dogma is, in effect, a return to Cyprian, and, undoubtedly, a wholesome antidote to none too clear appeals to Catholic custom and the authority of the Catholic Church. In writing on 'The Roman Question' he emphasizes the Anglo-Catholic refusal to submit to papal jurisdiction; here 'there can be no half measures'. Of course, if it is only in regard to jurisdiction that controversy is acute, there is nothing necessarily surprising in the statement that 'most Anglo-Catholics are well aware that they would be happier on the other side of the very visible frontier, which could be crossed with little difficulty'. Nevertheless, I regard this as the most remarkable sentence in the book.

Naturally we have chapters on 'The Sacrament' and 'The Priesthood'. In the former the treatment of the doctrine of Transubstantiation is of special interest. For the scholastic theology of the Real Presence Canon Lacey has a high regard. The two concluding chapters on 'Public Worship' and 'Some Religious Observances' are among the best in the volume, though points of controversy are numerous. But what I miss in the book is any adequate statement of the Anglo-Catholic attitude towards the whole problem of theological re-statement and re-interpretation. The chapter on 'The Gospel' is disappointing because of this lack. It is not enough to say of Anglo-Catholicism that 'it has no doctrine of God other than that of the whole Catholic Church'. Less than two pages on the Incarnation and the Atonement is indefensibly short measure. We learn nothing of

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a distinctively Anglo-Catholic theological apologetic, yet not only is there something like one, but its character and value—not fully tested as yet—are questions which ought not to be ignored. Apologetic is not to be expounded as though it were part of 'The Faith', but in a valid apologetic the true conditions of approach to that Faith would be given. Anglo-Catholicism is much more concerned, at least in the persons of some of those who would be generally recognized as speaking for it, with fundamental problems of philosophical theology, of the nature of a satisfying apologetic, and, consequentially, of the meaning and adequacy of doctrinal statements, than a reader, who was not already aware of the truth of this, would gather from anything that Canon Lacey says or from the balance of the book. It is indeed just because everything else is in that it is the more serious that this is not.

The personal touches and recollections are delightful. It is pleasant to know that it is Canon Wilson who has taught his Worcester colleague 'to say that the Church is not an organization but an organism'. But even though he owed the words to Canon Wilson, he had, presumably, long owed their substance to St Paul.

J. K. MOZLEY.

De Paenitentia tractatus dogmatico-historicus, by P. GALTIER: un vol. 8°. de vii + 480 pp. (Beauchesne, Paris, 1923.)

De Sacramento Paenitentiae, by ADHÉMAR D'ALÈS: 8°. de xi + 176 pp. (Même éditeur, Paris, 1926.)

CES deux ouvrages ont paru à quelques années de distance, et, traitant du même sujet, ils ont bien des points de contact que nous signalerons tout à l'heure; pourtant ils ne font pas double emploi, mais, écrits à un point de vue différent, ils se complètent plutôt qu'ils ne s'excluent. Le volume de Galtier, beaucoup plus considérable, expose les questions dans toute leur ampleur; le traité du P. d'Alès est plutôt un résumé ou un répertoire qui présente, comme il le dit, les *prima lineamenta tractatus dogmatici*. De plus, il laisse de côté la vertu de pénitence, qui dans Galtier comprend toute la première partie.

Ce qui fait la valeur de ces deux ouvrages, c'est que leurs auteurs, chacun avec son caractère, sont deux *scholars* très au courant des derniers travaux, qui ont mesuré toute l'importance du problème historique, qui exposent les objections dans toute leur force, et leur donnent la solution la plus vraisemblable sans rien dissimuler des difficultés.

On sait que le traité de la Pénitence est l'un des plus difficiles au

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point de vue historique. Comment, dès les origines du christianisme, les apôtres et leurs successeurs ont-ils envisagé le pouvoir donné par le Christ à ses disciples de pardonner les péchés, quelle fut la pratique de l'Église à travers les âges; jusqu'où s'étend ce pouvoir, en quoi consiste le sacrement de Pénitence et dans quelle relation est-il avec la vertu de ce nom? Quels sont les actes du pénitent et ceux du prêtre, comment interpréter les changements qui sont survenus à travers les siècles dans la discipline de l'Église? Autant de sujets qui demandent une solide connaissance de l'Écriture Sainte, des Pères, de l'histoire des origines chrétiennes et du moyen âge, et aussi de la scholastique.

Nos deux théologiens sont bien équipés pour cette tâche. Nous n'avons pas à rappeler ici les ouvrages et articles du P. Galtier sur *l'Imposition des mains*, sur la *confirmation* et *l'onction*, ceux de d'Alès sur la *théologie de Tertullien*, la *théologie de saint Hippolyte*, *l'édit de Calliste*, etc. Le premier a divisé son étude en deux parties: 1° *de hominis contra peccatum actione subjectiva*, c'est-à-dire, de la vertu de pénitence et de la contrition; 2° *de actione sacramentali* (de la p. 85 à la p. 447). Le P. d'Alès, comme nous l'avons dit, laissant de côté la vertu de pénitence, traite en cinq chapitres, du sacrement, de la contrition, de la confession, de la satisfaction, de l'absolution. Destinés avant tout aux étudiants en théologie, les deux ouvrages ont gardé, on le voit par ces divisions, un aspect qui paraîtra à quelques-uns trop pédagogique, mais qu'il serait injuste de condamner dans un sujet théologique. En tout cas, les questions y sont traitées avec une telle conscience et une si grande pénétration que les érudits et les historiens y trouveront autant de profit que d'agrément. Nous voudrions que nos confrères anglais et même les théologiens anglicans lussent ces livres pour se rendre compte de l'instruction solide qui est donnée à nos étudiants en théologie. Nous sommes d'autant plus heureux d'annoncer de tels travaux dans le *J. T. S.* que longtemps les ouvrages des théologiens français ont été considérés dans ce pays avec une défiance trop souvent justifiée. Quelle différence avec les travaux de quelques-uns de leurs prédécesseurs, Bonal par exemple, pour ne citer que lui. Les théologiens ont compris la nécessité d'ouvrir les portes et les fenêtres de la maison, d'aborder franchement les difficultés, et de traiter sérieusement les textes. On voit du reste par ces deux exemples que la théologie ne perd rien en faisant une place à l'érudition, et nous pouvons dire que la plupart des thèses défendues par nos deux auteurs, notamment par le P. Galtier, ont été acceptées par le P. Hugon, théologien qui jouit à Rome, au Collège Angélique, d'une réputation d'orthodoxie au-dessus de tout soupçon. Nous regrettons que ni l'un ni l'autre auteur ne nous ait donné un index un peu détaillé, qui nous

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permettrait de nous rendre compte d'un seul coup de toutes les richesses accumulées dans leur ouvrage, et de retrouver facilement le renseignement cherché.

F. CABROL.

The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes: Part I, by H. E. WINLOCK and W. E. CRUM; Part II, by W. E. CRUM and H. G. EVELYN-WHITE.

The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n-Natrūn: Part I, by H. G. EVELYN-WHITE.

Both works published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, New York, 1926.

THE splendid publications here noticed reflect the highest credit on the enterprise of the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art. They are beautifully printed on good paper and adorned with copious illustrations and facsimiles. What is still more important is that they are the work of most competent scholars and archaeologists, so that the new material is set before the world in a form that makes it at once available for the historian of Christian Egypt.

A particular pathetic interest attaches to both publications, in that they both contain work by H. G. Evelyn-White. There is yet to come his history of the famous Syrian Monastery of the Wadi Natrun, in which for the first time the history of that institution, as distinct from that of the books in its library, will be told in detail. It is so much to be regretted that Evelyn-White did not live to see the publication of the work which he prepared with such loving pains.

The volumes which deal with the Monastery of Epiphanius set forth in detail the fortunes of one of the smaller monastic houses that were so characteristic a feature of Egyptian Christian society just before the time of the Mohammedan conquest. Ancient Thebes lies on the right bank of the Nile, which there flows to the north-east. At Karnak the modern tourist sees on the opposite (West) bank of the river to the left the town of Medinet Habu, to the right the valley of the Tombs of the Kings; in front between these two points on the hills was the Monastery of Epiphanius. It was situated at the Tomb of Daga, a notable of the Eleventh Egyptian Dynasty, which was excavated in 1911 by N. de G. Davies, so far as concerned the ancient Egyptian building. But the site had proved extremely rich in Coptic documents, so the Metropolitan Museum of New York undertook in 1912–14 a systematic exploration for Coptic remains, the result of which is here recorded.

It seems that the tomb of Daga was inhabited, and afterwards modified to suit a small community of anchorites, by one Epiphanius,

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a friend and correspondent of Pesenthius who became bishop of Keft in 598. 'Epiphanius's correspondence dates from about the year 600', says Mr Crum (i 220). His successor calls himself only Psan, or Pson, i. e. 'the Brother'. After him was one Jacob, who left the place by will to another monk Stephen. This curious will (Cairo Mus., Pap. 8730) was first published in 1876 by Revillout, but the excavation of the actual site and the collection of the many letters written to Epiphanius give it now a peculiar interest. A full translation is given in Part II, Appendix III (ii 343–348). No predecessor of Epiphanius is named in this document, and nothing was found on the site to indicate that the Monastery continued to be inhabited more than about a century. What we have, therefore, is a glimpse of Egyptian monastic life at the end of the 6th and in the first half of the 7th century.

During that period the Eastern Empire was overrun by the Persians, and after a decade of collapse recovered from the blow. At the end both Greeks and Persians lost all the Orient, including Egypt, to the Arabs, never again to regain it. But these great events awake but a very feeble echo in the annals of Epiphanius and his friends. We do not even hear much of the controversies that divided the Monophysite Churches. Such things belonged to 'the things of this present empty life', which they had 'esteemed to be despicable and dreams, if so be they might find means to avoid the wrath of the dread Judge, having a hope to get relief in the time of the need that is without appeal for every man'. These words from the Will (ii 344) give us the motive that impelled men of those days to abandon the world, with the result that it fell an easy prey to the dominion of Islam.

But if the hermits abandoned the world, how did they pass their time? The answer is that the ascete is enjoined to spend his day in work, meditation (μελέτη), and prayer (i 154 f). The work, together with other material remains, has been investigated by Mr Winlock. It was that of the lay-folk of the Nile Valley, weaving, mat-making, &c. In a striking passage Mr Winlock points out the non-inventiveness of the Egyptian and his dependence for material improvements in his lot upon the inventions brought by foreign invaders. 'To find material innovations in Egyptian life as far reaching as those introduced under the Romans we have to go back to the Hyksos period, when among other benefits the horse and wheeled vehicle, the vertical loom, and numerous improvements in arms and armour came to the Nile, or forward to the English period when the tractor plough and the gasoline pump came to raise the echoes of the Theban hills' (i 96 f). The Romans had brought the water-wheel and the threshing-machine, writing and book-making were revolutionized by the alphabet and the codex, and they also introduced the lathe, the lock, and the lamp.

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In 'work', then, the hermits at the Monastery of Epiphanius made use of these things. In 'meditation' Mr Crum points out that the word meant not only reflexion but also audible recitation of holy words: as Shenoute expresses it, 'during the process of baking let us see to it that we do all meditate, not shouting aloud, but in quietness' (i 166). 'Prayer' is the third occupation, and the many requests for the prayers of holy men found in letters at this site shew how effectual their supplications were believed to be. Along with prayer may be classed fasting and vigils as meritorious occupations (i 170).

The value of a man's meditations will depend a good deal upon the stuff with which his mind is stored. Much attention has been given in Part II to the reconstruction of the Library, Mr Evelyn-White's lists including documents known to have come from the site in former times. Among these is the Papyrus Codex of the Psalms in Greek known as U, which has been in the British Museum since 1834 (B. M. Pap. xxxvii, here no. 578), and the Coptic 'Papyruscodex' in the Phillipps Collection, published by Crum in 1915, probably came from the same source.[1] Of the MSS actually found during the excavation of the site the most interesting is 592, now Cairo 44689, a papyrus book of sixteen pages, containing two Greek alphabetical poems with Coptic translations on the right-hand pages. This little document is completely preserved, but of course most of the texts discovered are mere fragments of papyrus, or else 'ostraca', i. e. potsherds or flakes of limestone used as we use slates. There are also writings on the walls, ranging from pious ejaculations scribbled by persons (who, as in other ages and countries, do not forget to record their names) to elaborate inscriptions which contained the Synodical Epistle of the Patriarch Damianus and dogmatic writings of Severus of Antioch. There is also a copy of the Lord's Prayer in Syriac (Peshiṭta text), written no doubt by some Syrian Jacobite visitor.

It is not to be supposed that there was once a great Library in the Monastery of Epiphanius: the existing remains do not seem to point to a regular book-store. The hermits seem to have supplied the lack of books by their ostraca-slates: in this way they have preserved for us the Psalm of Hezekiah (No. 9) and the only verses from the Books of Chronicles known to survive in Sa'idic (No. 5). There must also have been a little instruction in Greek, as testified by the School Pieces, Nos. 611–620. These include four limestone 'slates' containing lines from the first book of the *Iliad*, some copy-book sentences from Menander arranged in alphabetical order (e. g. ἀρχὴ μεγίστη τοῦ φρονεῖν

[1] See *J. T. S.* xxiii 314–318. Tischendorf and Lagarde actually thought U the oldest of all Biblical MSS (see Swete's LXX vol. ii p. xii), but it clearly is to be dated about A. D. 600, as Gardthausen and others saw.

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τὰ γράμματα).[1] No. 618 is particularly interesting as giving the Days of the Week, beginning with Sabbath and adding the astrological names from Monday to Friday.

With regard to No. 592, mentioned above, the editor describes the contents as Hymns, but the first of the two pieces is hardly a Hymn. It is an address to the young anchorite, telling him how to order his life, and it seems to me to have been originally intended for iambics. More than half the verses in their present form still have 12 syllables, and several others, with a little good-will, can be forced into an iambic scheme. It begins

> A μμώνιε πρόκοψον ἐν ταῖσ ἀρεταῖσ·
> B άλλ' οὕτω τέκνον καὶ μέγαν κλῆρον ἕξεισ.

That is to say

> A mmonius, go on your way in Virtue's path:
> B ack it, my boy, and you will get a Double-six.

The second line is rewritten by the editor (ii 311) into βαδίζου πρὸσ τὸ δίκαιον κτλ., because the Coptic rendering is 'Go forward towards the good, my son'. Possibly the Copt missed the point of βάλλε, which seems to me connected in thought with κλῆρον: cast your dice thus and you will get a good *lot*.[2]

The second poem, also alphabetical, is more like the Hymn in the Amherst Papyri, and like that piece recites the Deeds of Christ. The same is true also of No. 593, also a Greek Acrostic. This is on pottery, but parts are broken and parts are badly rubbed, so that only the latter half is decipherable. It is an inferior composition, Mary Magdalen being actually regarded as the Mother of Jesus (ii 313), but interesting from the line Ἰησοῦσ ἔλεγεν· ἄφεσ αὐ[τοῖσ πάτερ, οὐδ]ὲν γὰρ οἴδασιν ὃν (*sic*) πράττουσιν. This reference to Lk. xxiii 34[a] is doubly significant, firstly because the half-verse is absent from all Coptic versions, and secondly because of the un-Biblical πράττουσιν (for ποιοῦσιν). It is evident that the poem must have had a non-Egyptian origin, and as in the case of the mention of Mary the author must have omitted to verify his allusions.

Enough has been said here to shew the interest of this monograph on the Monastery of Epiphanius and to commend it to all who are interested in Christian Egypt or pre-Benedictine Monasticism. It only

[1] *A propos* of this excellent sentiment it may be added that No. 620 contains the Greek Alphabet.

[2] ἔχεισ for ἕξεισ would scan better, but the unmetrical readings were doubtless current at the Monastery of Epiphanius. Compare what I said on *Hymnum dicat* (*J. T. S.* xxvii 222).

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remains to congratulate Mr Edward S. Harkness and the curators of the Francis L. Leland Fund, through whose enlightened liberality, as we learn from a note prefixed to Part I, this publication was made possible. In these days it is only through private special gifts that sound, unspectacular foundation-work such as this can be made available for historical students now and in the future.

With regard to the Texts from the Nitrian Monastery of Macarius, collected and annotated with great care by Mr Evelyn-White, the first thing that naturally strikes a Syriac scholar is the general inferiority of the literature to that of the neighbouring Monastery, the famous Dēr es-Suriān, from which almost the whole of ancient Syriac literature is derived. Partly this is due to the energy of the early Syrian abbots, Abraham and his brothers and their successor Moses of Nisibis, who built up the great Collection during the century that followed the sack of Nitria by barbarians in 817. The Monastery of St Macarius was also sacked at the same time, but for it, as Mr Evelyn-White says, 'circumstances were peculiarly favourable. The Monastery held a practical monopoly of the Patriarchate. . . . A fine and adequate Library was therefore not only in keeping with the dignity of such an institution, but, so far as study counted for anything, a necessity' (p. xxiv f). What then is lacking in the Coptic Monastery that is represented in the Syriac one? Roughly speaking, it is History and Ancient Literature. Moses of Nisibis and his predecessors did not content themselves with new copies of works currently used; they brought back old MSS of writings by approved writers of old time to their Egyptian solitude, and thereby preserved them for us, while there seems to be no evidence for the presence of ancient codices at St Macarius. Perhaps that is connected with the fact that the Bohairic dialect in which the Macarius books are written was itself comparatively modern as a literary medium. But in any case I notice that there is no sign of Eusebius's History, or again of so characteristically Egyptian a document as the Odes of Solomon, both of which were to be found in the Syrian Monastery.

The strength of the Library of St Macarius seems to have lain in Apocryphal tales of Bible heroes and equally apocryphal legends of Christian saints. Gestas is the Wicked Robber (p. 10). Jerusalem is the centre of the earth, but man was created with giant stature, so that he could walk across the earth in six days: it therefore takes Cain and Abel only three days to walk from near Paradise to Golgotha (p. 4). The Acts of John and Prochorus (pp. 28–35) are more or less familiar, but Bartholomew in the Oasis of Behnesa (pp. 43–45) seems to have local colour. Many texts are concerned with the Virgin, e.g. 'This is Mary who stretched forth her branches unto the sea, and her

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boughs unto the river, and her shade covered mountains, that is, the Pharisees—they who say, "We are the chief of the people". When she covered them, they were obscured through the power of God which overshadowed her. . . . She is the bramble, from which cometh fire' (p. 64). This application of the Biblical trees to Mary, including the bramble (ἡ ῥάμνος) of Judges ix 14, is a curious extension of the 'devotion' to her as βάτος, which is still current, e. g. at Sinai.

A 'Homiletic Fragment', printed on p. 189, deserves notice. It is concerned with what we call the story of Dives and Lazarus, but Lazarus is called Job and Dives is called Nineuēs. This is noteworthy, because in the Sa'idic (but not in the Bohairic) version of Lk. xvi 19 the rich man is called Nineuē. Probably therefore this Homily (with who knows how much more) was translated or adapted from a Sa'idic source. It may be remarked that this name Nineue seems to be a corruption of Finees (i. e. 'Phinehas'): we find *ille* FINAEUS *dives* in De Pascha Computus 17, and in Priscillian ix (Schepss, p. 91) FINEES *inmisericordis diuitis gehennae ignis habitaculum repperitur.*

Attention should also be drawn to the interesting account of the theological controversy of the Patriarch John IV (A.D. 677–686) not only with a Jew and a Chalcedonian, but also with the Mohammedan Governor (p. 174). The Governor's arguments are really drawn from the Koran.

Appendix I, ably edited by Dr G. P. G. Sobhy of Cairo, is a most peculiar document. It quotes the Fathers of the Desert, including Esaias Abbas (Migne *P. G.* xl), but its special interest is that it is in Arabic written with Coptic letters. It is therefore a guide to mediaeval Egyptian Arabic pronunciation: among other points of interest Dr Sobhy notes that ϫ is rendered by ⲍ, i. e. words like *jebel* ('hill') were so pronounced, not *gebel* as in modern Cairo.

It should be added that Mr Lythgoe, the Curator of the Department of Egyptian Art in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, who is also the general Editor of the whole series, has prefixed to the Collection of texts from St Macarius a sympathetic and informing account of Evelyn-White and his researches. These volumes here reviewed, together with the forthcoming 'History of the Monasteries of Nitria and Scetis', will form an enduring memorial of a singularly conscientious and unassuming scholar and archaeologist.

F. C. BURKITT.

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S. Pachomii Vita, Bohairice Scripta, edidit L. Th. Lefort, *Corpus Script. Christ. Orient.*, vol. 89. (Paris, 1925.)

E. AMÉLINEAU died twelve years ago, and with him Coptic studies lost a contributor to whom we all owe an undeniable debt; for his industry provided us with a quantity of highly valuable material, which would otherwise have probably remained long unpublished. Unfortunately quantity, rather than quality, was the characteristic of Amélineau's editions, and under this disadvantage those particularly have had to suffer who are concerned with the texts relating to the Pachomian communities. The Bohairic text of the Life of Pachomius, which he published in 1889, must surely be an *editio princeps* of outstanding inadequacy; the inaccuracies of the text and the infidelities of its translation are such that the need of a fresh edition has long been recognized. Years of preparatory studies have made of Professor Lefort the editor whom the task demanded. The preparation of the present volume has been long and its publication—through no fault of its author—long postponed, but we at last have before us a text, the accuracy of which should satisfy all requirements and which allows of finally discarding that of Amélineau. I have collated some forty pages of the latter with the new edition (controlled by photographs of the MS) and have found an average of three errors to a page in the older print. These are about equally divided between miscopyings and misprints. Often enough the fault lies, not in single words, but in the omission of considerable phrases; e. g. (from the collated pages) Lefort p. 10, 19–21 is omitted by Amélineau p. 14, 8; L. p. 14, 13–15, om. A. p. 19, 13; L. p. 103, 20–22, om. A. p. 144 *supra*; L. p. 136, 11, 12, om A. p. 189, 7. Or conversely, where Amélineau records 'une lacune de quelques lignes' (p. 89), the MS shews none (Lefort p. 64, 15); yet where the sense has been interrupted by the loss of a leaf, he does not observe it (p. 13, 14).[1]

M. Lefort's aim has been to reproduce the text exactly as it stands in the venerable MS, which he takes to be the actual handiwork of the Bohairic (Nitrian) adapter of the Sa'idic original. His system is the reverse of that followed by his predecessor, who throughout corrected—but too often incorrectly—the readings of the MS, which he condemned to foot-notes. With the object of further imitating his MS, M. Lefort retains the capitals, which there initiate several sentences on every page, while before each of them an extra blank width is left, so that the original paragraphing is recorded. This has here and there a draw-

[1] Though his own Arabic (p. 349 *ult.*) and Sa'idic (*Mission franç.* iv 537) make the gap evident.

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back (as the editor admits), for the scribe's distribution of his capitals is here, as in Sa'idic MSS, often no more than a decorative device, disregarding divisions of sense.

In his preface M. Lefort gives an acute explanation of the apparent confusion among the leaves of the Vatican volume wherein the Lives of Pachomius and of Theodore are bound up. The seven independent pieces of which it is composed are in the right order, for their sequence conforms to that of the lessons from the *Synaxarium* for the month of Pachôn. To achieve this more than one earlier volume suffered dismemberment; hence these two Lives, once included in a single, perhaps entirely 'Pachomian' volume, appear to-day in reversed order and separated by five intervening pieces.

Since a short *Prooemium* is all that accompanies the Coptic text by way of introduction, it may be supposed that reasons of space or other material considerations have imposed limits upon the editor here; one has the impression that he had more to say than what has actually attained to print. It is sincerely to be hoped that in his forthcoming edition of the Sa'idic texts—a *desideratum* even more urgent than that which the present volume fulfils—he will find it possible to expose at length the results of his many years' preoccupation with the Pachomian literature, where the most fundamental problems still call for re-investigation. Meanwhile we are promised critical editions of the Greek and Arabic versions, the former from Fr. Delehaye, the latter from Fr. Peeters.

After four Bohairic Hymns in Pachomius's honour, in one of which there seems to be a pun upon his name, the volume closes with valuable indexes: biblical quotations, place-names, personal-names, and Greek words (this last practically exhaustive). To that of place-names should be added, from p. 55, 6, *Pjôj*, a village in the Diospolite nome,[1] which one Arabic version equates with بتشت.[2] That should be none other than the more modern ابوتشت *Abú Tîsht*, N. of Farshût, though an ancient *Pjôj* has been claimed as identical with *Abshûsha*, a little farther down-stream.[3] As to **пн**, which in the same index is queried for **спн** *Esne*, one may refer to what has been said elsewhere respecting *Nê* = Thebes.[4] In the next index the name **патаолі** (clearly so in the MS) is an instance of the scribe's (? adapter's) misreading of the Sa'idic: for this name, in the above-mentioned Arabic version,[5] is written بادلا and glossed **патлоле**, doubtless the

[1] Amélineau p. 76 did not realize this, but he did so later in *Géographie* n. 308.
[2] Vatic. 172, f. 35 *a*. Amélineau's Arabic p. 573 ignores the name.
[3] *Baedeker*, 7th English ed., p. 222.
[4] Winlock and Crum *The Monastery of Epiphanius* ii p. 191, no. 151 n.
[5] Fol. 57 *a supra*.

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Παταλοολε (*sic leg.?*) of P. Lond. iv p. 247, and παταλωλιος elsewhere.[1] *Pataoli* further helps to show that Amélineau's Arabic is a translation either of this very Bohairic MS or of one closely resembling it; for there (p. 472) the name is ⲡⲁⲧⲁⲱⲗ *Badaôle.*

W. E. CRUM.

The Week: an essay on the origin and development of the seven-day cycle, by F. H. COLSON, M.A. (Cambridge University Press, 1926.)

MR COLSON discusses the history of the week in Europe, its origin in planetary lore, its relation to the Jewish week, and its transmission to the peoples of Northern Europe. He shews that the system of dividing time into recurrent cycles of seven days began to spread in Europe during the first century of our era and by the beginning of the third century had become generally recognized. The planetary names of the days are to be derived from the planets which, according to the system of the astrologers, governed the first hour of each day. This planetary week originated independently of the Jewish week and helps to explain how the Gentile Church retained a seven-day cycle after it had repudiated the obligation of the Jewish Sabbath. Mr Colson rejects Loisy's theory that the belief that the Lord rose on the first day of the week originated in an *a priori* conviction that the Resurrection must have occurred on the Sun's day, but he points out that Christians of the second century did not justify their observance of the first day solely on the ground that on that day the Lord rose, and he thinks that an appropriateness in acknowledging 'the Sun of righteousness' on the Sun's day, which was explicitly recognized in the fourth century, may well have been felt from the beginning. It should be added that Mr Colson is prepared with an equally impressive set of astrological reasons why the Church might have preferred Friday for its weekly commemoration—the day of

> Sweet Hesper-Phosphor, double name
> For what is one, the first, the last.

It is very remarkable that there appears to have been no adequate treatment in English of the origin of the week since Archdeacon Hare wrote on 'The Names of the Days of the Week' in the *Philological Museum* of 1830. Needless to say, presuppositions which were inevitable a century ago have become obsolete. We are indebted to Mr Colson for a most attractive and illuminating survey of the history of the institution, in which he takes account of recently acquired knowledge in many fields.

J. M. CREED.

[1] *CO.* 304, where the above emendation is already suggested.

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John Wyclif: A Study of the English Mediaeval Church, by HERBERT B. WORKMAN. Two vols. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1926.)

DR WORKMAN has expended such labour and intelligence upon Wyclif's life and times that none but he, if he exists, who has undergone the same toil can be justified in sitting in judgement upon him. Save for the technical aspects of scholasticism, a topic which most of his readers will be thankful to escape, it is difficult to think of any side of the matter that he has overlooked; and nothing could be better or clearer than Dr Workman's exposition of the reaction against nominalism which led Wyclif into his opposition to the current doctrine of the Eucharist. His account of Wyclif's Oxford career and contemporaries is admirable; so are his narrative of events, and especially of the Blackfriars Synod, and his discussion of Wyclif's attitude to the socialism of his day. 'If we look for the spiritual causes of an economic event', says Dr Workman, 'we should attribute greater importance to the preaching by spiritual Franciscans of the idea of poverty than to the academic arguments of Wyclif.' It is not the author's fault that he cannot make his hero a living figure; Wyclif's personality is too effectually concealed by himself and by the historians of his time. Did he anticipate Wesley by organizing his preachers, and making them responsible to himself? Did he collect or supply funds for their support? The latter may have been the case if Dr Workman be right in one of his more hazardous conjectures, that Wyclif inherited the Wyclif estate. There is an obvious analogy in the next generation, when Thomas Gascoigne, himself an Oxford leader, was in orders and was the owner of Hunslet in Wyclif's county of York. But the evidence for Wyclif as a landowner seems slight; yet he never seems to have been short of money, however acquired. The general history of the time is excellently treated, though the great Scottish inroad under Edward II was more than a 'border brawl', and it is unlikely that Wyclif was ignorant of public life when he adhered to John of Gaunt. The later Lollards are duly considered, though it is a pity that Dr Workman does not refer to the Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission, published in 1883, with its valuable historical appendices by Stubbs, who unfortunately considered that he had sufficiently exemplified the practice in the case of the Lollards by calendaring their trials down to 1466, when he takes a leap to the case of Thomas Bilney in 1527. Where so many and so various facts are adduced and so many suggestions are put forward, it would not be difficult to criticize in detail, but the criticisms would be slight in comparison with Dr Workman's corrections of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. But should an engraving of the Crypt of old St Paul's figure as a picture of the Chapter House; and was it worth

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while to reproduce two fancy portraits of divines of the Reformation because the name of Wyclif has been attached to them? But such considerations do not lessen the high merit of Dr Workman's volumes.

E. W. WATSON.

Documents illustrative of the History of the Church, vol. ii, A.D. 313–461, edited by B. J. KIDD, D.D. (S.P.C.K., 1923.)

THIS second series of translations of select passages from early Christian literature will be found by students even more valuable than the first, for down to 313 the ground had been covered to a considerable extent by the late Professor Gwatkin's *Selections from Early Writers—to the time of Constantine*, which has the advantage of giving the original Greek and Latin texts, while for the later period there was nothing of a similar character in English accessible to students.

Dr Kidd's selection is on the whole a very good and useful one, though of course it would be an easy but ungracious task to pick holes in any such selection. It does, however, seem regrettable that when so many of the Creeds belonging to the reign of Constantius are given at length, including even the Macrostich, the Fourth Creed of Antioch should be omitted, and that there should not be one or two extracts from the writings of Apollinarius and Nestorius, so that students might be able to read what they themselves actually said instead of being dependent on what their opponents said about them.

But considerable use of the book has shewn it to be a most valuable one, and students and teachers alike will be very grateful to Dr Kidd for putting it into their hands.

A. V. VALENTINE-RICHARDS.

A Grammar of the Vulgate, being an Introduction to the Study of the Latinity of the Vulgate Bible, by W. E. PLATER and H. J. WHITE. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1926.)

As the study of the Vulgate is increasing, partly because fewer theological students now busy themselves with the Greek New Testament, and partly because the researches of Harnack and others have shewn that the Vulgate, where it differs from the Old-Latin, is a first-rate authority for the text of the best fourth-century Greek MSS of the New Testament, a grammar to the Vulgate is a timely and useful help to students. The task of writing such a grammar is difficult, first, because we possess a critical text of the New Testament only; second, because

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so much of the Old-Latin version or versions has been simply taken over by St Jerome without alteration; and third, because the Vulgate is really only an isolated, if the most important, surviving Latin work of the golden age of Christian literature, the second half of the fourth and the first half of the fifth century. Not even yet have we a complete lexicon to Tertullian himself, and we are only feeling our way to a differentiation of the peculiarities of the Latin of the period round A. D. 400 from those of the centuries immediately preceding. So far as orthography is concerned, the Vulgate, as it left the hands of St Jerome, probably differed very slightly from the Latin of the Augustan period.

The writers of the present handbook quite naturally seek to draw comparisons between the Latin of the Vulgate and that of the classical period, but to do this effectively one must know the Latin of the classical period very thoroughly, and the writers do not seem to possess this thorough knowledge, which is indeed the property of very few. Much of the present volume might safely have been omitted. On p. 15, it is remarked that *cor* 'includes the understanding', but that is the characteristic classical sense where the physical organ is not referred to: how otherwise explain *excors*, *socors*, *uaecors*, *cordatus*? On page 30 the reference to the *ellipse* (we prefer *ellipsis*) of the copulative verb *to be* might have been omitted, as it is Ciceronian, and very frequent in the first and second centuries; on page 36 the two constructions with *male-dicere* might have been historically explained; on page 38 'early Latin' seems to include all the Latin down to Suetonius, but this is not the usual sense of the phrase, that of 'pre-Ciceronian'; on the same page no notice is taken of the fact that the infinitive with *habere* is Ciceronian, or on page 39 that the infinitive with *prohibere* is the most classical construction. On page 40, n. 1, the writers have ignored the fact that Jerome himself was well acquainted with Horace. On page 43 what is called 'customary' spelling is that of the editions commonly in use fifty and forty years ago, not that of *Oxford Classical Texts*. If the writers had used the latter, they could have struck their pens through a number of the examples on that page and the next, such as *caelum*, *maerere*, *paenitentia*, *proelium*, *intellegere*, *neglegere*, *abicere*, *eicere*, (*hyems* is as dead as the dodo), *lacrima*, *adulescens*, *epistula*, *lucusta*, *murra*, *optuli*, *cotidie*, *simulacrum*, *harena*, *harundo*, *olus*, *mercennarius*; on page 47 *cochlea* = 'winding staircase' is the same word as the classical *coclea* = 'snail'. On page 61, *igitur* in questions is classical; page 63, *etiam*, 'yes', is classical; page 71, the extent of the classical use of *suus* is not understood; page 94, the type *nihil . . . oneris* is thoroughly Ciceronian; on page 106, the statement that 'the distinction drawn in Greek between a continued and a momentary action—the Present Imperative or Aorist Subjunctive—cannot be maintained in Latin', is

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curiously incomplete in more respects than in the omission of reference to the Present Subjunctive. On page 115, *uisu* and *auditu* are rather to be regarded as abl. of the nouns *uisus* and *auditus* than as second supines, as the latter expression should be used with reference to the construction with adjectives alone, if at all.

The meagre references to Romanic languages (why should Spanish be ignored on page 78?) must also be alluded to. It is also an exaggeration to say on page 2 that there are 'numerous technical Latin terms introduced into the Greek of the New Testament'. The 'spoken language of the people' (page 2) is assumed to have been Latin, but there is little doubt that far more people spoke Greek than Latin: it is rather a question of lower strata of the population than of 'remote provinces'. It is stated categorically (page 3) that 'the earliest Latin versions of the Scriptures originated in Africa', but the question is still *sub iudice*. The popular Latin is '*a* source' not '*the* source of our common speech' (p. 4). *Deitas* (page 9, n. 1) has been traced back as far as Arnobius and the Latin Irenaeus. On page 29 ξ is printed for ζ; on page 34 *opera* is probably fem. sing.

A thorough study of Brambach's works on Latin orthography, Stolz-Schmalz's *Lateinische Grammatik*, and the works of Meyer-Lübke, Gröber, and Körting on Romanic philology will benefit a new edition.

Though it has been necessary to point out defects in this book, it will be very useful on the lexical side, and should not be neglected by students of its subject.

On the History of the DE VITA CAESARUM *of Suetonius in the Early Middle Ages*, by E. K. RAND. (Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, vol. xxxvii, 1926.)

THE services rendered by Roth to the text of Suetonius are comparable to those rendered by Madvig to Livy's. Subsequently Ihm, a critic with much experience of MSS, endeavoured to improve upon Roth; not without success, as he was well acquainted with inscriptions as well as MSS. That something nevertheless remained to be done is made clear by this monograph from the pen of the learned professor of Latin at Harvard. Much of it is occupied with the well-known transposition in the *Vita Galbae*, and the nature of the archetype of all our MSS, but most of the space is devoted to the history of the adventures of the Suetonian text in the dim Caroline period, where Professor Rand is so much at home. On page 24 it might have been mentioned that St Jerome never wrote more than six books on Jeremiah.

A. SOUTER.

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Midrash Sifre on Numbers translated with brief annotations, and with special reference to the New Testament, by Rev. PAUL P. LEVERTOFF, with an Introduction by Rev. CANON G. H. Box. (S.P.C.K., London, 1926.)

THE S.P.C.K. are to be congratulated on adding this important Rabbinic Commentary to their 'Translations of Early Documents', and Dr Levertoff on the way in which he has carried out the task. Canon Box contributes an excellent introduction (pp. vii–xxii): and there is a bibliography (xxiii f). The translation occupies pp. 1–143: and an appendix pp. 144–151. There are five good indexes. In annotating his translation Dr Levertoff has had the N.T. constantly in mind, with the result that he has found many useful illustrations of N.T. passages both in style and thought. Naturally a considerable number of these are anticipated in Strack-Billerbeck; but some are new, and several are important. Particular attention may be drawn to the note (p. 116) on κοιναῖς χερσίν (Mark vii 2, 5) and to the suggestion that in § 112 we have a piece of Rabbinical polemic against St Paul (p. 100). This latter must, of course, remain in the realm of conjecture; but it is curious that Prof. G. Kittel should have arrived independently at the same conclusion. It is a plausible conjecture.

There is the usual crop of misprints and wrong references without which no book seems to be issued nowadays. As the latter are a constant source of irritation a list is given: p. 31 n. 1 l, Luke iv 20; 33 n. 4 l, Mark xii 14; 37 n. 1 l, Eph. ii 17; 38 n. 2 l, Luke vi 20 and Matt. v 3, n. 3 l, Matt. vi 1; 72 n. 5 l, Luke xix 22; 87 n. 1 l, Matt. xii 32; 90 (heading to §§ 107–109) l, Num. xv 1–16; 142 n. 3 l, *Shab.* 116 a f. These wrong references of course involve corrections in the index.

In Num. ix 10 the point is on the ה of רחוקה not on the ח (p. 46, l. 6). There is also some confusion on pp. 61 f about the massoretic signs. The reference in the text is clearly to the inverted *nuns* before v. 35 and after v. 36 (p. 62, l. 2 for Ch. ix read Ch. xi). On p. 53 'eight priests and eight prophets' should be 'eight priests who were also prophets'. It seems preferable to take אנטיקוסר in § 82 as equivalent to Lat. *antecessor* = advance guard, rather than as 'Viceroy' (a viceroy is surely too exalted an official to be sent out as billeting-officer) cf. Suetonius, *Vitellius*, § 17. It is interesting to note that Tertullian (*Virg. vel.* i) uses *antecessor* of the Holy Spirit. For הטרטין (§ 86) Jastrow proposes הריוטין relying on Yalk. Nu. 732 end; and Dalman suggests רוטננים. If the present reading be retained it may perhaps be explained by Lat. *tritus* (so Levy and Fischer in *Buxtorf*). On p. 137, l. 16 for 'Amorites' Friedmann's text has 'Ammonites'.

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It is a matter for regret that we have not a translation of the whole of *Sifre on Numbers*. In work of this kind selections are never perfectly satisfactory, since no two scholars will be found to agree about what should be included: and what is left out may turn out to be of great importance. At the same time it must be emphasized that this is the first translation of *Sifre* (*Num.*) to appear in any modern language: and one hopes that it will receive such public support as will encourage the publishers to issue Dr Levertoff's translations of the other tannaitic Midrashim, for these early commentaries not only shed invaluable light on the N.T. but also reveal a type of piety which no student of religion can afford to neglect.

T. W. MANSON.

Aramäische Dialektproben, pp. ix and 72, by G. DALMAN. (Hinrichs, Leipzig.)

THIS work, which has been now for more than a decade out of print, is issued in an enlarged form at the request of distinguished teachers in our own country. To commend any work of Professor Dalman would be presumption on my part, but I may say that the publishers have done their work well. The type is clear, the pointing definite, and I have not been able to find a single misprint. I should have liked to see the 'bill of divorcement' printed in the usual 'Twelve Lines', in harmony with the Gematria value of GeṬ, and with the modern Jewish threat, 'I will give you twelve lines'; but this is a minor detail.

The selections from Targum, Talmud, and Midrash (pages 1 to 31) are printed page for page with the former edition, so that references to them in recent literature are still valid. The additions consist of eight further pieces from the Midrashim, and three from the Palestine Evangeliarium, and of these thirteen five are left for the student to point for himself.

Then we have valuable notes (pages 41 to 45) on the Megillah Ta'anith, while the Vocabulary gives the word-meanings in English as well as in German.

When the student has faithfully worked through these pages, with the help of either Dalman's own Grammar or that of Professor Stevenson, he will be in a position to tackle anything Aramaic, and, with a little practice in the Methodology and Contractions of the Talmud, that hitherto sealed book need no longer remain to him a *terra incognita*.

W. H. CHRISTIE.

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, January 1927 (Vol. ciii, No. 206: S.P.C.K.). F. R. G. DUCKWORTH Gentile and the teaching of literature and language—F. W. BUTLER The pathway to Christian thought—C. JENKINS Aspects of the theology of St Peter Chrysologus—A. G. IKIN The paradox of personality—R. DE BARY The holy Eucharist in the first three centuries—M. E. SANDBACH-MARSHALL Herder's contribution to nineteenth-century thought—H. F. B. COMPSTON Ladies' finery in Isaiah iii—W. R. MATTHEWS The future of the University of London—The legacy of the middle ages—Francesco Petrarca—Essays catholic and critical—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, January 1927 (Vol. xxv, No. 2: Constable & Co.). G. MURRAY The next set of problems but one—A. LION Fascism: what it believes in and aims at—F. S. MARVIN The middle way in England—W. J. PERRY The drama of death and resurrection—S. ALEXANDER Theism and Pantheism—J. NEEDHAM Neo-mechanism or The sceptical biologist—V. TAYLOR Professor Strömholm's riddle—S. LIVEING The Curé d'Ars—F. J. R. HENDY The public schools: a critical appreciation—J. A. MORRIS Art and the modern city—W. JAEGER Aristotle's Politics—G. F. A. MACNAUGHTON Authenticity, authority, authoritativeness—Survey and Signed Reviews.

(2) AMERICAN.

The Princeton Theological Review, January 1927 (Vol. xxv, No. 1: Princeton University Press). R. D. WILSON The names of God in the Psalms—W. H. JOHNSON Does the behaviourist have a mind?—G. JOHNSON Holy Scripture and imaginal contexts—L. BERKHOF Christ in the light of eschatology—Notes and Notices—Reviews of recent literature.

The Harvard Theological Review, October 1926 (Vol. xix, No. 4: Harvard University Press). R. P. BLAKE The Georgian version of Fourth Esdras from the Jerusalem manuscript—W. H. P. HATCH A fragment of a lost work on Dioscorus—J. H. ROPES The Greek catena to the Catholic Epistles.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Analecta Bollandiana 1927 (Vol. xlv, Nos. 1, 2: Brussels, 24 Boulevard Saint-Michel). H. DELEHAYE Une Vie inédite de saint Jean l'Aumonier—P. GROSJEAN S. Columbae Hiensis cum Mongano heroe colloquium—M. COENS Une relation inédite de la conversion de S. Hubert—D. DE BRUYNE Le plus ancien catalogue des reliques

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d'Oviedo—H. DELEHAYE Les lettres d'indulgence collectives (*suite*) III Les lettres collectives au XIIIe siècle—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques.

Revue Bénédictine, January–April 1927 (Vol. xxxix, Nos. 1, 2: Abbaye de Maredsous). D. DE BRUYNE La préface du Diatessaron latin avant Victor de Capoue—J. CHAPMAN The Codex Amiatinus and Cassiodorus (*suite*)—B. CAPELLE Le symbole romain au second siècle—D. DE BRUYNE Sommaires antipélagiens inédits des lettres de saint Paul—G. MORIN Un Ordo Scrutiniorum de type inconnu jusqu'ici—A. WILMART Le recueil grégorien de Paterius et les fragments wisigothiques de Paris—U. BERLIÈRE Un manuscrit inédit de dom Robert Wiard (*suite*)—C. LAMBERT L'ordre et le texte des 'Degrés d'humilité' dans S. Thomas—A. DOLD Eine Parallele zum Liturgie-fragment 1 aus Cod. aug. CXCV in der mozarabischen Liturgie—Comptes rendus—B. CAPELLE Bulletin d'ancienne littérature chrétienne latine—PH. SCHMITZ Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine.

(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche (Vol. xxv, Nos. 3, 4: A. Töpelmann, Giessen). M. MÜLLER Freiheit—E. PETERSON Bemerkungen zur mandäischen Literatur—A. MARMORSTEJN Das letzte Abendmahl und der Sederabend: Zur Erklärung der Gottesnamen bei Irenäus—H. WINDISCH Julius Cassianus und die Clemenshomilie (II Clemens)—G. STUHLFAUTH Zur Vorgeschichte der Kirchenglocke—BALOGH Zu Augustins 'Konfessionen'—L. WOHLEB Cyprian de opere et elemosynis—H. KOCH Zum Lebensgange des Origines und des Heraklas—S. LURIA Zur Quelle von Mt. viii 19—F. PERLES Noch einmal Mt. viii 22, Lc. ix 60, sowie Joh. xx 17—L. RADERMACHER Der erste Petrusbrief und Silvanus—E. VON DOBSCHÜTZ Zur Liste der Neutestamentlichen Handschriften—S. KRAUSS Das Abdecken des Daches Mc. ii 4, Lc. v 19—J. JEREMIAS War Paulus Witwer?—O. MICHEL Zur Frage des Seelenliedes—E. VON DOBSCHÜTZ Ein Schlüssel zu von Sodens Apparat.

Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte (Vol. xlv, N. F. viii, No. 3: L. KLOTZ, Gotha). E. HENNECKE Zur Christlichen Apokryphenliteratur—L. VON SYBEL Wer hat die Kirchenmalerei eingeführt?—TH. HERMANN Zur Chronologie des Kyrill von Skythopolis?—F. FLASKAMP Das Geburtsjahr der Wynfrith-Bonifatius—M. FLORIN Innocenz III als Schriftsteller und als Papst, ein Vergleich—A. BAUMHAUER Die Gründung des französischen Bistums Pamiers—I. PUSINO Zur Quellenkritik für eine Biographie Picos—P. KALKOFF Die Übersetzung der Bulle 'Exsurge'—W. KÖHLER Zu Zwinglis ältester Abendmahlsauffassung—O. CLEMEN Des Jakob Micyllus Elegia de sua migratione in Academiam Edelbergensem—P. BARTH Zu meiner Calvin-Ausgabe—H. RÜCKERT Erwiderung—A. HASENCLEVER Die Geheimartikel zum Frieden von Crépy vom 19 September 1544—G. WOLF Pius iv, Pius v, Gregor xiii—W. VÖLKER Das visionär-ekstatische Erleben der S. Teresa de Jesus in seiner Entwicklung—H. HOFFMANN Zum Aufkommen des Begriffs 'Wesen des Christentums'—Literarische Berichte und Anzeigen.

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The Journal of Theological Studies

JULY, 1927

DOCUMENTS

THE VENICE EXTRACTS FROM THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS.

In view of the rarity of MSS of the Greek text of the Testaments it seems worth while to put into print these extracts which occur in Cod. Venet. Marc. Gr. 494, between the Commentary of Andrew of Crete on the Apocalypse and the Hymns of Symeon Maurus. The MS is a paper one, assigned to cent. xiii. The hand of the pages I have transcribed (from a rotograph) is terribly contracted, so much so as almost to amount to shorthand.

The excerptor is principally interested in the Christian prophecies in the Testaments, and passes rapidly over those of them which do not contain such matter.

I give a diplomatic copy of the text, adding the modern chapter and verse numeration in the margin.

M. R. James.

Ἀπὸ διαθήκησ ἀντιγράφου τοῦ πατριάρχου ῥουβὶμ υἱοῦ Ἰακώβ· ἐξ ὧν εἶπεν ἀποθνήσκων τοῖσ ἀδελφοῖσ καὶ τοῖσ υἱοῖσ αὐτοῦ λέγων.

/ Ἀκούσατέ μου ἀδελφοὶ καὶ τέκνα ἃ ἴδον περὶ τῶν ζ̄ πνευμάτων τῆσ 2 1
πλάνησ ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ μου· Ἑ ζ̄ πνεύματα ἐδόθη κατὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παρὰ 2
τοῦ βελίαρ καὶ εἰσὶ ταῦτα κεφάλη τῶν ἔργων τοῦ νεωτερισμοῦ· Ἑ καὶ ζ̄ 3
πνεύματα ἐδόθη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπὶ τῆσ κτίσεωσ παρὰ τοῦ κτιστοῦ τοῦ
εἶναι ἐν αὐτοῖσ πᾶν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου. Ἑ ᾱ πνεῦμα ζωῆσ μεθ' ἧσ ἡ 4
σύστασισ κτίζεται. β̄ ὁράσεωσ μεθ' ἧσ γίνεται ἐπιθυμία· Ἑ Γ̄ πνεῦμα 5
ἀκοῆσ μεθ' ἧσ γίνεται διδασκαλία· δ̄ πνεῦμα ὀσφρίσεωσ μεθ' ἧσ ἐστι
γεῦσισ δεδομένη εἰσ συνυλκὴν ἀέροσ καὶ πνοῆσ. Ἑ ε̄ πνεῦμα λαλιᾶσ μεθ' 6
ἧσ γίνεται γνῶσισ· Ἑ ϛ̄ πνεῦμα γεύσεωσ μεθ' ἧσ γίνεται βρωτῶν καὶ 7
ποτῶν καὶ ἴσχυσ ἐν αὐτοῖσ κτίζεται ἤτοι τῆσ βρώσεώσ τε καὶ πόσεωσ
ἡ ὑπόστασισ τῆσ ἰσχύοσ· Ἑ ζ̄ πνεῦμα σπορᾶσ καὶ συνουσίασ μεθ' οὗ 8

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συνεισέρχεται διὰ τῆσ φιληδονίασ ἡ ἁμαρτία ' Διὰ τοῦτο ἔσχατόν ἐστι
τῆσ κτίσεωσ καὶ πρῶτον τῆσ νεότητοσ ὅτι ἀγνοίασ πεπλήρωται καὶ
αὐτὴ τὸν νεώτερον ὁδηγεῖ ὡσ τυφλὸν ἐπὶ βόθρον καὶ ὡσ κτῆνοσ ἐπὶ
3 1 κρῆμνον. / ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοισ ὀγδοόν ἐστι πνεῦμα τοῦ ὕπνου· μεθ' οὗ
2 ἕκτισται ἔκστασισ φύσεωσ καὶ εἰκὼν τοῦ θανάτου· ' τούτοισ τοῖσ
3 πνεύμασι συμμίγνυται τὸ πνεῦμα τῆσ πλάνησ· ' ᾱ τὸ τῆσ πορνείασ ἐν τῇ
φύσει καὶ ταῖσ αἰσθήσεσιν ἔγκειται· β̄ πνεῦμα ἀπληστίασ ἐν τῇ γαστρί·
4 ' γ̄ πνεῦμα μάχησ ἐν τῷ ἥπατι καὶ τῇ χολῇ· δ̄ πνεῦμα ἀρεσκίασ καὶ
5 μαγκανίασ· ἵνα διὰ περιεργίασ ὡραῖοσ ὠφθῇ· ' ε̄ πνεῦμα ὑπερηφανίασ
ἵνα κινῆται καὶ μεγαλυνθῇ ἐπί τε φρονήσει καὶ ἰσχύει· ϛ̄ πνεῦμα ζήλουσ
καὶ ψεύδουσ τοῦ πλατὺν εἶναι αὐτὴν ἐκ γένουσ καὶ οἴκου καὶ πλούτου·
6 ' ζ̄ πνεῦμα ἀδικίασ· μεθ' οὗ κλοπὴ καὶ γρυπίσματα ἵνα ποιήσῃ φιληδοιίαν
καρδίασ αὐτοῦ ἡ γὰρ ἀδικία συνεργεῖ τοῖσ λοιποῖσ πνεύμασι διὰ τῆσ
7 δωροληψίασ· ' περὶ πᾶσι τούτοισ ὀγδοόν ἐστι πνεῦμα τοῦ ὕπνου· μεθ'
8 οὗ συνάπτεται πλάνη καὶ φαντασία [col. 2] ' καὶ οὗτοσ ἀπώλεται πᾶσ
νεώτεροσ σκοτίζων τὸν νοῦν ἀπὸ τῆσ ἀληθείασ καὶ μὴ συνίων ἐπὶ τῷ
9 νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ μήτε ὑπακούων νουθεσίασ πατέρων αὐτοῦ ' καὶ νῦν τέκνα
5 5 τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀγαπᾶτε καὶ αὐτὴ φυλάξει ὑμᾶσ· / φεύγετε οὖν τὴν
πορνείαν τέκνα μου καὶ προστάσσετε ταῖσ γυναιξὶν ὑμῶν καὶ ταῖσ θυγά-
τρασιν ὑμῶν ἵνα μὴ κοσμῶνται τὰσ κεφαλὰσ καὶ τὰσ ὄψεισ αὐτῶν· ὅτι
πᾶσα γύνη σκολιευομένη ἐν τούτοισ εἰσ κόλασιν τοῦ αἰῶνοσ τηρεῖται
6 ' οὕτωσ γὰρ ἔθελξαν τοὺσ ἐγρηγόρουσ πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ· κἀκεῖνοι
συνεχῶσ ὁρῶντεσ αὐτὰσ ἐγένοντο ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἀλλήλων· καὶ συνέλαβον
τῇ διανοίᾳ τὴν πρᾶξιν· καὶ μετεσχηματίζοντο εἰσ ἀνθρώπουσ. καὶ ἐν
7 τῇ συνουσίᾳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτῶν συνεφαίνοντο αὐταῖσ ' κἀκεῖναι ἐπι-
θυμοῦσαι τῇ διανοίᾳ τὰσ φαντασίασ αὐτῶν τοὺσ γίγαντασ ἔτικτον·
ἐφαίνοντο γὰρ αὐταῖσ οἱ ἐγρήγοροι ἕωσ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φθάνοντεσ καὶ
6 1 ὡραῖοι σφόδρα· / φυλάσσεσθε οὖν ἀπὸ τῆσ πορνείασ. ' ἡ γὰρ πορνεία
οὔτε σύνεσιν οὔτε εὐσέβειαν ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῇ· ἀλλὰ πᾶσ ζῆλοσ κατοικεῖ ἐν
5 αὐτῇ ἤτοι ἐν τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ καὶ ἡδονῇ αὐτῆσ· ' διὰ τοῦτο ζηλώσατε τοὺσ
7 υἱοὺσ λευί· ' τῷ γὰρ λευὶ ἔδωκεν ὁ κύριοσ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τῷ ἰούδα τοῦ
8 εἶναι ἐπὶ ἄρχοντασ.' διὰ τοῦτο ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν ἀκούειν τοῦ λευί· ὅτι
αὐτὸσ γνώσεται νόμον κυρίου καὶ διαστέλλει εἰσ κρίσιν καὶ θυσίασ ὑπὲρ
παντὸσ ἰσραὴλ· μέχρι τελειώσεωσ χρόνων ἀρχιέρεωσ χριστοῦ ὃν εἶπεν
9 ὁ κύριοσ· ' ὁρκῶ ὑμᾶσ τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· ποιήσατε ἕκαστοσ πρὸσ
τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἀλήθειαν καὶ σώζεσθαι

Ἀντίγραφον β̄ διαθήκησ συμεὼν περὶ φθόνου· φησὶ γάρ.

3 1 Καὶ νῦν τέκνα μου φυλάξασθε ἀπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων τῆσ πλάνησ καὶ τοῦ
2 φθόνου· ' καὶ γὰρ ὁ φθόνοσ κυριεύει πάσησ τῆσ διανοίασ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
καὶ οὐκ ἀφίησιν αὐτὸν οὔτε φαγεῖν οὔτε πιεῖν οὔτε ποιῆσαί τι ἀγαθόν

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παντότε γὰρ ὑποβάλλει ἀνελεῖν τὸν φθονούμενον καὶ ὁ μὲν φθονού- 3
μενος παντότε ἀνθεῖ ὁ δὲ φθονούμενος (φθονῶν) μαραίνεται· ἔχετε 4
φόβον θεοῦ· ἡ γὰρ λίθισ τοῦ φθόνου διὰ φόβον θεοῦ γίνεται· ἐάν τις 5
ἐπὶ κύριον καταφύγη ἀποτρέχει τὸ πονηρὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ φθόνου ἀπ' αὐτοῦ·
καὶ γίνεται ἡ διάνοια κουφὴ καὶ λοιπὸν συμπαθεῖ τῷ φθονουμένῳ καὶ 6
οὐ καταγινώσκει τῶν ἀγαπώντων αὐτὸν καὶ οὕτως παύεται τοῦ φθόνου
/ ὅτι κύριοσ ὁ θεὸσ τοῦ ἰσραὴλ μέγασ φαινόμενοσ ἐπὶ γῆσ ὡσ ἄνθρωποσ 6 4
καὶ σώζων ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν ἀδάμ [*marg.* προφητεία σαφὴσ περὶ χριστοῦ·
ζητητέον δὲ εἰ δεκταὶ αὗται αἱ διαθῆκαι] τότε δοθήσεται πάντα τὰ 6
πνεύματα τῆσ πλάνησ εἰσ καταπάτησιν καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
βασιλεύσουσι τῶν πονηρῶν πνευμάτων /ὅτι θεὸσ σῶμα λαβὼν καὶ 7
συνεσθίων ἀνθρώποισ ἔσωσεν ἀνθρώπουσ· καὶ νῦν τέκνιά μου ὑπακούετε 7 1
λευὶ καὶ ἐν ἰούδα λυτρωθήσεσθε καὶ μὴ ἐπαίρεσθε ἐπὶ τὰσ δύο φύλασ
ταύτασ ὅτι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνατελεῖ ὑμῖν τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναστήσει 2
γὰρ κύριοσ ἐκ τοῦ λευὶ ὡσ ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἰούδα ὡσ βασιλέα θεὸν
ἄνθρωπον. οὗτοσ σώσει πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὸ γένοσ τοῦ ἰσραήλ.

Ἀντίγραφον Γ διαθήκησ λευί.

Πνεῦμα συνέσεωσ κυρίου ἦλθεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ καὶ πάντασ ἑώρων ἀνθρώπουσ 2 3
ἀφανίσαντασ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῶν καὶ ὅτι τείχη ὠκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῇ ἡ ἀδικία.
καὶ ἐπὶ πύργουσ ἡ ἀνομία κάθηται καὶ ἐλυπούμην περὶ τοῦ γένουσ τῶν 4
ἀνθρώπων· καὶ ηὐξάμην κυρίῳ ὅπωσ σώσῃ με τότε ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ 5
ὕπνοσ· καὶ ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ μου ἐθεασάμην ὄροσ ὑψηλόν. τοῦτο ὄροσ
ἀσπίδοσ ἐν ἀβελμαούλ καὶ ἰδοὺ ἠνεῴχθησαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἄγγελοσ 6
κυρίου εἶπε πρόσ με· λευὶ εἴσελθε· καὶ εἰσῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου 7
οὐρανοῦ εἰσ τὸν δεύτερον. καὶ ἴδον ἐκεῖ ὕδωρ κρεμάμενον ἀνὰ μεσὸν
τούτου κἀκεινοῦ· καὶ ἴδον Γ οὐρανὸν πολὺ φωτεινότερον ὑπὲρ τοὺσ δύο. 8
καὶ γὰρ ὕψοσ ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ ἄπειρον· καὶ εἶπον τῷ ἀγγέλῳ· διά τί οὕτωσ· 9
καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελοσ πρόσ με· μὴ θαύμαζε περὶ τούτου ἄλλουσ γὰρ δ
οὐρανοὺσ ὄψει φαιδροτέρουσ καὶ ἀσυγκρίτουσ ὅταν ἔλθῃσ ἐκεῖ ὅτι σύν- 10
εγγυσ κυρίου στήσει καὶ λειτουργὸσ αὐτοῦ ἔσει καὶ μυστήρια αὐτοῦ
ἐξαγγελεῖσ τοῖσ ἀνθρώποισ· καὶ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντοσ λυτροῦσθαι τὸν
ἰσραὴλ κηρίξεισ· καὶ διά σου καὶ ἰούδα ὠφθήσεται κύριοσ ἐν ἀνθρώποισ 11
σώζων ἐν αὐτοῖσ πᾶν γένοσ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐκ μερίδοσ κυρίου ἡ ζωή 12
σου καὶ αὐτὸσ ἔσται σου· [[263 *b*]] ἀγρὸσ· ἀμπελὼν καρποὶ· χρυσίον καὶ
ἀργύριον· /ἄκουσον οὖν περὶ τῶν ζ οὐρανῶν· πρῶτοσ διὰ τοῦτο ἐστὶ 3 1
στυγνότεροσ ἐπίδη οὗτοσ πᾶσαν ἀδικίαν ὑποφέρει ἀνθρώπων· β ἔχει 2
πῦρ· χιόνα· κρύσταλον· ἄτινα εἰσ ἡμέραν προστάγματοσ κυρίου ἐν τῇ
δικαιοκρισίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐν αὐτῷ εἰσὶν πάντα τὰ πνεύματα· τῶν ἐπαγωγῶν
εἰσ ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἀνόμων· ἐν τῷ γ εἰσὶν αἱ δυνάμεισ τῶν παρεμβολῶν 3
οἱ ταχθέντεσ εἰσ ἡμέραν κρίσεωσ ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν ἐν τοῖσ πνεύμασι

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4 τῆσ πλάνησ καὶ τοῦ βελίαρ· ἐν δὲ τῷ δ ἐπάνω τούτου ἅγιοί εἰσιν ὅτι
ἐν τῷ ἀνωτέρω πάντων οὐρανῶν καταλύει ἡ μεγάλη δόξα ἐν ἁγίῳ ἁγιασ
5 ὑπεράνω πάσησ ἁγιότητοσ. ′ἐν τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν ē εἰσὶν ἄγγελοι τοῦ
προσώπου κυρίου οἱ λειτουργοῦντεσ καὶ ἐξιλάσκοντεσ πρὸσ κύριον ὑπὲ
6 πάσαισ ταῖσ ἀγνοίαισ τῶν δικαίων· ′προσφέρουσι δὲ κυρίῳ ὀσμὴν
7 εὐοδίασ λογικὴν καὶ ἀναίμακτον προσφορὰν ′ἐν δὲ τῷ s̄ εἰσὶν οἱ ἄγγελοι
8 οἱ φέροντεσ τὰσ ἀποκρίσεισ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ προσώπου κυρίου· ′ἐν δὲ
9 τῷ z̄ εἰσὶ θρόνοι· ἐξουσίαι· ἐν ᾧ ὕμνοι ἀεὶ τῷ θεῷ προσφέρονται· ′ὅταν
οὖν ἐπιβλέψει κύριοσ ἐφ' ἡμᾶσ πάντεσ ἡμεῖσ σαλευόμεθα καὶ οἱ οὐρανοὶ
10 καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ αἱ ἄβυσσοι ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆσ μεγαλοσύνησ αὐτοῦ· ′οἱ
δὲ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τούτοισ ἀναισθητοῦντεσ ἁμαρτάνουσι καὶ
4 1 παροργίζουσι τὸν ὕψιστον. /νῦν οὖν γινώσκετε ὅτι ποιήσει κύριοσ κρίσιν
ἐπὶ τοὺσ υἱοὺσ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὅτι τῶν πετρῶν σχιζομένων καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου
σβεννυμένου τῶν ὑδάτων ξηραινομένων καὶ τοῦ πυροσ καταπτίσσοντοσ
καὶ πάσησ κτίσεωσ κλονουμένησ καὶ τῶν ἀοράτων πνευμάτων τηκο-
μένων τοῦ ἅδου σκυλευομένου ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει τοῦ ὑψίστου οἱ ἄνθρωποι
ἀπιστοῦντεσ ἐπιμενοῦσιν ἐν ταῖσ ἀδικίαισ· διὰ τοῦτο ἐν κολάσει κρι-
2 θήσονται· ′εἰσήκουσεν οὖν ὁ ὕψιστοσ τῆσ προσευχῆσ σου τοῦ διελθεῖν
σε ἀπὸ τῆσ ἀδικίασ καὶ γίνεσθαι αὐτῷ υἱὸν καὶ θεράποντα καὶ λειτουργὸν
3 τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ· ′φῶσ γνώσεωσ φωτινὸν φωτιεῖσ ἐν ἰακώβ καὶ
4 ὡσ ὁ ἥλιοσ ἐπὶ παντὶ σπέρματι ἰσραήλ. ′καὶ δόθησεταί σοι εὐλογία
καὶ παντὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου· ἐπισκέψεται κύριοσ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν
σπλάγχνοισ, υἱοι (-οῦ) αὐτοῦ ἕωσ αἰῶνοσ· πλὴν οἱ υἱοί σου ἐπιβαλοῦσι
5 χεῖρασ ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοῦ ἀποσκολώπησαι αὐτόν· ′καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δέδοταί σοι
6 βουλὴ καὶ σύνεσισ τοῦ συνετίσαι σε τοὺσ υἱούσ σου περὶ αὐτοῦ· ′ὅτι
ὁ εὐλογῶν αὐτὸν εὐλογηθήσεται οἱ δὲ ′καταρώμενοι αὐτὸν ἀπολοῦνται·
5 1 /καὶ ἤνοιξέ μοι ὁ ἄγγελοσ τὰσ πύλασ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· καὶ ἴδον τὸν ναὸν
2 τὸν ἅγιον· καὶ ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξησ τὸν ὕψιστον· ′καὶ εἶπε μοι λευί· σοὶ
δέδωκα τὰσ εὐλογίασ τῆσ ἱερατείασ ἕωσ οὗ ἐλθὼν παροικήσω ἐν μέσῳ
3 τοῦ ἰσραήλ· ′τότε ὁ ἄγγελοσ ἤγαγέν με ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἔδωκέ μοι ὅπλον
καὶ ῥομφαίαν καὶ εἶπε· ποίησον ἐκδίκησιν ἐν σιχὲμ ὑπὲρ δίναν κἀγὼ
5 ἔσομαι μετά σου, ὅτι κύριοσ ἀπέσταλκέ με· ′εἶπον δὲ αὐτῷ· δεόμαι κύριε·
6 εἰπέ μοι τὸ ὄνομά σου ἵνα ἐπικαλέσομαί σε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θλίψεωσ· ′καὶ
εἶπεν· ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ ἄγγελοσ ὁ παρετόμενοσ τὸ γένοσ ἰσραὴλ τοῦ μὴ
πατάξαι αὐτοὺσ εἰσ τέλοσ· ὅτι πᾶν πνεῦμα πονηρὸν εἰσ αὐτον προ-
7 βάλλει· ′καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὥσπερ ἐξυπνοσ γενόμενοσ· εὐλόγησα τὸν
ὕψιστον. καὶ τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν παραιτούμενον τοῦ γένουσ ἰσραὴλ καὶ
8 1 πάντων τῶν δικαίων· /καὶ μέθ' ἡμέρασ τινασ ὄντοσ μου ἐν βεθὴλ εἶδον
2 πρᾶγμα ὥσπερ τὸ πρότερον· ′καὶ ἴδον ζ ἀνθρώπουσ ἐν ἐσθῆτι λευκῇ
λέγοντάσ μοι· ἀναστὰσ ἔνδυσε τὴν στολὴν τῆσ ἱερατείασ· καὶ τὸν
στέφανον τῆσ δικαιωσύνησ καὶ τὸ λόγιον τῆσ συνέσεωσ καὶ τὸν ποδήρη

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τῆσ ἀληθείασ, καὶ τὸ πέταλον τῆσ πίστεωσ· καὶ τὴν μίτραν τοῦ σιμείου,
καὶ τὸ ἐφοὺδ τῆσ προφητείασ· ′Καὶ εἶσ ἕκαστοσ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον βαστά- 3
ζοντεσ ἐπέθηκέν μοι καὶ εἶπεν· ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν γίνου εἰσ ἀρχιερέα κυρίου·
σὺ καὶ τό σπέρμα σου ἕωσ τοῦ αἰῶνοσ· ′καὶ ὁ πρῶτοσ ἤλειψέ με ἐλαιῷ 4
ἁγίω καὶ ἔδωκέ μοι ῥαβδὸν κρίσεωσ· ′β̄ ἔλουσέ με ὕδατι καθαρῷ, καὶ 5
ἐψώμισέν με ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον· ἅγια ἁγίαν· καὶ περιέθηκέν μοι στολὴν
ἁγίαν ἔνδοξον· ′γ̄ βυσίνην με περιέβαλεν, ὁμοίαν ἐφούδ· ′Δ ζωνήν μοι 6, 7
περιέθηκεν, ὁμοίαν πορφύρα· ′ε̄ κλαδόν μοι ἐλαιᾶσ ἔδωκεν ποιότητοσ· 8
′ϛ̄ στέφανόν μοι τῇ κεφαλῇ περιέθηκεν· ′ζ̄ διάδημά μοι τῆσ κεφαλῆσ 9, 10
περιέθηκεν ἱερατείασ· καὶ ἐπλήρωσε τᾶσ χεῖρασ μου θυμιάματοσ
[col. 2] ὥστε ἱερατεύειν με τοῦ κυρίου· ′εἶπεν δὲ πρόσ με· λευί· εἰσ 11
τρεῖσ ἀρχὰσ διαιρεθήσεται τὸ σπέρμα (? σου), εἰσ σημεῖον δόξησ κυρίου
ἐπερχομένου· ′καὶ ὁ πιστεύσασ πρῶτοσ ἔσται κλῆροσ μέγασ· ὑπὲρ 12
αὐτὸν οὐ γενήσεται· ′β̄ ἔσται ἐν ἱερωσύνῃ· ′γ̄ ἐπικλήθησεται αὐτῷ 13, 14
ὄνομα καινόν, ὅτι βασιλεὺσ ἐκ τοῦ ἰούδα ἀναστήσεται· καὶ ποιήσει
ἱερατείαν νέαν, κατὰ τὸν τύπον τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰσ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη· ′ἡ δὲ 15
παρουσία αὐτοῦ ἄφραστοσ· ὡσ προφήτησ ὑψιστοῦ, ἐκ σπέρματοσ
ἀβραὰμ τοῦ πατρὸσ ὑμῶν· ′πᾶν δὲ ἐπιθυμητὸν ἐν ἰσραήλ συ (σοι) ἔσται, 16
καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου· καὶ ἔδεσθαι πᾶν ὡραῖον ὁράσει, καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν
κυρίου διανεμήσει τὸ σπέρμα σου· ′καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔσονται ἀρχιερεῖσ, καὶ 17
κριταὶ καὶ γραμματεῖσ· ″Οτι ἐπὶ στόματι αὐτῶν, φυλαχθήσεται τὸ ἅγιον·
′καὶ ἐξυπνισθεὶσ συνῆκα, ὅτι τοῦτο ὅμοιον τοῦ πρωτέρου ἐστίν· ′καὶ ἔκρυψα 18, 19
τοῦτο ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου, καὶ οὐκ ἀνήγκειλα αὐτὸ παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπὶ τῆσ
γῆσ· / καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρασ δύο ἀνέβημεν ἐγώ τε καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου καὶ ἰούδασ 9 1
πρὸσ ἰσάκ· ′καὶ εὐλόγησέν με ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ πατρόσ μου, κατὰ πάντασ 2
τοὺσ λόγουσ τῶν ὁρασέων μου ὧν ἴδον· / καὶ νῦν τέκνα ἔγνων, ἀπο- 14 1
γραφῆσ ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου· ὅτι ἐπὶ τέλει, ἀσεβῆσ ἔστε ἐπὶ κύριον τὰσ χεῖρασ
ἐπιβάλλοντεσ ἐν πάσι κακίᾳ· καὶ αἰσχυνθήσονται ἐφ' ὑμῖν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ
ὑμῶν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖσ ἔθνεσιν γενήσεσθε χλευασμόσ· ′καὶ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ 2
ἡμῶν ἰσραήλ, καθαρὸσ ἔσται ἀπὸ τῆσ ἀσεβείασ τῶν ἀρχιερέων· οἵτινεσ
ἐπιβάλλουσι τὰσ χεῖρασ αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τὸν σωτῆρα τοῦ κόσμου. ′καθαρὸσ 3
ὁ οὐρανὸσ ὑπὲρ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ὑμεῖσ οἱ φωστῆρεσ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡσ ὁ ἥλιοσ
καὶ ἡ σελήνη· ′τί ποιήσουσι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐὰν ὑμεῖσ σκοτισθῆτε ἐν 4
ἀσεβείᾳ· καὶ ἐπάξετε καταρὰν ἐπὶ τὸ γένοσ ὑμῶν· ὑπὲρ τὸ φῶσ τοῦ
κόσμου, τὸ δόθεν ἐν ὑμῖν εἰσ φωτισμὸν παντὸσ ἀνθρώπου· τοῦτον θέλοντεσ
ἀνελεῖν, ἐναντίασ ἐντολὰσ διδάσκοντεσ τοῖσ τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιώμασιν·
′τὴν προσφορὰν κυρίου ληστεύσητε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μερίδων αὐτοῦ κλέψητε· 5
καὶ πρὸ τοῦ θυσιάσαι τῷ κ̄ω̄, λήψεσθε τὰ ἐκλεκτὰ ἐν καταφρονήσει
ἐσθίοντεσ μετὰ πορνῶν, ′ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ τὰσ ἐντολὰσ κυρίου διδάξητε. 6
τὰσ ὑπάνδρουσ βεβηλώσητε· καὶ τὰσ παρθένουσ ἱερουσαλὴμ μιάνητε·
καὶ πορναῖσ καὶ μοιχαλίσι συναφθήσεσθε· θυγατέρασ ἐθνῶν λήψεσθε

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εἰσ γυναῖκασ καθαρίζοντεσ αὐτάσ καθαρισμῶ παρανόμω· καὶ γενήσεται
7 ἡ μίξισ ὑμῶν σόδομα καὶ γόμορρα ἐν ἀσεβεία· ′καὶ φυσιωθήσεσθε ἐπὶ
τῇ ἱερωσύνη κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπαιρόμενοι· οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ
8 κατὰ τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ θεοῦ φυσιούμενοι· ′καὶ καταπαίζετε τὰ ἅγια, ἐν
15 1 καταφρονήσει γελοίαζοντεσ. / ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ὁ ναὸσ ὃν ἂν ἐκλέξηται κύριοσ,
ἔρημοσ ἔσται ἐν ἀκαθαρσία· καὶ ὑμεῖσ αἰχμαλῶτοι ἔσεσθε εἰσ πάντα
2 τὰ ἔθνη, ′καὶ ἔσεσθε βδέλυγμα ἐν αὐτοῖσ. καὶ λήψεσθε ὀνειδισμὸν καὶ
3 αἰσχύνην αἰώνιον, παρὰ τῆσ δικαιοκρισίασ τοῦ θεοῦ· ′καὶ πάντεσ οἱ
4 θεωροῦντεσ ὑμᾶσ, φεύξονται ἀφ' ὑμῶν· ′καὶ εἰ μὴ δι' ἀβραὰμ· καὶ ἰσὰκ·
καὶ ἰακὼβ τοὺσ πατέρασ ὑμῶν, εἶσ ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματόσ μου οὐ μὴ κατα-
16 1 ληφθῇ ἐπὶ τῆσ γῆσ. / Καὶ νῦν ἔγνων ἐν βίβλω ἐνώχ, ὅτι ἑβδομήκοντα
ἑβδομάδασ πλανηθήσεσθε· καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην βεβηλώσητε καὶ τὰσ
2 θυσίασ μιάνητε· ′καὶ τὸν νόμον ἀφανήσητε, καὶ λόγουσ προφητῶν
ἐξουδενώσητε· ἐν διαστροφῇ διώξητε ἄνδρασ δικαίουσ, καὶ εὐσεβεῖσ
3 μισήσητε· ἀληθίνουσ λόγουσ βδελύξησθε· ′καὶ ἄνδρα ἀνακαινοποιοῦντα
νόμον ἐν δυνάμει ὑψίστου, πλάνον προσαγορεύσητε· καὶ τέλοσ ὡσ
νομίζετε ἀποκτενεῖτε αὐτόν, οὐκ ἰδόντεσ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀνάστημα· τὸ ἀθῷον
4 αἷμα ἐν κακίᾳ ἐπὶ κεφαλὰσ ὑμῶν ἀναδεχόμενοι· ′δι' αὐτὸν ἔσται τὰ
5 ἅγια ὑμῶν ἔρημα· ἕωσ ἐδάφουσ μεμιαμένα· ′καὶ οὐκ ἔσται τόποσ ὑμῶν
καθαρόσ· ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖσ ἔθνεσιν ἔσεσθε εἰσ καταρὰν καὶ εἰσ διασκορπισμόν·
ἕωσ εἰσ αὐτὸν πάλιν ἐπιστρέψητε, καὶ οἰκτηρίσασ προσδέξηται ὑμᾶσ ἐν
18 2 πίστει καὶ ὕδατι· / Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα πάλιν εἶπεν αὐτοῖσ· ′τότε ἐγερεῖ
κύριοσ ἱερέα καινὸν ὁ (ᾧ) πάντεσ οἱ λόγοι κυρίου ἀποκαληφθήσονται·
καὶ αὐτὸσ ποιήσει κρίσιν ἀληθείασ ἐπὶ τῆσ γῆσ, ἐν πλήθει ἡμερῶν·
3 ′καὶ ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον αὐτοῦ ἐν οὐρανῷ ὡσ βασιλεύσ, φωτίζων φῶσ
γνώσεωσ ἐν ἡλίου ἡμέραισ· καὶ μεγαλυνθήσεται ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ
4 [[264 a]] ′οὗτοσ ἀναλάμψει ὡσ ὁ ἥλιοσ ἐν τῇ γῇ, καὶ ἐξαρεῖ πᾶν
5 σκότοσ ἐκ τῆσ ὑπ' οὐρανόν· καὶ ἔσται εἰρήνη ἐν πάσι τῇ γῇ· ′οἱ οὐρανοὶ
ἀγαλλιάσονται ἐν ταῖσ ἡμέραισ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ γῆ χαρίσεται· καὶ νεφέλαι
εὐφρανθήσονται καὶ ἡ γνῶσισ κυρίου χυθήσεται ἐπὶ τῆσ γῆσ ὡσ ὕδωρ
θαλασσῶν· καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι τῆσ δόξησ τοῦ προσώπου κυρίου, χαρίσονται
6 ἐν αὐτῷ· ′οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἀνοιγήσονται· καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆσ δόξησ ἥξει ἐπ'
αὐτὸν ἁγίασμα μετὰ φωνῆσ πατρικῆσ· ὡσ ἀπὸ ἀβραὰμ πατρὸσ ἰσαάκ,
7 ′καὶ δόξα ὑψίστου ἐπ' αὐτὸν ῥηθήσεται· καὶ πνεῦμα συνέσεωσ ἁγιασμοῦ,
8 καταπαύσει ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι· ′αὐτὸσ δώσει τὴν μεγαλωσύνην
κυρίου τοῖσ υἱοῖσ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ εἰσ τὸν αἰῶνα· καὶ οὐκ ἔσται διαδοχὴ
9 αὐτῷ εἰσ γενεὰσ καὶ γενεὰσ ἕωσ τοῦ αἰῶνοσ· ′καὶ ἐπὶ τῆσ ἱερωσύνησ
αὐτοῦ ἐκλείψει πᾶσα ἁμαρτία, καὶ οἱ ἄνομοι καταπαύσουσιν εἰσ κακά, οἱ
10 δὲ δίκαιοι καταπαύσουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ· ′καί γε αὐτὸσ ἀνοίξει τὴν θύραν
τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ στήσει τὴν ἀπειλοῦσαν ῥομφαίαν κατὰ τοῦ ἀδάμ·
11 ′καὶ δώσει τοῖσ ἁγίοισ φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆσ ζωῆσ. καὶ πνεῦμα

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ἁγιωσύνης ἔσται ἐπ' αὐτοῖς· ' καὶ ὁ βελίαρ δεθήσεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ 12
δώσει ἐξουσίαν τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ, τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρὰ πνεύματα·
' καὶ εὐφρανθήσεται κύριος ἐπὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ εὐδοκήσει 13
κύριος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς· καὶ εὐδοκήσει κύριος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς αὐτοῦ ἕως
τῶν αἰώνων· ' τότε ἀγαλλιάσεται ἀβραὰμ καὶ ἰσαὰκ καὶ ἰακώβ· κἀγὼ 14
χαρίσομαι καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι ἐνδύσονται εὐφροσύνην· / καὶ νῦν τέκνα μου 19 1
πάντα ἠκούσατε· ἔλεσθαι οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἢ τὸ σκότος, ἢ τὸ φῶς· ἢ νόμον
κυρίου ἢ ἔργα κυρίου· ' καὶ ἀπεκρίθημεν ἡμεῖς τῷ πατρὶ λέγοντες· 2
ἐνώπιον κυρίου πορευσώμεθα, κατὰ τὸν νόμον αὐτοῦ· ' καὶ εἶπεν ὁ πατὴρ 3
ἡμῶν· μάρτυς κύριος, καὶ μάρτυρες οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ· καὶ μάρτυς ἐγώ,
καὶ μάρτυρες ὑμεῖς περὶ τῶν λόγων τοῦ στόματος ὑμῶν καὶ εἴπωμεν
μάρτυρες, ' καὶ οὕτως ἐπαύσατο λευὶ ἐντελλώμενος τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ 4
καὶ ἐξέτεινε τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ, καὶ προσετέθη πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας
αὐτοῦ· ζήσας ρλζ ἔτη, ' καὶ ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐν σωρῷ· ὕστερον δὲ ἄραντες 5
τὰ ὀστέα αὐτοῦ, ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐν χεβὼρ μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ.

Ἀντίγραφον διαθήκης ἰούδα δ· περὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ φιλαργυρίας, καὶ
περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ δι' ὧν φησίν.

' Ὅτι οἱ βασιλεύοντες ἔσονται ὡς κῆτοι καταπίνοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώ- 21 7
πους ὡς ἰχθύας· θυγατέρας καὶ υἱοὺς ἐλευθέρους καταδουλῶσιν· οἴκους· 8
ἄγρους· ποίμνια· χρήματα ἁρπάσωσιν· ' καὶ πολλῶν σάρκας ἀδίκως
κόρακας καὶ ἴβεις χορτάσουσιν, καὶ προκόψουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ κακόν, ἐν 9
πλεονεξίᾳ ὑψούμενοι· ' καὶ ἔσονται ὡς καταιγίδες ψευδοπροφῆται, καὶ
πάντας δικαίους διώξονται / Ἐπάξει δὲ αὐτοῖς κύριος διαιρέσεις κατ' 22 1
ἀλλήλων, καὶ πόλεμοι συνεχεῖς ἔσονται ἐν ἰσραήλ· ' καὶ ἐν ἀλλοφύλοις 2
συντελεσθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία μου, ἕως τοῦ ἐλθεῖν τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ ἰσραήλ.
Ἕως παρουσίας τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς δικαιωσύνης· τοῦ ἡσυχάσαι τὸν ἰακὼβ ἐν
εἰρήνῃ, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη· ' καὶ αὐτὸς φυλάξει κράτος βασιλείας μου 3
ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος· ὁρκῷ γὰρ ὤμοσαί μοι κύριος μὴ ἐκλείψειν τὸ βασίλειόν
μου καὶ τοῦ σπέρματός μου πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος. / πολὺ 23 1
δὲ λύπη μοι ἐστι τέκνα μου διὰ τὰς ἀσελγείας καὶ γοητείας καὶ εἰδωλο-
λατρείαν· ἃς ποιήσετε εἰς τὸ βασίλειον· ἐγγαστριμύθοις ἐξακολουθοῦντες.
κλίδωσι καὶ δαιμόσι πλάνης· ' τὰς θυγατέρας ὑμῶν μουσικὰς καὶ 2
δημοσίας ποίησετε· καὶ ἐπιμίγνυσθαι ἐν βδελύγμασιν ἐθνῶν· ' ἀνθ' ὧν 3
ἥξει κύριος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς λιμὸν καὶ λοιμὸν θάνατον καὶ ῥομφαίαν ἐνδικοῦσαν
πολυορκίαν· ' καὶ ἐπάξει κύριος πάντα τὰ κακὰ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς. / καὶ μετὰ 24 1
ταῦτα, Ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον μὲν ἐξ ἰακὼβ ἐν εἰρήνῃ· καὶ ἀναστήσεται
ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματός μου ὡς ὁ ἥλιος τῆς δικαιωσύνης· συμ-
πορευόμενος τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν πραότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ· καὶ
πᾶσα ἁμαρτία, οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ· ' καὶ ἀνοιγήσονται ἐπ' αὐτὸν 2
οἱ οὐρανοί, ἐκχέε πνεύματος εὐλογίαν πατρὸς ἁγίου· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ

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3 [col. 2] χέει πνεῦμα χάριτος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς· ' καὶ ἔσεσθε αὐτῷ εἰς υἱοὺς
4 ἐν ἀληθείᾳ· ' καὶ πορεύσεσθε ἐν προστάγμασιν αὐτοῦ πρώτοις καὶ
5 ἐσχάτοις· ' οὗτος ὁ βλαστὸς θεοῦ ὑψίστου καὶ αὕτη ἡ πηγὴ εἰς ζωὴν
πάσης σαρκὸς· ' τότε ἀναλάμψει σκῖπτρον βασιλείας μου, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς
6 ῥίζης ὑμῶν γενήσεται πυθμήν· ' καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀναβήσεται ῥαβδὸς δικαιω-
σύνης τοῖς ἔθνεσι, κρῖναι καὶ σῶσαι πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους
25 1 κύριον. / καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστήσεται ἀβραὰμ καὶ ἰσαὰκ καὶ ἰακὼβ εἰς
ζωήν· καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί μου, ἔξαρχοι σκήπτρου ὑμῶν ἐν ἰσραὴλ
ἐσόμεθα· λευὶ πρῶτος· δεύτερος ἐγώ· τρίτος ἰωσήφ· καὶ καθεξῆς
26 (2) πάντες. / ταῦτα λέγων τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐκοιμήθη, ὢν ἐτῶν ρκθ ἰούδας.

ē διαθήκη, ἀντίγραφον ἰσαχάρ· οὗτος οὐδὲν περὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ ἐφθέγξατο.
ἐκτῆ διαθήκη ἀντιγράφου ζαβουλών· ἐν ᾗ μετὰ πολλὰς παραινέσεις
πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ, εἶπε καὶ περὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ ταῦτα.

8 1 Καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν τέκνα μου ἔχετε εὐσπλαγχνίαν ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους
2 ἐν ἐλέει· ἵνα καὶ ὁ κύριος εἰς ὑμᾶς σπλαγχνισθῇ· ἐλεῆσαι ὑμᾶς· ' ὅτι
καί γε ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἡμερῶν ὁ θεὸς ἀποστελεῖ τὸ σπλάγχνον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ
3 τῆς γῆς· καὶ ὅπου εὕρῃ σπλάγχνα ἐλέους, ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ· ' ὅσον γὰρ
ἄνθρωπος σπλαγχνίζεται εἰς τὸν πλησίον, τοσοῦτον κύριος εἰς αὐτόν
4 ὅτε γὰρ κατήλθωμεν εἰς αἴγυπτον ἰωσὴφ οὐκ ἐμνησικάκησεν εἰς ἡμᾶς·
9 8 / καὶ μετὰ ὀλίγα πάλιν· εἶπεν· ' καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνατελεῖ ὑμῖν αὐτὸς
ὁ κύριος φῶς δικαιωσύνης καὶ ἴασις καὶ εὐσπλαγχνία ἐπὶ ταῖς πτέρυξιν
αὐτοῦ· αὐτὸς λυτρώσεται πᾶσαν αἰχμαλωσίαν υἱῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκ τοῦ
βελίαρ· καὶ πᾶν πνεῦμα πλάνης πατηθήσεται· καὶ ἐπιστρέψει πάντα τὰ
ἔθνη εἰς παραζήλωσιν αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὄψεσθαι θεὸν ἐν σχήματι ἀνθρώπου ὃν
9 ἂν ἐκλέξηται, καὶ ἡ ἱερουσαλὴμ ὄνομα αὐτῷ· ' καὶ πάλιν ἐν πονηρίᾳ
λόγων ὑμῶν παροργίσετε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπορυφήσεσθαι ἕως καιροῦ συντε-
10 1 λείας· / καὶ νῦν τέκνα μου μὴ λυπεῖσθαι ὅτι ἀποθνήσκω ἐγὼ μήδε
2 συμπίπτετε ὅτι ἀπολείπω· ' ἀναστήσομαι γὰρ πάλιν ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν ὡς
ἡγούμενος ἐν μέσῳ υἱῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐφρανθήσομαι ἐν μέσῳ τοῖς φίλοις
μου ὅσοι ἐφύλαξαν νόμον κυρίου. καὶ ἐντολὰς ζαβουλὼν πατρὸς αὐτῶν·
3 ' ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἐπάξει κύριος πῦρ αἰώνιον καὶ ἀπολέσει αὐτοὺς
4 ἕως γενεῶν. ' ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν ἀνάπαυσίν μου ἀποτρέχω ὡς οἱ πατέρες μου·
5 ' ὑμεῖς δὲ φοβεῖσθαι τὸν κύριον καὶ θεὸν ἡμῶν ἐν πάσι ἰσχύι πάσας τὰς
6 ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν· ' καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐκοιμήθη.

z̄ διαθήκη δὰν ἀντίγραφον περὶ θυμοῦ καὶ ψεύδους ἐν ᾗ μετὰ πλείονας
παραινέσεις προσέθηκε λέγων τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ :

(in margin) εἰς Βαβιλῶνα λέγει

5 7 Καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ ἰούδα ἔσονται ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ ἁρπάζοντες τὰ ἀλλότρια ὡς
8 λέοντες· ' διὰ τοῦτο ἀπαχθήσεσθαι σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ, κἀκεῖ

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ἀπολήψεσθε πάσας τὰς πληγὰς αἰγύπτου· καὶ πᾶσαν πονηρίαν τῶν
ἐθνῶν· ′καὶ οὕτως ἐπιστρέψαντες πρὸς κύριον ἐλεηθήσεσθε· καὶ ἥξει 9
ὑμῖν εἰς τὸ ἁγίασμα αὐτοῦ, βοῶν ὑμῖν εἰρήνην· ′καὶ ἀνατελεῖ ὑμῖν ἐκ 10
τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα καὶ λευὶ τὸ σωτήριον κυρίου· καὶ αὐτὸς ποιήσει πρὸς
τὸν βελίαρ πόλεμον· καὶ τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τοῦ νίκους, δώσει πέρασιν
ὑμῶν· ′καὶ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν λαβεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ βελίαρ ψυχὰς ἁγίων, καὶ 11
ἐπιστρέψει καρδίας ἀπειθεῖς πρὸς κύριον· καὶ δώσει τοῖς ἐπικαλου-
μένοις αὐτὸν εἰρήνην αἰώνιον, ′καὶ ἀναπαύσονται ἐν τῇ ἐδὲμ ἅγιοι· καὶ 12
ἐπὶ τῆς νέας Ἱερουσαλὴμ εὐφρανθήσονται δίκαιοι, ἥτις ἔσται εἰς
δόξασμα θεοῦ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος· ′καὶ οὐκέτι ὑπομενεῖ Ἱερουσαλὴμ 13
ἐρήμωσιν, οὐδὲ αἰχμαλωτίζεται Ἰσραήλ· ὅτι κύριος ἔσται ἐν μέσῳ
αὐτῆς· τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναναστρεφόμενος, βασιλεύων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐν
ταπεινώσει καὶ ἐν πτωχείᾳ· καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ, βασιλεύσει
ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· /καὶ νῦν φοβῆσθαι τὸν κύριον τέκνα μου, 6 1
καὶ προσέχετε ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ σατανᾶ, καὶ τῶν πνευμάτων αὐτοῦ· ′οἶδα 4
γὰρ ὅτι ἐν (ἢ) ἡμέρα πιστεύσει Ἰσραήλ, συντελεσθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία
τοῦ ἐχθροῦ· ′ἔσται δέ· ἐν καιρῷ ἀνομίας τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, ἀφιστάμενος 6
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κύριος μετελεύσεται ἔμπροσθεν ποιούντων θέλημα αὐτοῦ·
′τὸ δὲ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἔσται ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ Ἰσραήλ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι 7
σωτήρ· ′τηρήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοὺς τέκνα μου ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ 8
[[264 *b*]] ′καὶ ἃ ἠκούσατε παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν, μετάδοτε καὶ ὑμεῖς 9
τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν ἵνα δέξηται ὑμᾶς ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐστιν γὰρ
ἀληθὴς καὶ μακρόθυμος· πρᾶος καὶ ταπεινὸς, καὶ ἐκδιδάσκων διὰ τῶν
ἔργων νόμον κυρίου· ′καὶ θάψατέ με ἔγγυς τῶν πατέρων μου. /καὶ 7 1
ταῦτα εἰπὼν κατεφίλησεν αὐτούς, καὶ ἐκοιμήθη ὕπνον αἰώνιον.

Ἡ διαθήκη ἀντιγίραφον νεφθαλίμ· ἐν ᾗ καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ πολλῶν νου-
θεσιῶν, εἶπε τοῖς ἰδίοις τέκνοις περὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ ταῦτα.

Μὴ ἀποχωρίζεσθαι λευὶ καὶ Ἰούδα· διὰ γὰρ τοῦ Ἰούδα, ἀνατελεῖ 8 2
σωτηρία τῷ Ἰσραήλ· καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ εὐλογηθήσεται Ἰακώβ. ′διὰ γὰρ τοῦ 3
σκήπτρου αὐτοῦ ὠφθήσεται κύριος ὁ θεός· κατοικῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐπὶ
τῆς γῆς, σῶσαι τὸ γένος Ἰσραήλ· καὶ ἐπισυνάξει δικαίους ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν
′γίνεσθαι οὖν σοφοὶ ἐν θεῷ καὶ φρόνιμοι· ἰδόντες τάξιν ἐντολῶν θεοῦ, 10
καὶ θεσμοὺς παντὸς πράγματος ὅπως ὁ κύριος ἀγαπήσει ὑμᾶς, ′καὶ
ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐκοιμήθη.

Θ διαθήκη, ἀντίγραφον γάδ· ἐλάλησεν αὐτὸς τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ πολλὰς
παραινέσεις· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἶπεν αὐτοῖς περὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ ταῦτα.

Ἐξάρατε οὖν τὸ μῖσος ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀγαπᾶται ἀλλήλους 7 7
ἐν εὐθύτητι καρδίας· ′εἴπατε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ταῦτα τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν, 8 1
ὅπως τιμήσωσιν Ἰούδαν καὶ λευί· ὅτι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνατελεῖ κύριος, σωτηρίαν

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2 τῷ Ισραήλ· ʼἔγνων γὰρ ὅτι ἐπὶ τέλει, ἀποστήσονται τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐν πάσῃ πονηρίᾳ καὶ κακώσει· καὶ διαφθορὰ ἔσονται ἐνώπιον κυρίου· ʼ καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐκοιμήθη.

Ī διαθήκη, ἀντίγραφον ἀσὴρ· παρακαλέσασ τοὺσ υἱοὺσ αὐτοῦ ἐπιμελεῖν τῆσ ἀρετῆσ, καὶ ἐκφεύγειν πᾶσαν κακίαν· προσθεὶσ καὶ περὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ ἐλάλησεν (?) αὐτοῖσ οὕτωσ λέγων.

7 2 Οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ἁμαρτήσετε, καὶ παραδοθήσεσθαι εἰσ χεῖρασ ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν· καὶ ἡ γῆ ὑμῶν ἐρημωθήσεται· καὶ ὑμεῖσ διασκορπισθήσεσθαι εἰσ τὰσ δ γονίασ τῆσ γῆσ· καὶ ἔσεσθαι ἐν διασπορᾷ ἐξουδενόμενοι ὥσπερ 3 ὕδωρ ἄχρηστον, ʼἕωσ οὗ ὁ ὕψιστοσ ἐπισκέψηται τὴν γῆν· καὶ αὐτὸσ ἐλθὼν ὡσ ἄνθρωποσ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων· καὶ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ συντρίβων τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ δράκοντοσ διʼ ὕδατοσ· οὗτοσ σώσει τὸν 4 Ισραὴλ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, θεὸσ εἰσ ἄνδρα ὑποκρινόμενοσ· ʼεἶπατε οὖν 5 ταῦτα τοῖσ τέκνοισ ὑμῶν μὴ ἀπειθεῖν αὐτῷ· ʼἀνέγνων γὰρ ἐν ταῖσ πλαξὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν· ὅτι ἀπειθοῦντεσ ἀπειθήσετε αὐτῷ· καὶ ἀσεβοῦντεσ ἀσεβήσεται εἰσ αὐτόν· μὴ προσέχοντεσ τὸν νόμον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλʼ 6 ἐντολαισ ἀνθρώπων· ʼδιὰ τοῦτο διασκορπισθήσεσθαι, ὡσ γὰδ καὶ ὡσ δὰν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οἵτινεσ χώρασ αὐτῶν ἀγνοήσουσιν, καὶ φυλὴν γλῶσσαν 7 αὐτῶν· ʼἀλλʼ ἐπισυνάξει ὑμᾶσ κύριοσ ὁ θεὸσ ἐν πίστει, διʼ ἐλπίδα 8 1 εὐσπλαγχνίασ αὐτοῦ· διὰ ἀβραὰμ καὶ ἰσαὰκ καὶ ἰακώβ, ʼκαὶ εἰπὼν αὐτοῖσ ταῦτα ἐκοιμήθη.

Īα διαθήκη, ἀντιγράφον ἰωσήφ· διδάξασ τοὺσ ἀδελφοὺσ καὶ τοὺσ υἱοὺσ αὐτοῦ· περὶ ὑπομονῆσ καὶ μακροθυμίασ καὶ σωφροσύνησ, εἶπεν καὶ αὐτὸσ περὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ· ὅσα ἦν διεγνωκώσ, ἐν οἷσ φησί.

19 1, 2 ʼʼἈκούσατε τέκνα μου καὶ ἀναγγελῶ ὑμῖν, ὃ ἴδον ἐνύπνιον· ʼἴδον γὰρ ὡσ ὅτι ιβ̄ ἔλαφοι ἐνέμοντο· καὶ οἱ θ̄ ἐξ αὐτῶν διηρέθησαν καὶ διεσπάρησαν 8 τῇ γῇ, ὁμοίωσ καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι γ̄· ʼκαὶ ἴδον ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἰούδα ἐγεννήθη κόρη παρθένοσ, ἔχουσα στολὴν βυσσίνην· καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆσ προῆλθεν ἄμνοσ ἄμωμοσ· καὶ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν αὐτοῦ ὡσ λέων· καὶ πάντα τὰ θηρία ὥρμων κατʼ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνίκησεν αὐτὰ ὁ ἄμνοσ καὶ ἀπώλεσεν εἰσ καταπάτησιν· 9 ʼκαὶ ἔχαιρον ἐπʼ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι· καὶ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ· 10, 11 ʼταῦτα δὲ γενήσεται ἐν καιρῷ αὐτῶν ἐν ἐσχάταισ ἡμέραισ· ʼὑμεῖσ οὖν τέκνα μου φυλάξατε τὰσ ἐντολὰσ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τιμᾶται ἰούδασ καὶ λευί. ὅτι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνατελεῖ ὑμῖν ὁ ἄμνοσ τοῦ θεοῦ· χάριτι σώζων πάντα τὰ 12 ἔθνη καὶ τὸν ἰσραήλ· ʼἡ γὰρ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ βασιλεία αἰώνιοσ, ὅτι οὐ παρασαλεύεται· ἡ δὲ ἐμὴ βασιλεία ἐν ἐμῇ ἐπιτελεῖται ὡσ ὀπωροφυλάκιον· 20 1 ὅτι μετὰ τὸ θέροσ οὐ φανήσεται· οἶδα ὅτι μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν μου θλίψουσιν ὑμᾶσ οἱ αἰγύπτιοι· ἀλλʼ ὁ θεὸσ ποιήσει τὴν ἐκδίκησιν ὑμῶν καὶ εἰσάξει 2 ὑμᾶσ εἰσ τὴν ἐπαγγελείαν τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν· ʼἀλλὰ συνανοίσετε τὰ

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ὀστέα μεθ' ὑμῶν· ὅτι ἀναφομένων τῶν ὀστέων μου, κύριος ἐν φωτὶ ἔσται μεθ' ὑμῶν· καὶ βελίαρ ἐν σκότει μετὰ τῶν αἰγυπτίων· ' καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν 4
ἐκτείνας τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ, ἐκοιμήθη ὕπνον αἰώνιον.

ιβ διαθήκη ἀντιγράφου βενιαμὶν περὶ διανοίας καθαρᾶς λέγων τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ οὕτως.

Τέκνα μου ἀποδράσατε τῆς κακίας· φθόνον τε καὶ τὴν μισαδελφίαν 8 1
καὶ προσκολλᾶσθαι τῇ ἀδελφότητι καὶ τῇ ἀγάπῃ· ὁ ἔχων διάνοιαν 2
καθαρὸν ἐν ἀγαπῇ οὐχ ὁρᾷ γυναῖκα εἰς πορνείαν· οὐδὲ ἔχει μιασμὸν ἐν
καρδίᾳ· ὅτι ἀναπαύεται ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ. ' ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος 3
οὐ μιένεται προσέχων ἐπὶ κόπρον καὶ βόρβορον· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀμφότερα
ψύγει, καὶ ἀπελαύνει τὴν δυσωδίαν· οὕτως καὶ ὁ καθαρὸς νοῦς· ἐν τοῖς
μιασμοῖς τῆς γῆς συνεχόμενος μᾶλλον οἰκοδομεῖ· αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ μιένεται· /
ὑπονοῶ δὲ καὶ πράξεις ἐν ὑμῖν οὐ καλὰς ἔσεσθαι, ἀπὸ λόγων γραφῆς 9 1
ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου. πορ(ν)εύσετε γὰρ πορνεία σοδόμων ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ
ἀπολεῖσθαι ἕως βραχύ. καὶ ἀνανεόσεσθαι ἐν γυναιξὶ στρίνους· καὶ
ἡ βασιλεία κυρίου οὐκ ἔσται ἐν ὑμῖν, ὅτι εὐθὺς αὐτὸς λήψεται αὐτὴν·
' πλὴν ἐν μερίδι ὑμῶν ἔσται ὁ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἔνδοξος ἔσται ἐν ὑμῖν· 2
ὅτι εὐθὺς αὐτὸς ὑψώσει αὐτὴν· καὶ ιβ φίλοι ἐκεῖ συναχθήσονται καὶ
πάντα τὰ ἔθνη· ἕως οὗ ὁ ὕψιστος ἀποστηλεῖ τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐπι-
σκοπῇ μονογενοῦς ' καὶ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὸν πρῶτον ναόν, καὶ ἐκεῖ 3
κύριος ὑβρισθήσεται καὶ ἐξουδενωθήσεται καὶ ἐπὶ ξύλου ὑψωθήσεται,
' καὶ ἔσται τὸ ἄπλωμα τοῦ ναοῦ σχιζόμενον· καὶ καταβήσεται τὸ 4
πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὡς πῦρ ἐκχυννόμενον· ' καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνελθὼν 5
ἐκ τοῦ ἅδου ἔσται ἀναβαίνων ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν· ἔγνων δὲ οἷος ἔσται
ταπεινὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ οἷος ἔσται ἔνδοξος ἐν οὐρανοῖς· / ταῦτα γὰρ 10 4
ὑμᾶς διδάσκω καὶ ἀντιδίδομαι ἀντὶ πάσης κληρονομίας· καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν
μετάδοτε ταῦτα τοῖς τέκνοις ἀντὶ πάσης κληρονομίας εἰς κατάσχεσιν
αἰώνιον· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐποιήσαν καὶ ἀβραὰμ καὶ ἰσαὰκ καὶ ἰακὼβ ' πάντα 5
ταῦτα ἡμεῖν κατεκληρονόμησαν εἰπόντες ὑμῖν· φυλάξατε τὰς ἐντολὰς
τοῦ θεοῦ, ἕως ὅτε ἀποκαλύψει τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι·
' τότε ὄψεσθαι ἐνώχ· νῶε· σήμ· ἀβραάμ· ἰσαάκ· καὶ ἰακὼβ ἀνηστα- 6
μένους ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει, ' Τότε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀναστησώμεθα ἕκαστος 7
ἐπὶ σκήπτρων ἡμῶν, προσκυνοῦντες τὸν βασιλέα τῶν οὐρανῶν· τὸν ἐπὶ
γῆς φανέντα μορφῇ ἀνθρώπου ταπεινώσεως· καὶ ὅσοι ἐπίστευσαν αὐτῷ
ἐπὶ γῆς, συγχαρίσονται αὐτῷ τότε· ' καὶ πάντες δὲ ἀναστήσονται· οἱ 8
μὲν εἰς δόξαν, οἱ δὲ εἰς ἀτιμίαν· καὶ κρινεῖ κυρίος ἐν πρώτοις τὸν
ἰσραὴλ περὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀδικίας· ὅτι παραγενάμενον θεὸν ἐν σαρκὶ
ἐλευθερώτην οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν· ' καὶ τότε κρινεῖ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ὅσα οὐκ 9
ἐπίστευσαν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ γῆς φανέντι· ' καὶ ἐλέγξει ἐν τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς τῶν 10
ἐθνῶν τὸν ἰσραὴλ ὥσπερ ἤλεγξεν τὸν ἠσαὺ ἐν τοῖς μαδιναίοις τοῖς

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ἀπατήσασιν· ἀδελφοὺσ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι διὰ τῆσ πορνείασ καὶ τῆσ εἰδω-
11 λολατρείασ, καὶ ἀπηλλωτριώθησαν τοῦ θεοῦ· ′ὑμεῖσ δὲ ἐὰν πορεύεσθαι
ἐν ἁγιασμῷ κατὰ πρόσωπον κυρίου· πάλιν κατοικήσητε ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐπ'
12 2 ἐλπίδι, καὶ συναχθήσεσθαι ἐπὶ κύριον. /ἀναστήσεται γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ
σπέρματόσ μου ἐν ὑστέροισ καιροῖσ ἀγαπητὸσ κυρίου ἀκούων ἐπὶ γῆσ
φωνὴν αὐτοῦ γνῶσιν καινήν· φωτίζων πάντα τὰ ἔθνη φῶσ γνώσεωσ
ἐπεμβαίνων τῷ ἰσραὴλ ἐν σωτηρία, καὶ ἁρπάζων ὡσ λύκοσ ἀπ' αὐτῶν
3 καὶ διδοὺσ τῇ συναγωγῇ τῶν ἐθνῶν ′καὶ ἕωσ συντελείασ τῶν αἰώνων·
ἔσται ἐν συναγωγαῖσ ἐθνῶν, καὶ ἐν τοῖσ ἄρχουσιν αὐτῶν, ὡσ μουσικὸν
4 μέλοσ ἐν στόματι πάντων· ′καὶ ἐν βίβλοισ ἁγίαισ ἔσται ἀναγραφόμενοσ,
καὶ τὸ ἔργον καὶ ὁ λόγοσ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἔσται ἐκλεκτὸσ θεοῦ ἕωσ τοῦ
5 αἰῶνοσ· ′καὶ δι' αὐτὸν συνέτησέν με ὁ πατήρ μου ἰακὼβ λέγων, αὐτὸσ
12 1 ἀναπληρώσει τὰ ὑστερήματα τοῖσ φιλοῖσ σου. /καὶ ὡσ ἐπλήρωσε τοὺσ
λόγουσ αὐτοῦ εἶπε· ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν τέκνα μου ἀνενέγκατε τὰ ὀστᾶ μου
2 ἐξ αἰγύπτου· καὶ θάψατέ με εἰσ χεβρών, ἔγγυσ τῶν πατέρων μου· ′καὶ
ἀπέθανε βενιαμίν· ὢν ἐτῶν ρκε, ἐν γήρι καλῷ.

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NOTES AND STUDIES

MARCAN USAGE: NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL, ON THE SECOND GOSPEL

(continued)

VIII. *Auxiliary and quasi-auxiliary verbs.*

i. *The past tense of the substantive verb* ἦν ἦσαν *with present active, present or perfect passive, participle as auxiliary; exactly equivalent to our English* 'was' 'were' *with present and past participle (rare in Matthew: frequent in Mark and Luke)*

1. i 6 ἦν ὁ Ἰωάνης ἐνδεδυμένος τρίχας καμήλου . . . καὶ ἔσθων ἀκρίδας. No parallel in Luke: altered by Matthew. In classical Greek this construction would be quite regular, but the tense would be pluperfect and the meaning 'had been clothed'. Mark means 'was clothed'.

2. i 13 ἦν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ . . . πειραζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ, 'was . . . being tempted', though both A.V. and R.V. have, less exactly, 'was . . . tempted'. Neither Matthew nor Luke is strictly parallel. Present passive participle only once again, in **17**.

3. i 22 ἦν γὰρ διδάσκων αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, 'was teaching'. The only case where both Matthew and Luke retain the Marcan construction.

4. i 33 ἦν ὅλη ἡ πόλις ἐπισυνηγμένη πρὸς τὴν θύραν. Not (of course) 'had been gathered', but 'was gathered'. No Synoptic parallel.

5. i 39 ἦν κηρύσσων εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν, 'was preaching'. As pointed out in ch. III of these Notes (*J. T. S.*, Oct. 1924, xxvi p. 15) W-H give a wrong reading here with ℵ B L ἦλθεν, due to the desire to find a construction for εἰς. Not only does the Lucan parallel (iv 44) support ἦν, but Mark i 14 is decisive on the same side: Jesus 'came into Galilee preaching' at the outset of His ministry, here He 'continued preaching'. Luke retains the construction, Matthew alters it.

6. ii 6 ἦσαν δέ τινες τῶν γραμματέων ἐκεῖ καθήμενοι καὶ διαλογιζόμενοι, 'were sitting there and discussing'. Matthew alters: Luke retains ἦσαν καθήμενοι, but removes it to the opening of the story, v 17.

7. ii 18 ἦσαν οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάνου καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι νηστεύοντες. The statement is dropped at this point by both Matthew and Luke.

8. iv 38 αὐτὸς ἦν ἐν τῇ πρύμνῃ . . . καθεύδων. Again altered by both, by Matthew to the imperfect, by Luke to an aorist.

9. v 5 ἦν κράζων καὶ κατακόπτων ἑαυτὸν λίθοις, 'continually, night and day . . . he was crying out and cutting himself . . .' The verse is dropped in both derivative accounts.

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10. v 11 *ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖ . . . ἀγέλη χοίρων μεγάλη βοσκομένη.* Retained by Matthew, probably because the verb need not go with the participle: 'there was there a great herd feeding', rather than 'a great herd was feeding there'. Luke makes that clearer by altering to *βοσκομένων*.[1]

11. vi 52 *ἦν αὐτῶν ἡ καρδία πεπωρωμένη.* No parallels.

12. ix 4 *καὶ ἦσαν συνλαλοῦντες τῷ Ἰησοῦ.* Both Matthew and Luke alter, Luke to the imperfect *συνελάλουν*, Matthew by suppressing *ἦσαν* and connecting the participle with the preceding verb.

13. x 22 *ἦν γὰρ ἔχων χρήματα* [*v.l. κτήματα*] *πολλά.* Here it is Matthew who retains the Marcan construction, Luke who alters it (*ἦν πλούσιος*): but see further, on this verse and context, § v **15** below, p. 359.

14. x 32 *ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀναβαίνοντες εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.* Luke omits the verse, Matthew quite alters the construction.

15. x 32 *b καὶ ἦν προάγων αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς.* No parallels.

16. xiv 4 *ἦσαν δέ τινες ἀγανακτοῦντες πρὸς ἑαυτούς.* No parallel in Luke: Matthew alters to the aorist.

17. xiv 40 *ἦσαν γὰρ αὐτῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καταβαρυνόμενοι.* Matthew retains the construction but alters the present to the perfect participle: by so doing he may keep the letter of grammatical rule, but it is to the havoc of the sense, for the pluperfect is quite out of place. Their eyes 'were being weighed down', not 'had been weighed down'. There is no parallel in Luke.

18. xiv 49 *καθ' ἡμέραν ἤμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διδάσκων.* Altered by Luke to a participle, *ὄντος μου* (avoiding two verbs connected with *καί*), by Matthew, because he disliked the construction, to *ἐκαθεζόμην*.

19. xiv 54 *ἦν συνκαθήμενος μετὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν.* Here for the first time both Matthew and Luke make the same alteration, substituting *ἐκάθητο* for *ἦν συνκαθήμενος*—though one has *μετὰ τῶν* with Mark and the other *μέσος αὐτῶν*. But it is not beyond the ordinary doctrine of chances that in this solitary case out of a list of twenty-four passages the two later Evangelists should independently hit on so simple a change.

20. xv 7 *ἦν δὲ ὁ λεγόμενος Βαραββᾶς μετὰ τῶν στασιαστῶν δεδεμένος.* 'Now the fellow called Barabbas was . . . lying in prison': A.V. wrongly separates *ἦν* from *δεδεμένος*, rendering 'there was one . . . Barabbas which lay bound'; R.V. is ambiguous. Mark's whole reference to Barabbas is so awkwardly expressed, that it is not to be wondered at that the story is re-drafted by the other two Evangelists.

21. xv 26 *ἦν ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ τῆς αἰτίας αὐτοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένη.* Both the others change, partly perhaps because the brevity of the Marcan account

[1] *βοσκομένη* in Luke viii 32, in spite of the strong authority of ℵ B D (not d) Θ a, looks like an assimilation to Matthew (and Mark).

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seemed to call for expansion: Mark e. g. does not tell us where the inscription was put.

22. xv 40 ἦσαν δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες ἀπὸ μακρόθεν θεωροῦσαι. Retained by Matthew, probably for the reason suggested on no. **10** above: altered by Luke.

23. xv 43 ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν προσδεχόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. Altered by both, by Luke to the imperfect of the same verb, by Matthew to the aorist of another verb.

24. xv 46 ἐν μνήματι ὃ ἦν λελατομημένον ἐκ πέτρας, 'which was hewn out' A.V. rightly: R.V. which had rendered the idiom rightly in **1**, **4**, **11**, **21**, at last found a chance to hark back to the classical pluperfect, 'which had been hewn out'. But Marcan usage is clear. Matthew changes to the active ὃ ἐλατόμησεν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ, Luke to the shorter but perhaps more ambiguous phrase ἐν μνήματι λαξευτῷ.

The number of instances cited shews that we have here a favourite locution of Mark. No difference has been made in the list between instances of the present active (or passive **2**, **17**) participle and instances of the perfect passive participle, because it does not appear that Mark made any. But his most characteristic usage is with the present participle, ([**2**], **3**, **5**, **6**, **7**, **8**, **9**, **10**, **12**, **13**, **14**, **15**, **16**, [**17**], **18**, **19**, **22**, **23**, or three out of every four cases), and it is exactly equivalent to our own use of the auxiliary verb and participle for the imperfect 'he was teaching' 'they were fasting' 'he was in the stern sleeping'. Similarly the construction with the perfect passive participle corresponds closely enough to our 'he was clothed'. Matthew very rarely uses any form of the construction; never with the present participle, except in the few cases he takes over unaltered from Mark, **3**, **10**, **13**, **22**. Luke on the other hand is not averse to it in the rest of his Gospel, but he prunes it away drastically from his Marcan material, leaving it only in the three first cases of his meeting with it, **3**, **5**, **6**.

It might almost be said that this construction with the auxiliary verb is for Mark, as for us, the real imperfect: for his use of the proper imperfect is little, if at all, removed from his use of the aorist. In cases such as ii 27 ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς Τὸ σάββατον διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον κτλ., or v 30 ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ἔλεγεν Τίς μου ἥψατο; it seems quite impossible to read into ἔλεγεν any sense different from that of εἶπεν. When Mark wants to give the continuous sense of the imperfect, he uses ἦν with the present participle: just as when he wants to give another shade of the imperfect, the inchoative sense, 'began to do' a thing, he uses what is in effect another auxiliary verb, as we shall now see.[1]

[1] Both uses, ἦν with present participle and ἤρξατο with present infinitive, reflect Aramaic use, as I learn from the Rev. C. H. Dodd of Mansfield College, who supplies me with references to G. Dalman *Die Worte Jesu* pp. 28, 21.

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ii. *The verb* ἄρχομαι (ἤρξατο ἤρξαντο) *with present infinitive as auxiliary for the imperfect* (*Matthew* 10 *times, Mark* 26, *Luke* 18).

1. i 45 ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν . . . Matthew omits the verse: Luke has a (roughly parallel) imperfect.

2. ii 23 οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἤρξαντο ὁδὸν ποιεῖν τίλλοντες . . . Matthew retains ἤρξαντο: Luke again substitutes an imperfect.

3. iv 1 καὶ πάλιν ἤρξατο διδάσκειν παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν. Both Matthew and Luke omit the phrase.

4. v 17 καὶ ἤρξαντο παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν . . . Both the other Synoptists change into an aorist.

5. v 20 καὶ ἀπῆλθεν καὶ ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν . . . No parallel in Matthew: Luke substitutes a participle, ἀπῆλθεν κηρύσσων.

6. vi 2 καὶ γενομένου σαββάτου ἤρξατο διδάσκειν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ. No parallel in Luke: Matthew gives the imperfect.

7. vi 7 ἤρξατο αὐτοὺς ἀποστέλλειν δύο δύο, καὶ ἐδίδου αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν . . . No strict parallel in either Synoptist: but for the imperfect ἐδίδου both substitute the aorist ἔδωκεν. Here, and often in Mark, ἤρξατο marks a 'beginning' in the sense of a new departure rather than a continuous process.

8. vi 34 καὶ ἤρξατο διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς πολλά. The whole phrase disappears from both the other accounts: but in the next verse Luke ix 12 has ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα ἤρξατο κλίνειν. That is to say, he borrows Mark's ἤρξατο, but transfers it to something to which 'beginning' was strictly appropriate: 'the sun began to get low'.

9. vi 55 καὶ ἤρξαντο ἐπὶ τοῖς κραβάττοις τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας περιφέρειν. The whole paragraph is absent from Luke: Matthew substitutes an aorist, προσήνεγκαν.

10. viii 11 καὶ ἐξῆλθον οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ ἤρξαντο συνζητεῖν αὐτῷ. Matthew has an imperfect: Luke has the Q account of the demand for a sign (xi 29), and therefore leaves out Mark's account.

11. viii 31 καὶ ἤρξατο διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς ὅτι δεῖ . . . Retained by Matthew: Luke has an aorist participle.

12. viii 32 καὶ προσλαβόμενος ὁ Πέτρος αὐτὸν ἤρξατο ἐπιτιμᾶν αὐτῷ. So also Matthew: Luke omits the episode.

13. x 28 ἤρξατο λέγειν ὁ Πέτρος αὐτῷ. In both the other accounts εἶπεν.

14. x 32 ἤρξατο αὐτοῖς λέγειν τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῷ συμβαίνειν: just as viii 31, no. 11. Once more both Matthew and Luke have simply εἶπεν.

15. x 41 καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ δέκα ἤρξαντο ἀγανακτεῖν . . . Luke, to save the credit of two leading apostles, omits all personal references in this episode: Matthew leaves the main story untouched, but for ἤρξαντο ἀγανακτεῖν substitutes the aorist ἠγανάκτησαν.

16. x 47 (of Bartimaeus) ἤρξατο κράζειν καὶ λέγειν . . . Very probably

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he did begin and go on with repeated cries: but both Matthew and Luke are, as usual, content with an aorist.

17. xi 15 *ἤρξατο ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς πωλοῦντας.* Matthew again has the aorist: Luke by exception (and so in no. **18**) retains the Marcan phrase.

18. xii 1 *καὶ ἤρξατο αὐτοῖς ἐν παραβολαῖς λαλεῖν Ἀμπελῶνα . . . .* Matthew, having just inserted in the Marcan framework the parable of the Two Sons, naturally omits the whole phrase: Luke follows Mark again, as in the last preceding case.

19. xiii 5 *ἤρξατο λέγειν αὐτοῖς Βλέπετε μή τις ὑμᾶς πλανήσῃ.* As in no. **11**, it is a real commencement of new matter, the eschatological discourse. Notwithstanding, both the other Synoptists prefer to treat our Lord's words simply as an answer to the question put to Him, 'When shall these things be?' and so introduce them with an aorist.

20. xiv 19 *ἤρξαντο λυπεῖσθαι καὶ λέγειν αὐτῷ . . .* Matthew retains *ἤρξαντο*: Luke omits this and the following verse, perhaps because it seemed impossible that any but the actual traitor could have needed to put the question 'Is it I?'

21. xiv 33 *ἤρξατο ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδημονεῖν.* Matthew once more retains *ἤρξατο*: Luke omits the whole verse.

22. xiv 65 *καὶ ἤρξαντό τινες ἐμπτύειν αὐτῷ.* For this Matthew has an aorist, Luke (better) an imperfect.

23. xiv 69 *καὶ ἡ παιδίσκη ἰδοῦσα αὐτὸν ἤρξατο πάλιν λέγειν.* For this Matthew has a present tense, Luke an aorist. B and the Sahidic, moved by just the same considerations as the two Evangelists, substitute *εἶπεν* in St Mark for the characteristic language of the author.

24. xiv 71 *ὁ δὲ ἤρξατο ἀναθεματίζειν.* So too Matthew: Luke, not liking to attribute oaths or curses to the apostle, contents himself with the statement of fact 'Peter said'.

25. xv 8 *ὁ ὄχλος ἤρξατο αἰτεῖσθαι . . . .* The verse has nothing corresponding to it in the other two accounts.

26. xv 18 *καὶ ἤρξαντο ἀσπάζεσθαι αὐτόν.* Cf. no. **22**: there, as here, Matthew has, instead of *ἤρξαντο*, an aorist. No parallel in Luke.

Out of these twenty-six instances, there are parallels in Matthew to nineteen, in Luke to fifteen: Matthew gets rid of *ἤρξα(ν)το* thirteen times, or twice in every three, Luke twelve times, or four times out of every five. As with regard to the substantive verb and participle, so here Matthew is averse to the construction himself, and where he does use it it is more often than not (six times out of ten: see **2**, **11**, **12**, **20**, **21**, **24**) taken over straight from Mark; while conversely Luke is again not so disinclined to the usage on his own account, but leaves it unaltered in Mark less often than Matthew, **17**, **18**, and see on **8**.

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iii. *The verb* δύναμαι *as auxiliary* (*altogether Matthew* 27 *times, Mark* 33, *Luke* 26).

Not only is the verb δύναμαι more common in Mark than in either Matthew or Luke, but in many cases its force is so weakened that it becomes almost an auxiliary verb, and corresponds to our 'can' 'could' or even 'may' 'might'. Translation of this shade of meaning is therefore easy in English, and the Authorized Version uses ordinarily 'can' and 'could'; but in iv 32 'may', in xiv 5 'might have been sold', and in iv 33 'as they were able'. In about half the cases of the use of δύναμαι in St Mark, there is nothing remarkable about it, and they will not be cited here: where there are parallels in the other Synoptists, they do not shrink from repeating Mark's phraseology; where, as in the majority of cases, a negative is expressed or implied, we could paraphrase 'it is impossible'. But in the other half Mark's usage of δύναμαι is tending towards an auxiliary sense, and any rendering like 'it is not possible' would exaggerate his meaning: R.V. (though it may be right in substituting 'are able' for the 'can' of A.V. in Mark x 38, 39) goes wrong when it tries to represent the future δυνήσεται (iii 25, viii 4, ix 39) by 'will (shall) be able': for the 'can' of A.V. all that is necessary is to put 'could'.

The cases that follow are those where the weakened or auxiliary use is probable or at least possible.

1. i 45 ὥστε μηκέτι αὐτὸν δύνασθαι εἰς πόλιν φανερῶς εἰσελθεῖν. There was no physical impossibility: A.V., R.V., rightly 'could no more'. No parallel in Matthew or Luke.

2. iii 20 ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς μηδὲ ἄρτον φαγεῖν. No parallels: but cf. Mark vi 31 οὐδὲ φαγεῖν εὐκαίρουν where the sense is practically the same as in iii 20 'They could not even get a meal'. Again no question of physical impossibility.

3. iii 23, 24, 25, 26 πῶς δύναται Σατανᾶς Σατανᾶν ἐκβάλλειν; . . . οὐ δύναται σταθῆναι . . . οὐ δυνήσεται στῆναι . . . οὐ δύναται στῆναι. Probably Matthew and Luke take the passage from Q: in any case they avoid the use of δύναμαι right through. (But Matthew follows Mark iii 27 in using it of the entry into the strong man's house.)

4. iv 32 ὥστε δύνασθαι ὑπὸ τὴν σκιὰν αὐτοῦ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατασκηνοῦν. Matthew retains Mark's construction but substitutes ἐλθεῖν for δύνασθαι: Luke turns the clause into a statement of fact καὶ . . . κατεσκήνωσεν. Q may once more have affected Matthew and Luke: but anyhow they have in fact both avoided Mark's δύνασθαι, which A.V. very well renders 'may'.

5. iv 33 He spoke the word to them in parables καθὼς ἠδύναντο

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ἀκούειν. No parallel in Luke: Matthew omits the phrase. A.V. and R.V. 'as they were able to hear it', but I suspect that Mark does not mean more than 'in proportion to their capacity' 'as they could hear'.

6. vi 5 οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἐκεῖ ποιῆσαι οὐδεμίαν δύναμιν. No parallel: but obviously Mark means that it was a moral impossibility for Christ to work miracles where there was not faith to correspond. Both our versions rightly 'could there do'.

7. vii 15 ὃ δύναται κοινῶσαι αὐτόν (cf. *v.* 18). No parallel in Luke: Matthew substitutes the simple κοινοῖ, because 'can defile' hardly means more here than 'does defile'.

8. ix 39 οὐδεὶς γάρ ἐστιν ὃς ποιήσει δύναμιν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου καὶ δυνήσεται ταχὺ κακολογῆσαί με. 'Could easily revile me' is surely the right shade of the meaning, rather than 'shall be able to' of R.V. No parallel in Matthew or Luke.

9. xiv 5 ἠδύνατο γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ μύρον πραθῆναι . . . So Matthew: no parallel in Luke. 'Might have been sold' A.V. and R.V., rightly.

10. xiv 7 ὅταν θέλητε δύνασθε . . . εὖ ποιῆσαι. Matthew omits: Luke again has no parallel. A.V. 'whensoever ye will ye may do them good' is exactly right: 'can do them good' of R.V. is unnecessary, and 'are able to do them good' would be an exaggeration of emphasis.

Consideration of Mark's use of δύναμαι does not perhaps at first sight compel us to conclusions so clear as those of the two preceding sections of this paper. But it cannot be without significance that Mark uses this verb, in proportion to the length of his Gospel, about twice as often as the other two Synoptists: and that being so, I think it is legitimate to apply the presumption to be drawn from his use of auxiliary verbs in general to this particular case. The parallel of our own language shews us how a verb like 'can' has tended to lose something of its original force: 'can you come to lunch to-morrow?' is intermediate between 'will you come?' and 'are you able to come?' Verbs like ἰσχύω begin to replace the stricter meaning of δύναμαι in later Greek. In Mark ix 18 'I said to thy disciples that they should cast it out' καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσαν, both the other Synoptists substitute οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν, perhaps from οὐκ ἠδυνήθημεν of Mark ix 28. Did the father use a stronger word than the apostles?

iv. *The verb θέλω as auxiliary* (*altogether Matthew* 39 *times, Mark* 25, *Luke* 28).

Θέλω is even more definitely an auxiliary in Mark than δύναμαι. It cannot indeed be distinguished from βούλομαι, since the latter word has almost dropped out from the language of the Gospels, and θέλω has replaced it. But θέλω itself hardly expresses the idea of a strong definite wish: for that sense other words have to be found, and θέλω in

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Mark can almost always be rendered by our own auxiliary verbs 'will' (in the present tense) and 'would' (in the past). Since, however, we use 'shall' and not 'will' as the auxiliary verb in the first person (singular and plural), the rule does not apply to the forms *θέλω θέλομεν*: Mark vi 25 *θέλω ἵνα ἐξαυτῆς δῷς μοι* is really mistranslated by the 'I will' of both A.V. and R.V.: x 35 *θέλομεν ἵνα ὃ ἐὰν αἰτήσωμέν σε ποιήσῃς ἡμῖν* is better rendered by them 'we would'; 'I want' or 'I should like' would be the most exact equivalents, and so indeed also, though the existing rendering has too sacred associations to be replaced by any other, in xiv 36.

It is interesting to note further how often in Mark the verbs *θέλω* and *δύναμαι*, our 'would' and 'could', stand in context and contrast with one another: i 40 *ἐὰν θέλῃς δύνασαί με καθαρίσαι*, 'If you would, you could make me clean'; vi 19 *ἤθελεν αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ οὐκ ἠδύνατο*, 'she would have killed him, but could not' (A.V. is right: R.V. 'desired to kill him' is wrong); vii 24 *οὐδένα ἤθελεν γνῶναι καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνάσθη λαθεῖν*, 'he would have remained incognito, but could not'; xiv 7 *ὅταν θέλητε δύνασθε αὐτοῖς πάντοτε εὖ ποιῆσαι*, 'if you would, you could be benefiting them continually'.

That *θέλω* must not be translated 'wish' or 'desire' in St Mark is made abundantly clear by vi 48 *ἤθελεν παρελθεῖν αὐτούς*, which of course does not mean 'He desired to pass them by', but exactly what we express by 'He would have passed them by'—if they had not noticed Him and stopped Him.

Now let us take some other passages in order, and see how they fit in with the principles of rendering just enunciated.

iii 13 *προσκαλεῖται οὓς ἤθελεν αὐτός*. Here we approach nearer than anywhere else in the Gospel to the sense of 'choice', and it is possible that this is just what is suggested by the otherwise inexplicable *αὐτός*. For obviously it cannot mean 'whom he himself selected and not somebody else', so that R.V.'s 'whom he himself would' is pure nonsense: and though St Mark wrote a Greek of his own and not that of the grammars, he meant something by it. *Faute de mieux*, it may therefore not be too bold to suggest that what he did mean by *αὐτός* was to add the element of personal choice to the colourless word *ἤθελεν*, and so for A.V. 'whom he would' I would substitute 'whom he willed'.

vi 26 *οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἀθετῆσαι αὐτήν*. For 'he would not reject her' I should be inclined to write 'he did not want to reject her'. That is, I think, the best rendering where a negative precedes *θέλω*.

viii 34 *εἴ τις θέλει ὀπίσω μου ἐλθεῖν*. A.V. is right with 'will come after me', rather than R.V. with 'would come after me'. Note that in the next verse *ὃς ἐὰν θέλῃ σῶσαι* is strictly parallel to *ὃς δ' ἂν ἀπολέσει*—for it will hardly be suggested that a 'will to save life' is contrasted

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with an accidental or involuntary loss of it. No instance could shew more clearly that *θέλω* is *practically* an auxiliary verb, and nothing else. So ix 35, x 43.

ix 13 *ἐποίησαν αὐτῷ ὅσα ἤθελον.* Both A.V. and R.V. 'what they listed': that is, in modern English, 'what they liked'. Not 'what they willed'.

x 36 *τί θέλετε ποιήσω ὑμῖν;* Our authorities vary a good deal in these words, but the reading is borne out by x 51 *τί σοι θέλεις ποιήσω;* xiv 12 *ποῦ θέλεις ἀπελθόντες ἑτοιμάσωμεν;* xv 9 *θέλετε ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν;* and possibly xv 12 *τί οὖν [θέλετε] ποιήσω;* 'What would ye I should do?'[1] The extraordinary reading of ℵ[c] B Ψ in x 36 *τί θέλετέ με ποιήσω ὑμῖν;* is relegated to the margin of W-H, and must presumably be a conflation between two readings *ποιήσω* and *με ποιῆσαι.*

xii 38 *τῶν γραμματέων τῶν θελόντων ἐν στολαῖς περιπατεῖν.* A.V. 'love' is a shade too strong: but it is nearer the mark than R.V. 'desire'. Our exact equivalent is 'like' to walk in their best clothes.

One remaining word, and it is an important one, must be said about the construction *θέλω ἵνα.*[2] It is found three times in Mark, vi 25 *θέλω ἵνα ἐξαυτῆς δῷς μοι ἐπὶ πίνακι τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἰωάνου,* ix 30 *καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν ἵνα τις γνοῖ,* x 35 *θέλομεν ἵνα ὃ ἐὰν αἰτήσωμέν σε ποιήσῃς ἡμῖν,* where the idiomatic rendering is, I think, 'I want you to give me' 'He did not want any one to know' 'We want you to give us': once apiece in Matthew and Luke but in the same phrase, Matt. vii 12 = Luke vi 31 *ὅσα ἐὰν θέλητε (καθὼς θέλετε) ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι,* where perhaps the phrase of **Q** was already so ingrained in Christain use as not to permit of change: once in John, xvii 24. Now *θέλω νά* is the modern Greek for the future tense: obviously the *κοινή* of the first century A.D. was already moving in that direction, and Mark of all the Evangelists most nearly represents the *κοινή* unaffected by literary tradition. The usage of auxiliary verbs was already beginning to establish itself.

v. *The verb* ἔχω (73 *times in Matthew,* 68 *in Mark,* 76 *in Luke*).

The account of auxiliary and quasi-auxiliary verbs would be incomplete without some treatment of the verb ἔχω, which shares with the words hitherto treated a disproportionate frequency of usage in

[1] In ix 5 the ordinary texts give *καὶ ποιήσωμεν τρεῖς σκηνάς,* and Luke too has *καὶ ποιήσωμεν*: but Matthew has *εἰ θέλεις ποιήσω,* and whence did he derive *εἰ θέλεις,* unless he read in Mark either *θέλεις ποιήσω* with D b ff i, or *θέλεις ποιήσωμεν* with Θ *fam* 13 565? 'Would you like us to make three tabernacles?'

[2] The use of *ἵνα* in Mark demands special treatment. It is found 58 times in Mark, as against 33 and 37 times respectively in the longer Gospels of Matthew and Luke.

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Mark as compared with Matthew and Luke, though it is not strictly auxiliary. Only in two passages is there anything like an echo of the low-Latin idiom of *habeo* with the past participle passive which has as we know established itself in the languages of Western Euope: iii 1 ἄνθρωπος ἐξηραμμένην ἔχων τὴν χεῖρα, viii 17 πεπωρωμένην ἔχετε τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν; That does a little bit suggest *arefactam habens manum*, and Matthew and Luke both instinctively substitute the adjective ξηρά for the participle ἐξηραμμένη: they have nothing parallel to viii 17. The papyri and modern Greek, I am told, shew that Greek as well as Latin developed along the lines of the auxiliary use of 'have' with the perfect participle; and that would account for the two instances in Mark.

But Mark's fondness for ἔχειν goes much farther than this, and the tendency of the two other Synoptists, and especially Luke, to modify Mark's language on many of the occasions of its use, is worth recording. I do not propose to examine all, or anything like all, of the sixty-eight instances where ἔχω occurs: any Greek writer, literary or not, will of course be found to make regular use of the word: what is peculiar to Mark is partly just his fondness for it, partly certain characteristic methods of employing it where a better trained writer like Luke will generally avoid it.

1. i 22 ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων. So Matthew: but Luke gets rid of ἔχων by writing ἦν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ. In ii 10, iii 15, the same phrase is followed by an infinitive, which makes all the difference.

2. i 32 τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας, cf. i 34, ii 17, vi 55. In classical Greek this would be κακῶς πράσσοντας or κακῶς πάσχοντας: and therefore, though Matthew has no objection to the phrase, Luke avoids it here, though he does not alter it where our Lord is the speaker, ii 17 χρείαν ἔχουσιν . . . ἰατροῦ . . . οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες—probably a proverbial phrase, and for that reason also more difficult of change.

3. ii 19 ὅσον χρόνον ἔχουσιν τὸν νυμφίον μετ' αὐτῶν, cf. xiv 7 πάντοτε τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν. In ii 19 both Matthew and Luke omit the phrase, primarily no doubt because it is redundant after ἐν ᾧ ὁ νυμφίος μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστίν. But the use with εἶναι is the use satisfactory to Luke, cf. 1, 5, 9, 13.

4. ii 25 χρείαν ἔσχεν. Omitted by Matthew and Luke, and characteristically Marcan: but quite classical with a genitive following, ii 17, xi 3, xiv 63, and retained on each occasion by both Matthew and Luke.

5. iii 1, 3 ἐξηραμμένην ἔχων τὴν χεῖρα (see above, at the top of the page), τῷ τὴν χεῖρα ἔχοντι ξηράν: on the first of the two occasions Luke vi 6 substitutes ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ ἡ δεξιὰ ἦν ξηρά, cf. 1, 3. See the next note.

6. iii 10 ὅσοι εἶχον μάστιγας, cf. iii 22 Βεεζεβοὺλ ἔχει, iii 30 πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον ἔχει, v 15 τὸν ἐσχηκότα τὸν λεγιῶνα, vii 25 εἶχεν τὸ θυγάτριον

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αὐτῆς πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον, ix 17 ἔχοντα πνεῦμα ἄλαλον. Of these six cases of ἔχειν neither Matthew nor Luke (where they have parallels at all) retain any one. Luke paraphrases with οἱ ἐνοχλούμενοι ὑπὸ . . . ἀφ' οὗ τὰ δαιμόνια ἐξῆλθεν (but in viii 27 he writes ἔχων δαιμόνια), Matthew with κακῶς ἔχοντες, κακῶς δαιμονίζεται, κακῶς πάσχει. Mark's use would seem to be a sort of colloquial idiom, somewhat resembling our own 'a man with an unclean spirit' and the like.

7. iii 29 οὐκ ἔχει ἄφεσιν. Both Matthew and Luke substitute the cognate verb ἀφίεσθαι. Mark's use is very un-Greek—'to have forgiveness' instead of 'to be forgiven'—and no better example of his exaggerated use of ἔχειν could be found.

8. iv 5, 5, 6, 17 οὐκ εἶχεν γῆν πολλήν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ῥίζαν, οὐκ ἔχουσιν ῥίζαν. There is nothing wrong in these phrases, but they do illustrate the limitations of Mark's vocabulary and his fondness for an elementary verb like ἔχειν. Precisely similar is his repeated usage, for instance, of ἔρχεσθαι.

9. iv 40 οὔπω ἔχετε πίστιν; cf. xi 22 ἔχετε πίστιν θεοῦ. Again nothing absolutely incorrect, and Matthew has the construction three times, the Epistle of James twice. But common as πίστις is in St Paul's Epistles, ἔχειν πίστιν only occurs three times. Luke viii 25 changes to ποῦ ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν;

10. v 3 τὴν κατοίκησιν εἶχεν ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν. Again Luke changes noun with ἔχειν to verb ἔμενεν, viii 27.

11. v 23 ἐσχάτως ἔχει. A colloquial phrase, unique in N. T., and condemned by purists as not found in Attic writers: see Rutherford *The New Phrynichus* p. 481. Both Matthew and Luke alter it.

12. vi 34 ὡς πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα, 'as sheep without a shepherd', see on **6** above. The phrase is adopted by Matthew in another context, Matt. ix 36. The idea is frequent in O. T., but the LXX (cf. Luke's usage, see on **3** above) always renders οἷς οὐκ ἔστιν ποιμήν (Swete).

13. vi 38, viii 5 πόσους ἄρτους ἔχετε; Matthew on both occasions has the same construction as Mark: Luke here (no parallel to viii 5) changes once more to the construction with εἶναι, see on **3**, οὐκ εἰσὶν ἡμῖν πλεῖον ἢ . . . But in viii 16, 17 ὅτι ἄρτους οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ὅτι ἄρτους οὐκ ἔχετε (no Lucan parallel), Matthew substitutes ἐλάβομεν, ἐλάβετε.

14. ix 50 ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἅλα. No parallel: but perhaps Matthew's ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ τὸ ἅλας τῆς γῆς (Matt. v 13) represents the **Q** form of the same Saying.

15. x 21 ὅσα ἔχεις πώλησον, 22 ἦν γὰρ ἔχων χρήματα πολλά, 23 οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες. It is curious that Luke retains the first and third of these contiguous phrases, and changes the second to ἦν γὰρ πλούσιος σφόδρα, while Matthew retains in substance the second (with κτήματα

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for *χρήματα*) but changes the first to *πώλησόν σου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα* and the third to *πλούσιος*. Obviously the common instinct of both was to modify at some point or another Mark's superabundant use of *ἔχειν* in this context.

16. xi 13 *συκῆν . . . ἔχουσαν φύλλα*, 'a fig-tree in leaf' 'with leaves'. Luke omits the whole episode because of its difficulty, Matthew omits *ἔχουσαν φύλλα*, perhaps simply because the phrase immediately following 'nothing but leaves' sufficiently implies that there were leaves.

17. xii 6 *ἔτι ἕνα εἶχεν υἱὸν ἀγαπητόν*. Both Matthew and Luke reconstruct the phrase, perhaps just in order to get rid of *ἔχω* in this connexion. A Greek would naturally have written not *εἶχεν υἱόν*, but *ἦν αὐτῷ υἱός*.

18. xiv 8 *ὃ ἔσχεν ἐποίησεν*, 'what she could she did'. Luke omits the episode, because he has already given a similar story in vii 37 ff: Matthew omits this sentence, it may be only to get rid of the collocation *ἐμὲ οὐ πάντοτε ἔχετε· ὃ ἔσχεν . . .* But the parallels which Swete quotes from Luke to this use of *ἔχω* (Luke vii 42, xii 4, xiv 14, Acts iv 14) are not strictly in point, for in each of them a negative precedes, and that makes a real difference.

Nothing was said above of i 38 *τὰς ἐχομένας κωμοπόλεις*, because this use of the participle of the middle voice is not *in pari materia* with the rest of the passages enumerated, and moreover it is quite good Greek.

APPENDIX

εἰδέναι, γινώσκειν, ἐπιγινώσκειν, substantially identical in sense in Mark.

We are all familiar with the distinction in classical Greek between *εἰδέναι* 'to know by intuition' and *γινώσκω* 'to know by experience or learning', or in other words between 'knowing' and 'learning'. But does this distinction exist for St Mark? Does not the process of degeneration of the language of which we have been accumulating evidence extend to these two similar verbs as well?

1. iv 13 *οὐκ οἴδατε τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην; καὶ πῶς πάσας τὰς παραβολὰς γνώσεσθε;* (no parallel in Matthew or Luke).

Both A.V. and R.V. translate both words 'know': but Swete *ad loc.* would draw the ordinary distinction between 'knowledge which comes from intuition or insight' and 'that which is gained by experience or acquaintance'. Our versions are right, if only for the reason that there is no future of *εἰδέναι* in N. T.: *εἰδήσω* is only once found (Heb. viii 11), and that in a quotation from the LXX. But if *γνώσομαι* is used as the future of *εἰδέναι*—as it certainly appears to be in this passage—a presumption is already created that in Mark at any rate the two verbs are

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not really distinguishable. That presumption appears to be borne out in the passages which follow.

2. v 29, 33 *ἔγνω τῷ σώματι ὅτι ἴαται ἀπὸ τῆς μάστιγος . . . εἰδυῖα ὃ γέγονεν αὐτῇ.*

Our versions make the distinction of 'felt' and 'knowing': but I do not think there is any justification for this, beyond perhaps the consideration that *γινώσκω* may tend to be used where the sphere of knowledge, *σώματι* or *πνεύματι*, is expressed.

3. xiii 28, 29; 33, 35 *γινώσκεται ὅτι ἐγγὺς τὸ θέρος ἐστίν . . . γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐγγύς ἐστιν ἐπὶ θύραις . . . οὐκ οἴδατε γὰρ πότε ὁ καιρός [ἐστιν] . . . οὐκ οἴδατε γὰρ πότε ὁ κύριος τῆς οἰκίας ἔρχεται.*

Here it is not easy to give any other rendering throughout than 'know'. All that can be said is that it is practically a rule with the negative to use *οἴδατε* rather than *γινώσκετε*: cf. iv 27, ix 6, x 38, xi 33, xii 24, xiii 32, xiv 40.

4. xii 12 *ἔγνωσαν γὰρ ὅτι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν παραβολὴν εἶπεν*, and xv 10 *ἐγίνωσκεν γὰρ ὅτι διὰ φθόνον παραδεδώκεισαν αὐτόν* (where Matthew at any rate thought that *ᾔδει* was the proper word to use) contrasted with ii 10 *ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας* and xi 32 *ἅπαντες γὰρ ᾔδεισαν τὸν Ἰωάνην ὄντως ὅτι προφήτης ἦν.* Here I read *ᾔδεισαν* confidently with D W Θ 565 700 and O. L. including *k*: for (i) the alternative reading *εἶχον* is easily explained as introduced from Matthew, (ii) *ᾔδεισαν* suits better than *εἶχον* with the word *ὄντως* —you can 'know of a surety', but how can you 'regard of a surety'?

Does Mark mean to distinguish in these two sets of passages between two sorts of knowledge as predicated on these different occasions of Scribes and Pharisees, of Pilate, and of the crowd? I think the words are synonymous.

5. ii 8, v 30, viii 17, xii 15: the participles *γνούς*, *ἐπιγνούς*, *εἰδώς*, as used of our Lord.

ii 8 *καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπιγνοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ πνεύματι αὐτοῦ ὅτι οὕτως διαλογίζονται . . .* For this and the next case see on **2** above.

v 30 *καὶ εὐθὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐπιγνοὺς ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἐξελθοῦσαν . . .*

viii 17 *καὶ γνοὺς λέγει αὐτοῖς Τί διαλογίζεσθε ὅτι ἄρτους οὐκ ἔχετε;*

xii 15 *ὁ δὲ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Τί με πειράζετε;* So B C L A Δ Ψ *a k* Vulg. Syriac and Egyptian versions against *ἰδών* of the rest: and in spite of xii 34 (and xii 28?) the preponderance of authority for *εἰδώς* here seems decisive.[1]

[1] Even if *εἰδώς* is not the correct reading in this passage, the participle reappears in v 33 (quoted above) and vi 20 of Herod *ἐφοβεῖτο τὸν Ἰωάνην, εἰδὼς αὐτὸν ἄνδρα δίκαιον καὶ ἅγιον.* So for the other two verbs cf. vi 54 *εὐθὺς ἐπιγνόντες αὐτόν* and xv 45 *γνοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κεντυρίωνος.*

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It does not seem possible to distinguish any difference of meaning between the three verbs as used of our Lord's knowledge in these four passages. What distinction there is is perhaps one of tense—εἰδώς being the present, γνούς and ἐπιγνούς the aorist: γινώσκων, ἐπιγινώσκων, are not found in Mark. In other words, when Mark wanted to write a present participle, he used that of οἶδα: when he was writing an aorist, he turned to γινώσκω or ἐπιγινώσκω. Just as with οἴδατε and γνώσεσθε, so with εἰδώς and γνούς, we construct the complete paradigm only by the help of the two verbs.

The practical identity of γινώσκω and ἐπιγινώσκω seems to be borne out by a comparison of vi 33 καὶ ἔγνωσαν πολλοί (if we read ἔγνωσαν with B D and *fam.* 1) καὶ πεζῇ . . . συνέδραμον and vi 54 εὐθὺς ἐπιγνόντες αὐτὸν περιέδραμον . . .

C. H. TURNER.

Ἀγαπητός

A year ago Prof. Souter published in the JOURNAL (Oct. 1926, xxviii 59) a passage of Plutarch illustrating the sense of ἀγαπητός for which I have pleaded in reference to the Gospels. Shortly before the appearance of Prof. Souter's note my friend the late Prof. A. H. Cruickshank, of the University of Durham, had communicated to me another passage from Plutarch where ἀγαπητός is conjoined with μόνος in the same sense: *de genio Socratis* 27[1] (Charon talking of his son) οὗτος (εἶπεν) ὦ ἄνδρες ἐμοὶ μόνος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀγαπητός, ὡς ἴστε.

C. H. TURNER.

THE 'SHORTER TEXT' OF ST LUKE XXII 15–20.

IN one of the Additional Notes to *Can we then Believe?* Dr Gore deals with the problem of the 'shorter text' of St Luke's account of the Institution of the Eucharist. In this note the writer, with characteristic candour, records his abandonment of 'a preference for the longer text, as it is found in the A.V. and R.V.', and admits the force of the textual argument against that longer text, as presented by Dr Hort and Dr Sanday. But he still finds the problem of this passage insoluble. The shorter text appears to hold the field, yet 'on the other hand, it is difficult to suppose that St Luke should have been content to give an account of the Institution which ends so abruptly, and leaves it to be supposed that our Lord dealt with the cup before

[1] In the Teubner edition of the *Moralia*, iii 539.

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the bread, and should have omitted in connexion with the cup any reference to its sacramental meaning'.

Dr Gore is surely justified, alike in abandoning the 'longer text', and in feeling that the 'shorter text', as commonly presented, is extremely hard to accept and to understand. It is the purpose of this note to give reasons for thinking that a different 'shorter text' can be reconstructed, on the basis of the textual evidence, and that such a text is both likely to be what St Luke actually wrote, and also offers none of the difficulties which are involved in the acceptance of the reading found in *Codex Bezae*.[1]

Before passing on to consider the textual evidence, I would call attention to a question which is more important than some scholars have appeared to realize. The Marcan narrative provided St Luke with the words οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ πίω ἐκ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ. Since Luke was purposing to add at a later point a reference to eating and drinking at the table of the Lord in His kingdom, he wrote down Mark xiv 25 in a shortened form—οὐ μὴ πίω . . . ἕως ὅτου ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλθῃ; but he also deliberately duplicated the whole utterance—ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα φαγεῖν . . . λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐ μὴ φάγω αὐτὸ ἕως ὅτου πληρωθῇ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ. What was the point of this duplication? This will appear more clearly later on; but it is to be noted that the *effect* of the duplication is to open the story of the Last Supper with a solemn and mysterious reference to (1) eating and (2) drinking. In the *Textus Receptus* this double reference is then repeated, in full liturgical form; whereas in the text of D the reference to drinking is followed only by a curiously abrupt account of the eucharistic breaking of the bread. Thus it is misleading to speak of that text as though it merely inverted the normal liturgical order, and placed the cup before the bread; it does not do so[2]; it merely adds a reference to bread and eating after

[1] The whole passage Luke xxii 14–23 was the subject of a very interesting study by Dr H. E. D. Blakiston which appeared in this JOURNAL in 1903 (vol. iv, pp. 548–555). Dr Blakiston, who was definitely inclined to prefer the 'longer text' to that of W-H, propounded the hypothesis that the whole section was 'not the Synoptic tradition with additional details perhaps affected by St Paul's version, but a deliberate, though intentionally incomplete, conflation of two distinct, independent, and perhaps equally original narratives of the Institution'. The acute arguments by which this hypothesis was supported do not concern me here; but it is interesting to find that the narrative which Dr Blakiston assigned to the Lucan source is exactly identical with the Lucan text towards which, as I believe, the textual evidence really points.

[2] The view here rejected is maintained by Loisy (*Évangiles Synoptiques* ii 528): 'le récit de Luc a toujours embarrassé les commentateurs, la bénédiction de la coupe précédant celle du pain, sauf à revenir une seconde fois après le souper.' Loisy holds the common view that the Lucan account and order, as given in D &c., is to

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the twofold utterance about eating and drinking which is found in *vv.* 15–18. This 'shorter text', then, ought not to be thought of as narrating a complete eucharistic Institution in an abnormal order. Its difficulty is not one of order but of redundance; for if it be accepted we have to explain why one half of the Institution-narrative is appended to a passage in which the twofold elements of the eucharistic action are already represented, enigmatically indeed, but in their normal sequence.

The textual evidence is reduced by Dr Zahn in his Commentary (pp. 671 ff) to four main types of reading, namely:—

I. an early Syriac-Latin form, in which *vv.* 17–18 are placed after σῶμά μου, and take the place of 19b–20 as the conclusion of the narrative;

II. the text of the great uncials, &c.;

III. that of the Peshitto, which omits 17–18 altogether, but includes 19–20 as they are found in II;

IV. the reading of D a ff² &c., which inserts καὶ λαβὼν . . . σῶμά μου only, after *v.* 18.

This classification is rather a rough one, as a closer glance at the Syriac evidence would shew, but it is adequate, perhaps, for our present purpose. Of the types thus distinguished, III may clearly be disregarded; and in spite of Professor A. C. Clark's rehabilitation of II (*Primitive Text of the Gospels* pp. 77 ff) I will take leave to assume that the weight of evidence is definitely unfavourable to II, and that II is a deliberate and non-Lucan assimilation of a difficult passage to more familiar texts and usages. But it must not be forgotten that the evidence for II, or something very like it, is extremely early. Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i 66), harmonistic though his reference to the Eucharist may be, clearly thought of the words τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησίν μου as Gospel words, and when he wrote καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὁμοίως it is to be presumed that the Lucan ὡσαύτως was in his mind. Marcion also—though the evidence for his reading at this point is incomplete—appears to have had in his text the words διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου. Therefore, if II is the product of a process of assimilation, that process must have begun very early indeed.

This being admitted and borne in mind, we have next to ask whether any of our extant Gospel-texts is so pure as to preserve the

be illustrated from the *Didache*; it reproduces the normal Jewish order of the benedictions, which was not the order in which the distribution took place. The order bread-wine was due, he thinks, to St Paul, 'qui a vu surtout dans l'eucharistie le symbole et la continuation du sacrifice de la croix . . . De ce point de vue théologien, la fraction du pain, symbole de la mort, s'offrait la première à l'esprit, et permettrait de comprendre sans difficulté le symbolisme du vin'.

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original text from which the process of assimilation and amplification took its beginning; and since the reading of D &c. has been accepted as the standard type of 'shorter text', we have to ask whether D preserves what St Luke wrote, or whether even this text has undergone any amplification.

In order to answer this question we must look more closely into the texts roughly grouped by Zahn under the heading I. Within this group Syr-sin seems to stand over against Syr-cu and *b e* as representing a more advanced stage of textual evolution, while *b e*, again, are more primitive than Syr-cu. A *conspectus* will make this clear:—

Syr-sin	*e* (*Syr-cu*, *b*)
επιθυμια επεθυμησα	concupiscentiam concupi
το πασχα φαγειν μεθ' υμων	hoc pascha manducare uobiscum
προ του με παθειν	priusquam patiar
λεγω γαρ υμιν	dico enim uobis
(οτι) ουκετι ου μη φαγω αυτο	quia iam non manducabo illud
εως οτου πληρωθη	doneque adimplear (impleatur *b*)
εν τη βασιλεια του θεου	in regno dei
και λαβων αρτον	et accepit panem et (et accepto pane *b*)
ευχαριστησας εκλασεν	gratias egit (+ επ' αυτω *cu*) et fregit
και εδωκεν αυτοις λεγων	et dedit eis (illis *b*) dicens
τουτο εστιν το σωμα μου	hoc est corpus meum
το υπερ υμων διδομενον	(+ το υπερ υμων
ουτως ποιειτε	ουτως ποιειτε
εις την εμην αναμνησιν	εις την εμην αναμνησιν *cu*: om *b e*)
και μετα το δειπνησαι	et
λαβων το ποτηριον	accepit calicem et (accepto calice *b*)
ευχαριστησας επ αυτω	gratias egit (+ επ αυτω *cu*)
ειπεν λαβετε τουτο	et dixit accipite (+ hoc et *b* + τουτο *cu*)
διαμερισατε εις εαυτους	uiuite (diuidite *b*) inter uos
	——
	——
η καινη διαθηκη	dico enim uobis
λεγω γαρ υμιν	quod non uiuam (bibam *b*) amodo
οτι ου μη πιω απο του νυν	de potione uitis (de generatione uitis huius *b*: απο του γενηματος τουτου της αμπελου *cu*)
απο του γενηματος τουτου	quoadusque (donec *b*) regnum dei ueniat.
εως οτου η βασιλεια του θεου ελθη	

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The Greek text underlying the Sinaitic Syriac, with its additions of *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον* ('which I give for you'), *οὕτως ποιεῖτε κτλ.*, *μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι*, and *τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμα μου ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη*, is clearly later, at this point, than that represented in the Curetonian, while the Curetonian is in its turn later than the Latin authorities grouped with it; and we may conveniently take *e*, therefore, as representing Zahn's group I in its earliest extant form.

What, then, is the difference between the text of I (*e*) and that of IV (D *a ff*^{2}, &c.)? Neglecting minor details, it amounts simply to this, that IV has the words *καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον . . . τὸ σῶμά μου* after the clause *ἕως ὅτου ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλθῃ*, whereas I has the same words appended to the clause *ἕως ὅτου πληρωθῇ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ*. Dr Sanday (in H. D. B. ii 636 f) regarded the reading of *e* as an attempt to improve upon that found in D. 'The omission of *vv.* 19^b–20 (D *a ff*^{2} *i l*) belongs to the oldest form of the Western text. The next step was to transpose the order of *vv.* 17–18 and 19^a, so as to make the sequence of the Bread and Cup correspond to that in the other authorities.' Yet, with all due deference to so high an authority, it is permissible to doubt the correctness of this reconstruction of the textual developement, and to suggest an alternative.

Since *k* is not extant at this point, *e* is our only available representative, though by no means a consistent representative, of the African Latin; and it is not impossible that *e* should be regarded here as parallel to D rather than derivative from D. In fact, I would suggest, these two manuscripts represent two extremely early and almost identical attempts to emend a difficult passage, or rather they represent one and the same attempt, marred in one case and not in the other by a mischance.

Is there not a presumption, where a piece of 'over-matter' is found, in two different but kindred authorities, at two different points in a paragraph, that it is in both cases an interpolation? If that is so, the present case is surely one in which that presumption is of exceptional strength. We have here a little section, very strangely placed in D and less strangely in *e*, but occurring in both cases after the words *βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ*. Is it not probable, at least, that the clause is a very early interpolation, intended from the first to be inserted where *e* has it, but added by mischance, in an ancestor of D, after the wrong *βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ*? Professor Turner, to whom I made this suggestion, amplifies and illuminates it thus: 'one might suppose that the first change was that a very early annotator put in the *καὶ λαβὼν . . . σῶμά μου* clause between two columns of his papyrus roll, and that *e*'s ancestor copied it into his copy in the left-hand column of the text, D's ancestor into the column to the right, that is, at a later point.'

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This interpolation, if we may now venture to call it so, is not based on 1 Corinthians nor on Matthew but on Mark; ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς appears in Matthew as δοὺς τοῖς μαθηταῖς and is absent from the Pauline text. Moreover, with its omission of λάβετε it is closer to the text of *k* in Mark than to that of the critical editions, although it does not go so far with *k* as to include 'et manducauerunt ex illo omnes', which Professor Turner (*Inaugural Lecture* ed. 2 p. 71) believes to be the authentic Marcan text. Both D and *e*, however, with εὐχαριστήσας and *gratias egit* shew a slight assimilation to the Pauline text, or to that of Luke xxii 17, whereas the Marcan reading is undoubtedly εὐλογήσας (benedixit *k*).

It may be asked whether after all it is not possible that the *e* text as it stands is original. The answer seems to be that in its present form it cannot be the parent of the text of D, nor does it in any way serve to explain the reading of the great uncials. On the other hand, it is, as I believe, the most primitive text that we possess; but in order to explain the other and later forms we seem forced to go back behind all extant MS authority, and to discern behind *e* a text in which there was no explicit eucharistic reference at all. Such a text must have seemed from the first to cry out for amplification[1]; and such a text alone would afford a simple and adequate explanation of all the subsequent variants. That it explains the present reading of *e* is obvious; while Zahn's text-form II may either have been an independent amplification, or, conceivably, may have originated on the basis of the error now perpetuated in D and its congeners. In any case, there is a direct road from the shortest of all the possible 'short forms' to any of the longer ones.

A word must now be said about the resultant text: καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν· λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐ μὴ φάγω αὐτὸ ἕως ὅτου πληρωθῇ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ δεξάμενος ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας εἶπεν· λάβετε, διαμερίσατε εἰς ἑαυτούς. λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐ μὴ πίω ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ γενήματος [τούτου] τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως ὅτου ἔλθῃ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ. πλὴν ἰδοὺ ἡ χεὶρ τοῦ παραδίδοντός με κτλ. All this is deliberately substituted for the explicit eucharistic reference of Mark. The motive for the duplication οὐ μὴ φάγω . . . οὐ μὴ πίω, which replaces Mark's οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ πίω, at once becomes plain. The words are φωνᾶντα συνετοῖσιν; the double reference to eating and drinking, coupled with the promise uttered later of a διαθήκη, wherein the faithful, and they only, would eat and drink at the Lord's table in His

[1] The amplifying process is presumably older than Marcion, but the form in which his text appears to have presented it would have commended itself to him on the ground of its Pauline character.

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kingdom, would be understood to veil from all but the initiated the intimacies of a familiar rite. But even so veiled a reference must touch, though allusively, upon food as well as upon drink: and the duplication of the Marcan utterance serves to clothe the allusion in a perfectly appropriate form.

I do not infer, as some recent German scholarship is inclined to do, that the story of the Last Supper was not, in St Luke's mind, linked closely with liturgical usage, that it was not *kultisch gedacht*. Contrariwise, I am tempted to think that we have here such a genuine trace of a *disciplina arcani* as reappears in the Fourth Gospel. One can quite readily conceive that St Luke's narrative was published under circumstances which made it inadvisable to disclose the inner meaning of Christian worship. Dr Blakiston, in the paper alluded to above, called attention to some of the contacts between the Third Gospel and the Fourth at this point. A recent study by von Harnack, dealing with Marcionite readings and their influence upon Catholic texts, has suggested others. Here, perhaps, we have one more; and the significance of these contacts offers a problem for which no one yet, so far as I know, has provided an adequate solution.[1]

H. N. Bate.

THE THEOPHANIES OF GIDEON AND MANOAH.

In the course of the criticism of the Old Testament it is often necessary to conclude that a particular narrative or element of a narrative is unhistorical, on the ground that it is contradicted by other evidence which appears to be more trustworthy. But the task still remains of considering the details, for in the effort to understand them we may often throw light upon beliefs and ideas of great value for the study of history in its widest sense. For example, if the opening chapters of Genesis are not regarded as an authentic account of the beginning of the world, we find in its stead a quantity of evidence which illumines the ideas and beliefs of the Hebrews, and what we seem to lose in 'objective' history we gain in a deeper knowledge of Hebrew life and thought. In the long run we acquire material which

[1] This note was written, and had left my hands, before the publication of Professor Burkitt's note on the same passage in the January number of this Journal (pp. 178 ff.). Professor Burkitt holds that the 'shorter text' preserves the true Lucan reading, while the 'longer text' dates from the formation of the Church's official Canon of Four Gospels. I should prefer to say that the 'shorter' and the 'longer' texts both date from successive stages in that process, and that the earlier of these stages cannot be placed later than the first decades of the second century.

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really is immensely more valuable for modern problems of the development of thought than if we were content with the view that the chapters in question must be *either* accepted *or* rejected as a whole.

The theophanies in Judges vi and xiii offer a rather more intricate illustration of the preceding contention. There are doubtless some to whom the chapters, as they stand, bring no difficulty; but there are many who, unable to accept all the details, would prefer to admit that the narratives are 'substantially' or 'essentially' authentic and trustworthy. But, as every serious student of history is aware, it is absolutely unmethodical to suppose that by eliminating the untrustworthy elements of any record the residue is to be accepted as genuinely historical.[1] Moreover, to suppose that criticism is influenced by bias against the supernatural or the marvellous is to obscure the issue, for many a story of some thoroughly historical personage has been embellished with mythical and entirely incredible elements, and many a story of imaginary and fictitious characters is full of incidents in every way natural and rational. None the less, the theophanies in Judges vi and xiii deserve more attention than is given them by modern commentaries; and, unless we agree that they are trustworthy accounts of certain incidents which actually occurred in the days of the judges of Ancient Israel, there is room for some discussion, however hypothetical it must necessarily be.

The accounts (*a*) of the origin of the altar Yahweh-Shālōm at Ophrah (Judges vi 11–24) and (*b*) of the events at the altar near Zorah leading to the birth of Samson (ch. xiii) contain details of much interest for the history of Hebrew religion. The former (*a*) describes the visit of a divine messenger to Gideon who prepares a meal for him. The meal becomes a sacrificial burnt-offering; the messenger touches the food with his staff, fire issues from the rock and consumes it. He disappears from sight, and Gideon, terrified at the knowledge that he had seen an angel of Yahweh, is comforted by Yahweh: 'peace (*shālōm*) be unto thee, fear not, thou shalt not die'. Hence the altar receives the name Yahweh-Shālōm; and it survived to the narrator's day, in Ophrah of the Abiezrites. In the second narrative (*b*) the childless wife of Manoah is visited by a divine messenger as she sits in the field outside Zorah. On his second visit she summons Manoah to hear his message. Manoah prepares a burnt-offering upon the rock, and it is mysteriously consumed by fire, in the flame of which the angel himself ascends into heaven. Realizing that he had seen God (Elohim)

[1] Cf. W. E. Collins *Study of Ecclesiastical History* p. 135: 'least of all may we neglect the fantastic or marvellous elements as untrue and accept the rest; for the evidence for one part of the story is at any rate no worse and no better than that for the other'; similarly Freeman *Historical Essays* p. 3.

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for χρήματα) but changes the first to πώλησόν σου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα and the third to πλούσιος. Obviously the common instinct of both was to modify at some point or another Mark's superabundant use of ἔχειν in this context.

16. xi 13 συκῆν . . . ἔχουσαν φύλλα, 'a fig-tree in leaf' 'with leaves'. Luke omits the whole episode because of its difficulty, Matthew omits ἔχουσαν φύλλα, perhaps simply because the phrase immediately following 'nothing but leaves' sufficiently implies that there were leaves.

17. xii 6 ἔτι ἕνα εἶχεν υἱὸν ἀγαπητόν. Both Matthew and Luke reconstruct the phrase, perhaps just in order to get rid of ἔχω in this connexion. A Greek would naturally have written not εἶχεν υἱόν, but ἦν αὐτῷ υἱός.

18. xiv 8 ὃ ἔσχεν ἐποίησεν, 'what she could she did'. Luke omits the episode, because he has already given a similar story in vii 37 ff: Matthew omits this sentence, it may be only to get rid of the collocation ἐμὲ οὐ πάντοτε ἔχετε· ὃ ἔσχεν . . . But the parallels which Swete quotes from Luke to this use of ἔχω (Luke vii 42, xii 4, xiv 14, Acts iv 14) are not strictly in point, for in each of them a negative precedes, and that makes a real difference.

Nothing was said above of i 38 τὰς ἐχομένας κωμοπόλεις, because this use of the participle of the middle voice is not *in pari materia* with the rest of the passages enumerated, and moreover it is quite good Greek.

APPENDIX

εἰδέναι, γινώσκειν, ἐπιγινώσκειν, *substantially identical in sense in Mark.*

We are all familiar with the distinction in classical Greek between εἰδέναι 'to know by intuition' and γινώσκω 'to know by experience or learning', or in other words between 'knowing' and 'learning'. But does this distinction exist for St Mark? Does not the process of degeneration of the language of which we have been accumulating evidence extend to these two similar verbs as well?

1. iv 13 οὐκ οἴδατε τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην; καὶ πῶς πάσας τὰς παραβολὰς γνώσεσθε; (no parallel in Matthew or Luke).

Both A.V. and R.V. translate both words 'know': but Swete *ad loc.* would draw the ordinary distinction between 'knowledge which comes from intuition or insight' and 'that which is gained by experience or acquaintance'. Our versions are right, if only for the reason that there is no future of εἰδέναι in N. T.: εἰδήσω is only once found (Heb. viii 11), and that in a quotation from the LXX. But if γνώσομαι is used as the future of εἰδέναι—as it certainly appears to be in this passage—a presumption is already created that in Mark at any rate the two verbs are

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not really distinguishable. That presumption appears to be borne out in the passages which follow.

2. v 29, 33 *ἔγνω τῷ σώματι ὅτι ἴαται ἀπὸ τῆς μάστιγος . . . εἰδυῖα ὃ γέγονεν αὐτῇ.*

Our versions make the distinction of 'felt' and 'knowing': but I do not think there is any justification for this, beyond perhaps the consideration that *γινώσκω* may tend to be used where the sphere of knowledge, *σώματι* or *πνεύματι*, is expressed.

3. xiii 28, 29; 33, 35 *γινώσκεται ὅτι ἐγγὺς τὸ θέρος ἐστίν . . . γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐγγύς ἐστιν ἐπὶ θύραις . . . οὐκ οἴδατε γὰρ πότε ὁ καιρός [ἐστιν] . . . οὐκ οἴδατε γὰρ πότε ὁ κύριος τῆς οἰκίας ἔρχεται.*

Here it is not easy to give any other rendering throughout than 'know'. All that can be said is that it is practically a rule with the negative to use *οἴδατε* rather than *γινώσκετε*: cf. iv 27, ix 6, x 38, xi 33, xii 24, xiii 32, xiv 40.

4. xii 12 *ἔγνωσαν γὰρ ὅτι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν παραβολὴν εἶπεν*, and xv 10 *ἐγίνωσκεν γὰρ ὅτι διὰ φθόνον παραδεδώκεισαν αὐτόν* (where Matthew at any rate thought that *ᾔδει* was the proper word to use) contrasted with ii 10 *ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας* and xi 32 *ἅπαντες γὰρ ᾔδεισαν τὸν Ἰωάνην ὄντως ὅτι προφήτης ἦν.* Here I read *ᾔδεισαν* confidently with D W Θ 565 700 and O. L. including *k*: for (i) the alternative reading *εἶχον* is easily explained as introduced from Matthew, (ii) *ᾔδεισαν* suits better than *εἶχον* with the word *ὄντως* —you can 'know of a surety', but how can you 'regard of a surety'?

Does Mark mean to distinguish in these two sets of passages between two sorts of knowledge as predicated on these different occasions of Scribes and Pharisees, of Pilate, and of the crowd? I think the words are synonymous.

5. ii 8, v 30, viii 17, xii 15: the participles *γνούς*, *ἐπιγνούς*, *εἰδώς*, as used of our Lord.

ii 8 *καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπιγνοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ πνεύματι αὐτοῦ ὅτι οὕτως διαλογίζονται . . .* For this and the next case see on **2** above.

v 30 *καὶ εὐθὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐπιγνοὺς ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἐξελθοῦσαν . . .*

viii 17 *καὶ γνοὺς λέγει αὐτοῖς Τί διαλογίζεσθε ὅτι ἄρτους οὐκ ἔχετε;*

xii 15 *ὁ δὲ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Τί με πειράζετε;* So B C L A Δ Ψ *a k* Vulg. Syriac and Egyptian versions against *ἰδών* of the rest: and in spite of xii 34 (and xii 28?) the preponderance of authority for *εἰδώς* here seems decisive.[1]

[1] Even if *εἰδώς* is not the correct reading in this passage, the participle reappears in v 33 (quoted above) and vi 20 of Herod *ἐφοβεῖτο τὸν Ἰωάνην, εἰδὼς αὐτὸν ἄνδρα δίκαιον καὶ ἅγιον.* So for the other two verbs cf. vi 54 *εὐθὺς ἐπιγνόντες αὐτόν* and xv 45 *γνοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κεντυρίωνος.*

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Manoah is in fear of death, but his wife argues that had Yahweh desired to kill them He would not have accepted the offerings or have acted as He did. That there is a certain resemblance between these two theophanies has often been noticed, especially by Kittel who, in a monograph on 'the primitive rock-altar and its deity', drew attention both to the general nature of rock-altars (basing his remarks upon observation and excavation) and to the significance of the narratives for the history of the introduction of burnt-offerings into early Israel.[1] Though I have to acknowledge my indebtedness to Kittel's informing and stimulating study, I believe it can be shewn that the narratives have a deeper significance for Hebrew religion than even he has recognized in his interesting monograph.

The story of Gideon culminates in the erection of the altar Yahweh-Shālōm which is explicitly associated with his father's clan, the Abiezrites of Ophrah. There follows another story of different origin (vi 25–32), where Gideon is not a founder, but a reformer. Here his father, Joash, has an altar of Baal with an Asherah. At the command of Yahweh Gideon destroys it and builds an altar unto Yahweh, and with the wood of the Asherah offers a burnt-offering. The sequel describes how Gideon received the name Jerubbaal on that day. But the traditional interpretation is hardly adequate, and it is more probable that the name, whatever its original form—on which see Burney, p. 201—is earlier than the particular explanation. This does not involve the view that the whole story is purely aetiological; nor does it follow that it was invented in order to explain the name: no doubt it has independent elements. Nor is it likely that the incident is a later and freer amplification of the story of the altar of Yahweh-Shālōm; *v.* 26 implies that there was no altar to Yahweh, in contrast to *v.* 24, the erection of the altar Yahweh-Shālōm.

Although the two incidents have points of contact, they differ in tone and significance. If we compare carefully (α) vi 11–24, Gideon and Yahweh-Shālōm, with (β) *vv.* 25–32, the altar destroyed by Gideon-Jerubbaal, it seems that both refer to what was in the narrator's day some old-established shrine. But while the latter records an entirely new stage in the history of a sacred site, the former deals with the foundation of a new one which 'unto this day is still in Ophrah of the Abiezrites'. In β the ancestral altar to Baal is replaced by one which the son erects to Yahweh, and there is more than a suggestion that Baal is no real deity; whereas in α the altar of the Abiezrites owes itself to Gideon in consequence of the theophany. Now, while in α the angel of Yahweh appears unto Gideon and sits beneath the

[1] *Studien zur hebr. Archäologie und Religions-geschichte* (1908) pp. 97–158; see *J.T.S.* July 1908 p. 633.

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sacred tree (*ēlāh*) which belonged to his father, in β the altar of Joash had by it the customary Asherah ; and while in α there is a rock which becomes the altar, in β the altar is said to be on the top of a 'stronghold' (*mā'ōz*, *v.* 26). Therefore, although it is not necessary to argue that the same spot is intended, there is nothing against their identification. If the sites are identical the narratives can be used to supplement each other: in any case, while α emphasizes an entirely new developement—gliding over the sacred tree which belonged to Joash—in β, on the other hand, the inauguration of a decisive change is emphasized, and the weight is laid upon the reformer who destroyed his father's altar to Baal and cut down the Asherah.

It should be noticed that the introductory passage, vi 1–10, is incomplete; in particular, the reproof of the prophet (*vv.* 8–10) is fragmentary. But the reproof, as Moore points out in his commentary, forms the prelude to some reform ; and the Midianite raids, the misery of the people and their appeal to Yahweh are very naturally followed (in accordance with the writer's philosophy of history) by a religious developement (cf. Judges ii 14 sqq.). Elsewhere (viii 27) Gideon becomes notorious for the 'Ephod' which he set up in Ophrah, quite innocently as it would seem. Accordingly we not only recognize the prominence of Gideon-Jerubbaal as the head of some religious movement or movements in the history of Ophrah, but we see something of popular religion outside the Deuteronomic ideals. Indeed, not only have we an important developement in the religion of Ophrah in ch. vi, but it is by no means clear that the Yahwism of Gideon would correspond to the ideals of Deuteronomic orthodoxy. When Gideon set up an 'Ephod' to which all Israel went a whoring (viii 27), Ophrah becomes renowned for an object which was as much opposed to orthodox Yahwism as the Asherah by the side of his father's altar of Baal and as his father's tree which stood on the site of the altar of Yahweh-Shālōm. These are plain hints of a more popular cult of Yahweh which, after all, is not unexpected when one takes a long view of religion in Palestine.

Some characteristic features of the stories of Gideon recur in Judges xiii. This narrative is ostensibly a prelude to the account of the deeds of the Danite hero Samson which is followed later by the Danite migration (xvii sq.). Of special importance is the statement that Manoah's wife was barren ; it implies the belief that the birth of Samson was in some way due to supernatural intervention.[1] It is necessary to emphasize this, for, although our narrative is silent on the

[1] See e. g. Gen. xxv 21, xxix 31 sq., 1 Sam. i 5, and cf. Ex. xxiii 26. The Deity can restrain birth (Gen. xvi 2, xx 18) or grant it (Gen. iv 25, xiii 16, xv 3, xvi 10, xxix 31, Ruth iv 12, 1 Sam. ii 20). This explains Gen. iv 1.

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point, it is not uncommon for tradition to provide marvellous or supernatural elements in connexion with the birth of great heroes. Further, whereas the childless Hannah pours out her soul before Yahweh in Shiloh, the mother of Samson goes into the open country outside Zorah; and the course of the narrative strongly suggests that she sat by the rock-altar, the holy-place, the scene of the theophany (*v.* 19 sq.).[1] Now between Zorah and Eshtaol—they are only 2½ miles apart—was the tomb of Manoah, where too Samson was buried (xvi 31), and it is a very tempting conjecture that this was the place whither the woman resorted, and where Yahweh's angel appeared unto her and her husband. It would be in harmony with primitive ideas that a childless wife should visit an ancestral tomb; and the psychological interest of the narrative would be immensely enhanced if the scene of the incidents was the family tomb of Manoah between Zorah and Eshtaol. If so, while the story takes the wife of Manoah to the ancestral tomb, in modern Palestine the *weli* or local saint, who is virtually the local godling, is sometimes regarded as an ancestor, his shrine is a tomb, and such shrines are often visited by childless women.

Between Zorah and Eshtaol lay Mahaneh-Dan, 'the camp of Dan'. It is directly associated with Samson, for here Yahweh's spirit first began to stir him (xiii 25). Precisely what this means is disputed. Moore remarks that 'the verse cannot be the introduction to ch. xiv; we should rather have to regard it as originally the introduction to a lost story of Samson's first exploit'. At all events Mahaneh-Dan holds the *general* position ascribed to the tomb of Manoah—the ancestral tomb which, if the above conjecture be accepted, was also associated with the incidents before the birth of Samson. On this view, then, Samson was stirred by Yahweh's spirit at the place famous for the foretelling of his birth.

A new difficulty is caused by xviii 12 which locates Mahaneh-Dan a few miles away, to the west of Kirjath-jearim. In the account of the Danite migration we are told that the men of Zorah and Eshtaol encamped in Kirjath-jearim in Judah, wherefore the place received this distinctive name. Is this explanation trustworthy? It may reasonably be urged that it is improbable that six hundred warriors starting forth for North Palestine halted after a few miles' march at the place which was thenceforth named after this incident. The name is probably older than the particular interpretation, and the explanation really seems to be due to the fact that a place containing the name Dan lay in Judah.[2] Whether this be so or not, at all events Kirjath-jearim lies

[1] Cooke (*Camb. Bible, Judges* p. 134) asks, was it at the sanctuary where the rock-altar stood?

[2] See *Camb. Anc. Hist.* ii 314 and n. 1.

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close to the old Danite territory and both Zorah and Eshtaol are varyingly described as Danite or Judaean (Joshua xv 33, xix 41).

But the explanation of the twofold Mahaneh-Dan has yet to be sought, and another view is suggested by a study of the genealogical lists in 1 Chron. ii 50 sqq. Among the families of Calebite and allied origin who were incorporated in the tribe of Judah is the family of the Manahathites. The family falls into two divisions, the one connected with Shobal the father of Kirjath-jearim, and the other with Bethlehem, Zorites, and others. Not only are these Zorites presumably men of Zorah, but the families of Kirjath-jearim include, among others, the men of Eshtaol and the Zareathites who, in turn, are also presumably of Zorah. The lists admittedly contain corruptions and obscurities, they reflect different groupings of families and villages; but they allow the natural inference that the Manahathites were an important and extensive family associated both with Kirjath-jearim and with Eshtaol and Zorah. On these grounds I would maintain my old conjecture that Mahaneh-Dan was originally Manahath-Dan.[1]

What are we to understand by Manahath-Dan? Long ago Wellhausen drew attention, in what proved to be an epoch-making little study, to the relation between the Manahathites and Manoah; they are the family of Manoah, or rather Manoah is the eponymous ancestor of the family.[2] Manoah's tomb lay between Zorah and Eshtaol (Judges xvi 31), and this site would correspond to that of Mahaneh-Dan, or rather Manahath-Dan; and since we know from 1 Chron. ii 52, 54 that the family was associated, partly with Zorah and partly with Kirjath-jearim, it is quite intelligible that there should have been different traditions of the site, each branch of the family claiming the name and site for itself. Rival traditions of this nature are familiar, and it would seem that thanks to the lists in Chronicles the difficulty of the twofold site can be removed. In Judges xiii it is the site between Zorah and Eshtaol with which we are concerned, and, following Wellhausen, we may regard Manoah as the eponymous ancestor of a family which, later at all events, is varyingly associated with Kirjath-jearim and with Bethlehem, and is incorporated in the tribe of Judah.

The stories of the Danite hero Samson have, as their prelude, an

[1] See *Encyc. Bib. s. v.*; the conjecture is accepted by G. A. Cooke *Judges* (*Camb. Bible*) p. 138, but not by Burney, p. 353. Note that the form Manahath-Dan could be vocalized to read 'resting-place[s] of Dan' (*mᵉnūḥath* [or *-ōth*]; cf. Jer. li 59, Num. x 33). In 1 Chron. ii 52 the name is actually *Mᵉnūḥōth*, which the A.V. identifies with the form in *v.* 54. The difference involved in the conjecture is therefore very insignificant.

[2] Wellhausen *De Gentibus* (1870); cf. *Comp. Hex.* p. 231; Moore *Judges* p. 316; E. Meyer *Die Israeliten u. ihre Nachbarstämme* pp. 340, 402, 527.

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account of his birth which hangs around the family of Manoah, i.e. Manahath. The general character of the stories of the lusty giant combines with other features to suggest that he was not originally connected with Manoah, though it need not be doubted that his Danite or Manahathite parentage was an accepted fact in the narrator's time.[1] There is a tendency for the stories of the birth of all heroes to arise after their deeds have made them famous, and therefore we are justified in regarding ch. xiii as relatively later than the chapters that follow.[2] This may account for the manner in which the narratives of the theophany and of the birth of the hero are combined, with the result that each is now more or less imperfect.

In its present form ch. xiii leads up to the birth of Samson; but the scene at the rock-altar is no less a centre of interest, and the circumstances of the theophany suggest that the altar was much more famous than the narrative actually relates. If, as I have conjectured, the scene is the Manahathite tomb—the burial-place of the eponym Manoah—the narrative recalls the story of the family sanctuary at Ophrah. The evidence does not enable us to determine whether the writer regarded the rock (xiii 19), which is an altar (*v.* 20), as an old shrine, or whether the rock became an altar on the occasion of the burnt-offering. In the story of the inauguration of the altar of Yahweh-Shālōm the explicit reference to the tree (vi 11) suggests that the place had already been sacred—hence a likely place for a theophany; and it is possible that here, too, there lies behind the original story the inauguration of a holy place, of obvious importance to the Manahathites.[3] On the analogy of Judges vi it might be surmised that the theophany was followed by a naming of the altar, corresponding to the Yahweh-Shālōm in the story of Gideon.[4]

The light the narratives throw—as they stand—upon Hebrew religion is especially welcome. We note, in the first place, that Gideon prepares an ordinary meal for his visitor: the visitation finds

[1] That is to say, Samson was not primarily an exclusively Danite figure. Similary Esau-Usoos was not primarily an exclusively Edomite or Phoenician hero or deity. To the prominence given to this Manahathite and more or less Calebite figure corresponds that of Othniel the Kenizzite in Judges iii.

[2] For the secondary character of ch. xiii see Moore, p. 314 sq., Meyer, p. 527, Cooke, p. 128, Burney, p. 337 sq. The account of Samuel's birth and consecration is similarly of secondary origin; see Driver *Lit. of Old Test.* 174.

[3] For Kittel's argument that the story marks a development in the ideas of sacrifice see Cooke, p. 136.

[4] The enquiry after the name of the messenger, the reply that it is 'wonderful', and the reference to the 'wondrous' deed in *v.* 19 (LXX A. and Vulg. read 'unto Yahweh who doeth wondrously') suggest that the altar received some such name as 'Yahweh doeth wondrously'. Cf. the name Pelaiah (פְּלָאְיָה פְּלָיָה).

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a parallel in the appearance of Yahweh to Abraham at the oaks of Mamre (Gen. xviii 4–8). But Manoah's proposal to prepare a kid is rejected; and while Gideon's meal becomes a burnt-offering, consumed by fire, Manoah is told that a burnt-offering must be made to Yahweh. There is no feast; the very suggestion of a meal is repelled, and there seems to be an evident advance in the religious theory. Again, in both chh. vi and xiii we meet with the widely-distributed belief that it is death to see a divine being. But there is a very noteworthy difference; for while Gideon's fears are allayed by Yahweh (vi 23), the terror of Manoah is stilled by the calm reasoning of his wife. In the former we have the popular religious idea with all its *naïveté*, whereas in the latter we move on another and more rational plane. A relatively 'primitive' phase in the stories of Gideon is the demand for a sign. How could Gideon trust Yahweh? how could he be assured that Yahweh would save Israel by his hand? The signs that followed are a guarantee (vi 17, 36 sqq.).[1] The insistence is characteristic of the more popular religion and stands in contrast to the distinctively Deuteronomic standpoint which forbids man to 'tempt' his God. In common with the ephod and other features it emphasizes the popular and non-Deuteronomic spirit of the narrative.

Difficult questions are raised by the references to the divine messengers. In the story of Gideon the angel (*mal'āk*) of Yahweh is not recognized until the meal has been consumed by fire—even to see this visitor face to face was death (vi 22). In the story of Manoah the visitor is an inspired man, like a messenger or angel of Elohim or—with most critics—he is a veritable *Elohim*, i. e. a supernatural being (xiii 6). He is sent by Yahweh (*v.* 8), but he is not recognized as a veritable angel of Yahweh (*v.* 16); only after he had mysteriously disappeared in the altar-fire does Manoah realize that he had seen God or a god (*v.* 22, cf. vi 22). Thus the Deity may have a human representative, or an inspired or holy man may be regarded as no other than the Deity; there are, in fact, degrees of divinity. We move in a realm of ideas familiar to students of comparative religion, and it remains to emphasize the fact that these stories of Gideon and Manoah definitely associate the inauguration of the holy places with human beings who prove to be deities.

We have seen that the story of Gideon and the altar of Yahweh-Shālōm purports to describe the inauguration of a sacred place in connexion with a burnt-offering. In the story of Manoah we have found reason to suppose that there are two main elements: the one that

[1] In *v.* 16 LXX reads 'And he said, the Lord will be with thee'. In *v.* 17 the demand for a sign, though a mark of 'popular' religion, is hardly original (similarly Burney) because it conflicts with *v.* 21 (the unexpected sign) and *v.* 22 (see above).

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predominates is concerned with the childless wife of Manoah, her visit to a place which we have identified with an ancestral tomb, and the birth of the Danite hero Samson. The other refers to the burnt-offering to Yahweh, and seems to culminate in the theophany. Now accounts of theophanies serve to explain why such and such a place became sacred—so notably in the patriarchal narratives; and since the story of Gideon explicitly describes the origin of the altar of Yahweh-Shālōm, it is a plausible conjecture that the mutilated reference to the altar of Manoah belonged to some tradition which in turn explained its inauguration. There are, then, these two features to observe: (1) the association of the ancestral shrines of Ophrah of the Abiezrites and of the family of Manoah (Manahath) with a theophany and with burnt-sacrifices, and (2) the visit of the childless wife of Manoah, i. e. the wife of the eponym of the family.

Now it is noteworthy that on the occasion of the burnt-offering Gideon's visitor touches it with a staff, fire came out of the rock, consumed the meal, and the angel mysteriously departed out of his sight (vi 21). In the case of Manoah the offering is apparently kindled in a natural manner, but the angel went up in the flame of the altar (xiii 20). This remarkable statement may, like the ascent of Elijah (2 Kings ii), lie outside rational discussion. On the other hand, a suggestion may be hazarded which is in harmony with respectable evidence. The ascent of the angel in the flame recalls Judges xx 40, where the men of Gibeah saw the whole city going up heavenwards—the holocaust of their city (כליל העיר). From a primitive point of view, if, where was once a city, we see burning ruins and a pillar of smoke, might it not be said that the city was going up in the flame? If so, does the ascent of the angel mean that he was burned on the altar, and as a sacrificial offering? If the episode has any meaning in accordance with primitive religion, we may hazard the conjecture that Palestinian altars were scenes of human sacrifice, especially on the occasion of a renovation or inauguration of an altar.

It must be remembered, in the first place, that we are dealing with accounts—or traditions—of past events, and consequently we have to reckon with the characteristics of popular literature.[1] We have not merely to consider the apparently obvious meaning of our data, we have also to enquire what they represent or reflect. Second, we are dealing with local shrines, and must bear in mind that efforts were made to reform them, to render them orthodox and legitimate. They were not so harmless as they usually appear in our narratives; and the testimony of prophets and other reformers who denounce the local

[1] Gunkel's studies of the patriarchal stories afford good examples of what can be done in the analysis of such literature.

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shrines cannot in any case be set on one side. Third, there are interesting indications in other narratives of the developement of ideas. Thus the stone at Bethel was the seat of a supernatural presence; the editor has preserved in Gen. xxviii 18 sqq. traces of the older cruder ideas, although he doubtless did not share them. Again, the account of the visit of Yahweh to Abraham at Mamre retains traces of a tradition quite opposed to a strict monotheism—three visitors are mentioned, of whom Yahweh is one (Gen. xviii 1 sq., 16). In Gen. xxxi 53 the state of the text suggests that an attempt has been made to identify the God of Abraham and the God of Nahor who were originally distinct. The story of the trans-Jordanic altar *Ed* in Joshua xxii has been reshaped to render harmless what was opposed to the ideal of a single sanctuary. Further, the papyri of Elephantine are proof that Jews of the fifth century B.C. in Upper Egypt, though in touch with their native land, recognized a holy triad at the head of which stood Yahu (Yahweh). In fact, not to delay further, there are indications in the Old Testament, as also in the results of excavation, which prove that, apart from the characteristically spiritual religion of Israel, there were ideas and practices which closely associate Hebrew religion with that of the neighbouring lands, and amply justify the denunciations of the prophets.

Although we do not know the details of the local cults, the utterances of prophets and the account of the Deuteronomic reforming movements combine with portions of the 'Mosaic' law to present a frankly unpleasing picture, one however which only throws into stronger relief the value of these ideals and the supreme part played by the faithful in Israel.[1] The task of reconstructing this older popular religion is a necessary one, though naturally it is beset with difficulties.

Now, at Mizpah in Gilead, the home of Jephthah, the tradition of a human sacrifice prevailed. Yet the cult was that of Yahweh. When Jephthah makes his vow 'before Yahweh' (xi 11) we may naturally infer (cf. Moore and Cooke) that there was a stela, altar or pillar, the abode or the symbol of the God. His solemn vow to make a burnt-offering (*v.* 31) has only one meaning in the narrative. The story draws a veil over the last tragedy; but the whole body of opinion—apart from some apologetic and somewhat rationalizing writers (on whom see Moore, p. 304 sq.)—has tended to recognize that the father offered up his daughter in the flames. The grim act was by no means unique. The cry of the prophet Micah (vi 7) can only mean that Yahweh does not require the firstborn; and the significance of the

[1] One is coming to realize the truth of Robertson Smith's remarks (in 1877) on the passion, horror, sensuality, and hideousness of old Semitic heathenism; see his *Lectures and Essays* p. 425 (ed. by J. S. Black and Chrystal).

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offering of Isaac lies in the difference between Abraham's readiness to make the burnt-offering ('now I know that thou art one that fears God') and the sequel which rejects the human victim (Gen. xxii). Mizpah thus becomes the scene of an annual mourning for Jephthah's daughter, and the narrator is informing his readers that the sacred place was famous for a ceremonial lamentation which originated long before, when Jephthah offered up his daughter as a burnt-offering to fulfil a vow.

It will be noticed that while Mizpah is associated with the hero Jephthah, Ophrah is Abiezrite, and the altar of Manoah (Manahath-Dan) likewise belongs to a family. Another example of family cult is furnished by the man Micah (Judges xvii sq.), and in 1 Sam. xx 6, 29 we have a reference to the clan-sacrifice of David's father. These family cults are of very considerable interest, and the story of Gideon, taken with that of Abimelech and the b'ne Hamor of Shechem, throws light upon prominent ruling families, their rivalries and efforts to extend their power. Instead of tribal divisions an aristocratic régime is presented to us; and it is only to be expected that the religious organization fluctuated *pari passu* with the political. The accounts of Eli, Samuel, and their sons shew how secular and ecclesiastical rights could be combined; and from other evidence we can understand that just as the old oriental kings were wont to be the nominal or real heads of the national religion, so in the cities and local areas secular and religious duties were interrelated. When there was some coherent central government the secular and religious organizations throughout were coordinated; failing this, the local rulers enjoyed greater powers. The period represented in the book of Judges would essentially be one when government and religion would tend to be local.

Even at the present day the local *weli* or saint is more prominent in the religion of the peasant than the Allah of the government. Consequently these local rulers in Judges, and these family or district shrines, would have a profounder significance for the people than appears on the surface of the narratives. Jephthah and Mizpah, Gideon and Ophrah, the shrine of Manoah—these come before us as the relics of memories of past history and religion. There is an air of objectivity and remoteness in the records, we contrast the restrained allusions to Gideon's ephod and Jephthah's sacrifice with the noisy vintage festival of the men of Shechem (ix 26 sq.). We have to read Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites* or Sir James Frazer's *Golden Bough* in order to give some reality to our conceptions of the local shrines and the denunciations of the prophets. The Hebrews were an agricultural people, and readers of those works will know to what lengths nature-worship can go where life depends upon the gifts of the soil.

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To this we must add that the great local heroes, whether historical or legendary—Gideon, Jephthah, and the eponymous Manoah—hold a position in popular tradition not unlike that assumed by the patriarchs on the one hand, and by the modern *welis* or saints on the other. They were the heroes, leaders, and saints of the past.

While in Judges there are local figures, associated with the traditions of districts and ruling families, and prominent in traditions of religious importance, we have in the modern *welis* revered and sacred beings who in not a few cases are reputed heroes of stirring religious and military successes in the past. In popular religion a Gideon would easily become the local semi-divine hero and defender of the faith; and conversely, the local supernatural being is readily 'euhemerized', and becomes the centre of secular tradition. So, whereas in an earlier paragraph the emphasis was laid upon the relation between local government and local cult, here we have to raise the question whether the old local leaders and families may not find parallels in the modern local *welis*.

Agricultural life, local heroes, leading families, and the general characteristics of local religion and of religion in agricultural societies afford suggestive hints. The story of the death of Jephthah's daughter is now associated with a father's fulfilment of a vow. But the connexion between Jephthah's victory and the yearly ceremonial mourning is hardly an original feature (see e. g. Burney, p. 332). Modern writers do not doubt that 'Jephthah's sacrifice was an actual incident in history'; on the other hand, the yearly festival commemorating the fate of the daughter has another and remoter origin, 'it is not unlikely that the incident was associated in the course of time with a primitive myth; for there are traces elsewhere of human sacrifices being connected with an annual mourning for the death of a god' (Cooke, p. 124 sq.). In any case we may recognize a ceremonial mourning for a sacrificed virgin. The fundamental fact is the annual ceremony as apart from the incident which is assumed to have been the origin of the sacrifice.

The name Jephthah is significant. It means '[he] opens', and is an abbreviated form of Iphtah-el (so R.V. יִפְתַּח־אֵל) a place in north Palestine (Joshua xix 14, 27). The meaning is obviously 'El opens the womb' (see Nöldeke, *Encyc. Bib.* art. 'Names', § 61), and the fuller name finds a parallel in others which describe the attribute of a particular El as *numen* (e. g. Irpeel, El heals). A *numen* with such a name as Iphtah-el would very naturally be visited by barren women; but to obtain children women did not necessarily resort to supernatural beings with such specialized functions. That is to say, although the name Iphtah-el indicates a *numen* who granted child-birth, such

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powers were often attributed to others. Consequently, the story of Manoah's wife does not necessarily presuppose the existence of a specific child-granting *numen* or one with the distinctive name Iphtah-el; although, on the other hand, the name Iphtah-el is a valuable example of the recognition of a being with a specific function. So too, if at Eshtaol and Eshtemoa the *numen* lets himself be 'asked', or 'heard', as the late Prof. Burney argued, we naturally understand that other gods could be approached, whatever attribute their name involved.

It is curious that a Jephthah should be the father of a sacrificed virgin, that the hero of Mizpah should have a name suggestive of a child-granting *numen*. If there was a local Iphtah-el with rites of human sacrifice, and if he became euhemerized as the traditional deliverer of Gilead from the Ammonites, a possible explanation lies at hand.

We are brought to some of the more gruesome and intricate enquiries in the comparative study of religions. Did space permit it would be proper at this point to notice some common and deep-rooted ideas of birth and of the supernatural among rudimentary and early peoples. It must suffice to refer, all too briefly, to some of the leading ideas. There is a common belief in birth by 'supernatural' means, and in ancestors of supernatural origin. There is a common belief in re-incarnation; the dead ancestors can be born again in the living. The belief in 'sacred' or 'holy' men is widespread; they stand in some especially close relationship to the supernatural world, and have exceptional powers. In the East shrines—to which such men would also resort—are frequently visited by barren women in order to obtain offspring. Dead children have been buried in convenient spots so that they might readily be born again; men have been killed in order that their 'soul' or 'spirit' might re-enter a woman and be reborn,[1] or they have been slain merely to convey messages to the supernatural realm.[2] They have been put to death in order that they might become protective spirits, or that they might, as it were, strengthen the realm of the supernatural. The supernatural beings will be provided with wives or with husbands; and victims will be sacrificed in the belief that the supernatural power or powers will be appropriately assisted, increased, or enriched.

According to primitive ideas human sacrifice could establish or strengthen the supernatural powers associated with a shrine. The sacrifice of Jephthah's virgin daughter at Mizpah, and the yearly

[1] Cf. Sir James Frazer *Adonis* 3rd ed. i 93 sq.

[2] Frazer *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild* i 237 sq. (cf. ii 188); for the belief that the dying can convey gifts to those already dead see Estlin Carpenter *Comparative Religion* p. 228.

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festival, may then reflect a grisly sacrifice associated with the El that 'opens'—a tradition which has later become what purports to be an historical episode in the life of a great Gileadite leader. The shrine visited by Manoah's wife was not necessarily of the same type; but the stories of the shrines of Manoah and Gideon none the less point to some inaugural sacrifice. Now inaugural sacrifices of some sort are usual. In fact popular opinion in Palestine still requires that (animal) blood shall be shed at the inauguration of every important building, at the breaking-up of unoccupied land, or at the opening of a new well. The inveterate sentiment is summed up in the words of a modern native: 'every house must have its death, either man, woman, child, or animal'. The sacrifice, usually understood to be a propitiation to the *numen* of the place, serves also, in appropriate cases, to establish an intimate link between the people and the *numen*, and not least of all is supposed to influence the supernatural power on behalf of the people.

The recognition that we have *subjective* and not *objective* history in the book of Judges is indispensable for any critical study. Dealing with traditions we are obliged to take notice of the way in which the past is viewed and reproduced. The nature of 'survivals' must be clearly recognized. Popular tradition in parts of Palestine still asserts that it is unlucky to let one's shadow fall across a foundation-stone. Why? For an explanation we must go back to the days when foundation sacrifices were not unknown, and when, as the excavations have revealed, human victims were sometimes employed. When a sacrifice was needed some passing stranger might be seized—for the primitive mind is ready to believe that the chance wayfarer who comes on the spot at the crucial moment is no chance passer-by: like the ram, seen by Abraham at the moment of sacrifice, the victim is divinely provided. Even in Europe the peasantry tell—or used to tell—strange tales of the danger of passing *this* well or *that* tree; traditions of mysterious disappearances, of grim sacrifices, are handed down and become vague fears, the origin of which is forgotten, until comparative study interprets folk-lore in the light of sporadic custom and savage rite. Hence when tradition told that at Manoah's altar a sacred being ascended to heaven in the flame, it may be legitimate to 'rationalize' the incident by resort to comparative religion and the vicissitudes of tradition, and conjecture that a human sacrifice underlies the disappearance of the angel on the occasion of the burnt-offerings in Judges vi and xiii.

Comparative religion freely suggests ingenious explanations and interpretations, but does not of itself prove that any particular application must necessarily be correct. The effort has been made in these pages to outline a series of interpretations which seem to the present writer

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highly probable, though of course they cannot be proved. At least they are in harmony with the general run of ancient thought, and they afford a psychologically rational explanation—if one is to be attempted. It may be objected that the suggestions presuppose an excessive complexity in the tradition. But it must be pointed out that the fusion and developement of motives within a single narrative is what we must expect to find in popular tradition and in material which has been edited and re-edited. An example is furnished by the story of Jacob at Penuel in Gen. xxxi 24–32. Here we have, in a few verses, a *popular* story. It has not been seriously reshaped like some of the stories in Judges, yet a discussion of it could easily be extended into a work scarcely less encyclopaedic than *The Golden Bough* itself. One has only to consider its constituent elements: (1) the wrestling with a supernatural being; (2) the vulnerable spot; (3) the conflict in the dark; (4) Jacob's victory over the supernatural being (cf. Hosea xii 4); (5) the demand for a blessing; (6) the name and its mystery; (7) the significance of the change of name; (8) the danger of seeing a Deity; and (9) the refusal to eat a certain part of the body—here, not to speak of the problems of aetiological tradition, we have an illuminating example of a simple narrative which becomes excessively complex as we analyse each element, but which again becomes simple when, fortified with some knowledge of primitive thought, we turn to it and view it from a newer standpoint.

In conclusion, it will be useful to summarize the interpretations, inferences, and conjectures which arise in the attempt to go behind Judges vi and xiii. (1) The two stories of Gideon-Jerubbaal refer to religious vicissitudes in the family cult at Ophrah of the Abiezrites. There are clear indications of Baalism and of popular Yahwism opposed to Deuteronomic ideals. (2) Manoah's childless wife was visited by a supernatural being outside Zorah, at an altar, at the tomb of Manoah. The scene is Mahaneh-Dan, or rather Manahath-Dan, *a*, if not *the*, Manahathite sacred place, Manoah being the eponymous ancestor of the family. (3) The account of the birth of Samson, which is now a natural prelude to the stories of the Danite hero, has incorporated a tradition, formerly distinct, of the theophany at the Manahathite altar; this tradition may be compared with the story of the altar of Yahweh-Shālōm at Ophrah, and it is possible that the former once recounted, like the latter, the inauguration of the sacred place. (4) Traditions of theophanies legitimatize holy places, and in each of these stories a messenger proves to be a supernatural being—if not the god himself. (5) On several grounds it is seen that the stories are not in their original form, and the problem of determining what facts they reflect involves resort to comparative religion and to the

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vicissitudes of popular tradition. (6) Not only would a supernatural visitation legitimatize a site, but a deliberate sacrifice, in particular a human sacrifice, would serve to give it a special sanctity. (7) The yearly festival commemorating the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter is to be severed from the story of the father's vow, which now explains it; and the name Jephthah ('he opens'), and the fuller North Palestinian form Iphtah-el point to a deity that granted child-birth. (8) The visit of childless women to holy places is a well-known custom in the East. Sometimes 'sacred' men rank as the representatives of the supernatural being or beings; again, at a shrine like that discovered at Gezer, the numerous new-born children buried underneath the floor would, in primitive thought, make it an appropriate place of pilgrimage; and, finally, the story of Jephthah at Mizpah suggests the sacrifice of human life in order to endow a shrine with a specific function. (9) Admittedly the narratives under discussion have undergone much reshaping; they reflect early traditions, and different elements have been fused together—the story of Jacob's wrestling being a good illustration of the complexity that has resulted elsewhere under similar circumstances. The stories of family and ancestral shrines—not like those in Genesis of national significance—preserve remains of early religion, and fair parallels could be furnished by the stories of modern *welis*, saints and other local ancestral figures.

STANLEY A. COOK.

ST AUGUSTINE AS A FORERUNNER OF MEDIEVAL HYMNOLOGY.

WE are apt to think of a riming, accentual Latin hymn as something typically medieval, and no doubt it was in the Middle Ages that the technique of such elaborate masterpieces as the *Stabat Mater* and the *Dies Irae* was perfected. That such a composition could be and was produced in or about the year A. D. 393 is of course a fact known to historians of Latin literature (cf. for instance Schantz *Gesch. der röm. Literatur* iv par. 1183), but not, I think, sufficiently regarded by those who are interested in the style of the hymns sung by Christian congregations in the past. It is my purpose, therefore, briefly to discuss, from the formal point of view, the one venture of St Augustine as a hymn-writer, the *Psalmus contra partem Donati*. I concern myself only with the externals of this curious work, because its contents are not specially interesting, being simply a presentation, in popular form, of the main arguments of the Catholic party against the Donatists, which are sufficiently

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familiar from St Augustine's more elaborate treatises on the subject, to say nothing of the writings of other Fathers.

A zealous opponent of the schism which had produced in Africa the unedifying spectacle described by him as *altare contra altare*, St Augustine naturally wished to make the points at issue familiar even to the most uneducated of his flock. The idea therefore occurred to him of embodying them in a canticle, to be sung by the faithful. As it was necessarily a long one, he made it alphabetical, on the model of the 119th Psalm, omitting, however, the last three letters of the alphabet. On his own showing, he did not write it in metre[1]; 'my reason', he says, 'for not wanting it in any sort of verse was, lest the exigencies of scansion should compel me to employ words not in vulgar use.' We should, therefore, expect some such production as those canticles on Hebrew models, but not written in Hebrew, of which the three hymns in the Third Gospel are the best known examples. What we actually find is this :—

> Omnes qui gaudetis pace, modo uerum iudicate.
> Abundantia peccatorum solet fratres conturbare;
> propter hoc Dominus noster uoluit nos praemonere,
> comparans regnum caelorum reticulo misso in mare
> congreganti multos pisces, omne genus hinc et inde,
> quos cum traxissent ad litus, tunc coeperunt separare,
> bonos in uasa miserunt, reliquos malos in mare.

It needs no very close inspection of the above lines to see that they are accentual trochaic tetrameters, i. e. in the same metre as, for example, the lines

> Stabat Mater dolorosa
> iuxta crucem lacrimosa.

For whether we print or write

> abundantia peccatorum solet fratres conturbare,

or

> abundantia peccatorum
> solet fratres conturbare,

is a mere matter of taste. St Augustine's taste was, I think, in favour of the longer line, for it is at the end of these lines that we get the rime, as will be presently shewn. The accentual scansion is not always

[1] *Retract.* i 20 'ideo autem non aliquo carminis genere id fieri uolui, ne me necessitas metrica ad aliqua uerba quae uulgo minus sint usitata compelleret.' The letter K is included by spelling *karitatem* at the beginning of the tenth stanza, a form familiar enough from inscriptions and elsewhere. With two exceptions, C and Q, the stanzas have each twelve lines.

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perfect; for instance, in the third line, there is no reason to suppose that St Augustine pronounced *domínus*, or in the fourth, that he or his flock pronounced *regnúm*; but this is no more than the liberty taken by all writers of accentual verse, Latin or English, as, to take an example from a well-known song,

de cordé totaliter
et ex mente tota.

But the interesting points are, first, that the scansion is accentual at all; secondly, that St Augustine does not call it metre; and thirdly, that the lines rime.

As to the first point, it is well known that the hymns of St Ambrose, for example, or those of Prudentius, are in correct classical metre, although not always in the kind of metre which a classical poet would have chosen for a similar subject; for instance, *corde natus de parentis* is in the septenarii of the popular triumph-songs. Why then, if St Augustine does not choose to write in verse, for the excellent reason he himself gives, does he not write in ordinary prose, or in prose having a sort of sense-rhythm, on Hebrew models? Whence comes the idea, so familiar to us, but so strange to the conventional doctrine of classical metre, that verse can be based on accent? And finally, if he must write in accentual verse, why should it rime?

To begin with the last feature, it has recently been pointed out by Prof. Baldwin[1] that one of St Augustine's most notable services to Christian literature, and especially to the literature of the pulpit, was his revival of the sound Ciceronian traditions of rhetoric, in place of the cheap virtuosity of the later sophistic, which had so long dominated the schools and now threatened to dominate preaching also. But he was the child of his age, like every one else, and too ardent a follower of St Paul to refuse to be, even stylistically, all things to all men, if by bad style or bad grammar, when necessary, he might save some. Hence we find much that is characteristically sophistic lingering on in his sermons; and in particular, we find the familiar device of rime not only used but abused.

How common rime is in all sophistic prose, and in much that is not, need hardly be stated. Every one can recognize it in such passages as this, from Isokrates[2]:

ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ τοῖς ἀναξίως μὲν δυστυχοῦσιν
ἐκ δὲ φιλοσοφίας χρηματίζεσθαι ζητοῦσιν
ἅπαντας τοὺς πλείω πραγματευομένους
καὶ μᾶλλον ἀπηκριβωμένους
προσήκειν ἐθελοντὰς τοῦτον εἰσφέρειν τὸν ἔρανον.

[1] See *Proceed. Class. Ass.* 1925, p. 24 foll. [2] xi 1.

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Or this, centuries later, from Maximus of Tyre[1]:

δῆμος χρῆμα ὀξὺ ἐν ὀργαῖς,
ἰσχυρὸν ἐν ἐπιθυμίαις,
ὑγρὸν ἐν ἡδοναῖς,
δύσθυμον ἐν λύπαις,
χαλεπὸν ἐν θυμοῖς·

ταὐτὰ καὶ σώματος πάθη,
καὶ γὰρ ἐπιθυμητικὸν
καὶ αἰτητικὸν
καὶ φιλήδονον
καὶ ὁρμητικόν.

And every reader of Cicero will recollect the triple rimes in-*issimus* with which the *de imperio Cn. Pompei* begins. But Cicero uses rime in moderation, and so also does St Augustine, when he is writing to please himself; for example, in the *de baptismo* there are perhaps one or two pairs of riming clauses in an average chapter; or in the *Confessions*, with their less periodic style, the rimes are not over-many. But if we turn to the sermons, for example the long series on the Fourth Gospel, we find that they bristle with rime, combined with a strongly marked accentual rhythm. For instance,

ubi iam nihil rog*emus*
nihil interrog*emus*,
quia nihil desiderandum reman*ebit*,
nihil quaerendum lat*ebit*.[2]

Here we have couplets, so to speak; a little more elaborate is the following:

hunc totius laboris sui fructum ecclesia
nunc parturit desider**ando**,
tunc est paritura cern*endo*,
nunc parturit gem*endo*,
tunc paritura laud**ando**.[3]

Or these alternating rimes,

cern**ebat** quippe atque tang**ebat**
carnem uiu*entem*
quam uiderat mori*entem*,
et cred**ebat**
deum in carne ipsa lat*entem*.[4]

Sometimes the rime is extraordinarily complex and distinct, far exceeding, not only what we should consider pardonable in prose, but what the usual ancient sophistic practice allows, as:

hoc adtendat Ari*anus*
et adtenti**one** sit s*anus*,
ne contenti**one** sit u*anus*
aut, quod est peius, ins*anus*.[5]

[1] *Diss.* xiii 2. [2] *in Iohannis Euang. Tract.* cii 6. [3] *Ibid.* 5.
[4] lxxix 1. [5] lxxviii 2.

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Still, all the above passages have the distinctive rhythm of prose, admitting, as one must do in an author of this date, an accentual element. Many of the clausulae are quite impeccably Ciceronian, as *pari)tura laudando* (V 1 Zielinski), *in carne ipsa latentem* (V 3). But we find others which sound far more like accentual verse. How many scholars, if they came across the following without its context, could say whether it came from a sermon of the fifth century or some doggerel-writing monkish theologian of the time of Duns Scotus?

piscis assus
Christus est passus.[1]

This at least starts like an accentual verse,

ecce initium press*urae*
sed non eo modo perseuerat*urae*.[2]

And this is verse outright, if we go by accent,

uere autem cognou*erunt*
quia uere credid*erunt*.[3]

There is, however, one point to consider: what exactly do we mean by rime? There is no doubt about its existence in the passages just cited; but does the following passage rime all the way through, for instance?

Euangelium apostolumque contemn*unt*
et quod dicimus non audi*unt*,
quoniam quod leg*unt*
non intelleg*unt*.[4]

By English rules it is no more than an assonance: *-temnunt . . . audiunt . . . legunt* cannot rime, for the vowels of their accented syllables are different. But by Welsh rules they rime perfectly, for their final syllables agree, as in the following pair of lines,

Heb gred na chariad éffr*o*,
Gwae, gwae tragwyddol ídd*o*, (ELLIS WYNNE.)

which form part of a run of rimes in *-o*. The reason for the difference is of course that Welsh pronounces its unaccented vowels much more distinctly than English does. The comparatively light Latin accent led to the same result, or so we should expect *a priori*; and our psalm shews that such is the case, for every line of it ends with an *e*-sound, either the vowel itself, as in *tradidisse*, or the diphthong, as *scripturae*; that they were pronounced very nearly if not quite alike in that age is well known, from the innumerable passages in inscriptions which confuse them. This cannot be accident; it is therefore meant for rime.

[1] cxxiii 2. [2] ciii 3. [3] cvi 6. [4] *adu. Iudaeos* 2.

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Hence we need have no hesitation in considering that the following pair of clauses rime:

nunc autem homo idem ipse fil*ius*
accepit eos qui non erant ips*ius*.[1]

Or this antithesis:

latro ille crudelis in scelere,
fidelis in cruce.[2]

I would suggest, however, that while this justifies us in recognizing such assonances as rimes in an author contemporary with or later than St Augustine, it does not absolutely prove that we can do so for a classical writer, although I think it makes it probable. Thus I should certainly class the following clauses as riming, because they are from Apollinaris Sidonius:

procurator*em* a	in negoti*is* b
uilic*um* c	in praedi*is*, b
tabulari*um* c	in tribut*is* b
in lectionibus comit*em*. a[3]	

But I call it only likely, not certain, that Cicero means all the following to rime:

scelus anhelan*tem*,
pestem patriae nefarie molien*tem*,
uobis atque huic urbi ferro flammaque minitan*tem*,

or these:

ex urbe uel eiec*imus*
uel emis*imus*.[4]

But the really interesting question is: Seeing that we have here accentual verses, scanning and riming perfectly well, why does St Augustine say that they are not verse at all? The answer will, I think, be found if we compare two passages of his works together. The first is that well-known remark in the *de doctrina Christiana* which Prof. Baldwin quoted in another context, and which I cite in Mr Graham Reynolds's clear and good translation.[5]

'Why should a teacher of religion, addressing the unlearned here in Africa, where the ears of the people are insensible to the length or shortness of vowels, disdain to use the word *ossum* instead of *os*, lest

[1] *In Iohan euang.* cvi 5. [2] *Ibid.* cix 4. [3] *Epp.* iv 11. 5. [4] *In Catil.* 2. 1.

[5] *de doctr. Christ.* iv 10 'cur pietatis doctorem pigeat imperitis loquentem ossum potius quam os dicere, ne ista syllaba non ab eo quod sunt ossa sed ab eo quod sunt ora intellegatur, ubi Afrae aures de correptione uocalium uel productione non iudicant?' Translated by Graham Reynolds, *The Clausulae in the De ciuitate Dei*, Washington 1925, p. 6 n. 1.—St Augustine himself uses *ossum* in a sermon, *Enarr. in Psalm* cxxxviii 20.

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this latter be understood, not of the word whose plural is *ossa*, but of that whose plural is *ora*?'

I will not now go into several minor points of interest here, such as the evidence of this passage that the quality of *ō* had been assimilated to that of *ŏ*, or the question to what extent, if any, this insensibility was confined to the African vulgar; I merely contrast it with another, which shews what a schoolboy of good family was expected to hear for himself, before be began to learn the laws of quantity.

'Come now,' says the *magister*, after the *discipulus* has frankly admitted that he has no idea what the difference between a long and a short syllable is, 'tell me this at any rate; have you never noted for yourself, that in our speech some syllables are pronounced hurriedly and take very little time, others in a more drawling fashion, taking more time?' 'Oh certainly,' answers his pupil, 'I have not been so deaf as not to hear that much.'[1]

The history of the deliberate retention of quantity, or rather of the power of hearing quantity (for the thing itself never disappeared, but only changed[2]) in the later forms of both Latin and Greek has yet to be written, so far as I know, and would be most interesting. I for one would be glad to know whether or not Paul the Silentiary and the other Byzantine classicists of his day ever heard their own correct and pretty verses. But this much we know, that the uneducated and the half-educated in the fifth century and long before that could not notice it, witness their many accentual false quantities when they tried to write verse, in Latin at least. Here, then, is clear proof that the better educated classes, including provincials with an interest in literature, got their first ideas of quantity even then, as Dr Rouse's pupils do now, namely, by hearing the language classically pronounced. As this retention of the classical pronunciation was artificial, it was most likely jealously maintained, to the extent of denying that there was any other way of speaking, at least for literary purposes. Consequently, poetry (*carmen*) must mean classical poetry, depending for its metre upon the due succession of longs and shorts; a succession of accents at regular intervals was not metre at all.

Such we may suppose their theory to have been, judging from their own treatises; but the popular pronunciation, as heard by the popular ear, not only was different in fact (for instance, *ae* was already

[1] *de musica* ii 1 '*M.* age iam, saltem illud eloquere, utrum tu ipse per te nunquam animaduerteris in locutione nostra alias syllabas raptim et minime diu, alias autem productius et diutius enuntiari? *D.* negare non possum non me ad ista etiam surdum fuisse.'

[2] Do a Roman some small favour, and you will hear in his *grasie* the long initial syllable of *gratias* as plain as when Cicero pronounced it.

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short[1] in everyday practice, albeit the metricians continued to treat it as if it were still long, which of course it had been in the days of Virgil), but had always been associated with a different, if unconscious, theory of metre. I need not go over the rather well-worn subject of Italian verse; it is enough to mention that the Saturnian, according to the only theory which seems to me to hold water, was accentual, that the verse of the comedians, while quantitative, has in it many prosodic phenomena due to the influence of the accent, and that the scraps of popular and semi-popular poetry which we have, such as the triumph-songs and the *Peruigilium Veneris*, have a rhythm quite intelligible to one who has never been told that such a thing as quantity exists; while even the Virgilian hexameter and the Horatian lyric metres owe their difference from their Greek models largely to the compromise with accent which is found necessary. We may, I think, say with perfect certainty that whereas, to a Greek-trained ear, *consules designati* was essentially a different rhythm from *consules contulerunt* and utterly different from *consules uolo sciant*, to the popular ear they were always a good deal alike, and tended more and more to become the same rhythm. This tendency was forcing its way even into educated practice by St Augustine's time, as we may see from the fact that he allows, although not very often, alongside of such clausulae as *diutius permaneret, litteris inuenitur*, rhythmical or accentual equivalents of the types *ad)núntiant uòluntátem, bárbari pèpercérunt, nóster est èt illórum.*[2]

We may say, then, that he and those educated like him could hear the popular rhythms quite distinctly, although they had not lost the power to perceive the classical metres also. One would like very much to know whether St Augustine's voice, when he came to one of the rhythmical and riming passages in his sermons, ever took the tone appropriate, according to the traditional doctrine, to one reciting poetry,[3] or carried steadily on in the prose tone. His congregation would certainly hear them as rhythm, if not as verse, for their own acclamations at the appointment of Eraclius show that they ran easily into rhythms themselves.[4] Thus: *déo grátias, Christo laúdes; iudício túo grátias ágimus; dígnus et iústus est*, were shouted, between them, 108 times on that interesting if noisy occasion, and every one of them is accentually a quite satisfactory thing to shout, but metrically most of them are hopeless.

Therefore, in the *psalmus contra partem Donati*, no fewer than three great streams meet. There is first the popular tradition, native to

[1] See *Enarr. in Psalm* xxxii[3] 24 (*equus* and *aequus* liable to be confused).

[2] See Graham Reynolds *op. cit.* p. 41.

[3] Quintilian *Inst. orat.* i 8. 2.

[4] *Acta ecclesiastica* for Sept. 26, 426 A. D. = August. *Ep.* ccxiii (cx) 2–6.

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Latin so far as we can see, that the proper cadence to sing was an accentual rhythm of some sort; secondly, the ecclesiastical tradition, Hebrew in its ultimate origin, that the Psalms were the proper model; which meant that the rhythm should be a parallelism of sense rather than of sound, for of course none of the available translations made any attempt to reproduce the metrical effects, obscure enough in any case to all but specialists, of the original. Thirdly, there was the tradition of rhetorical prose, which for centuries had taught balance and antithesis, in sense and sound alike, as essentials of a literary style, and which made a contribution of its own in the shape of rime. But the seed of this contribution fell on well-prepared ground, for the Latin-speaking peoples had, as far back as we can trace their literature, loved all manner of jingles, assonances, alliterations, *figurae etymologicae*, puns, occasional end-rimes, and the like, in their verse. The congregation who enjoyed 'hoc adtendat Arianus et adtentione sit sanus, ne contentione sit uanus aut, quod est peius, insanus' were not indeed the descendants, but nevertheless were the cultural heirs, of the audience which had applauded

haec omnia uidi inflammarei,
Priami ui uitam euitarei,
Iouis aram sanguine turparei.[1]

In the case of these African Christians there were other relevant cultural influences inherited from the past. Their languages were for the most part Latin and Punic. What the contribution of and through Latin was, we have seen; it is worth remembering that Punic involves Phoenician tradition, inherited from the Carthaginian empire; St Augustine himself understood a little Phoenician, although apparently not enough to preach or write in it,[2] and many people, then and at other times, spoke it as their ordinary language, especially in the more backward country districts.[3] Now unless the Phoenicians were very unlike other Semites whose literature has come down to us, they also must be supposed to have had a kind of verse[4] resembling that of the

[1] Ennius *trag. frag.* 86, Ribbeck.

[2] *Serm.* cxiii (= xxxv *de uerbis Domini*), *mammon* is the Punic for *lucrum*; clxvii (= xxiv *de uerbis Apostoli*, 4) and elsewhere; *Ep.* ccix (cclxi) 3 shows that for some of the clergy it was a necessity.

[3] See last note, and cf. Appuleius *Apol.* 98 (a neglected boy can speak little or no Greek and Latin, but only Punic). That the language in question was really Phoenician and not, e. g., Berber, is clear from the few words which St Augustine quotes, and which are quite obviously Semitic: see especially *ep. ad Rom. expos. inchoat.*, 13.

[4] The Punic passages in Plautus *Poenulus* are of course not evidence, being written by a foreigner and apparently in a foreign (Graeco-Latin) metre.

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Hebrews; hence yet another influence in the local culture probably made for parallelism of a very decided form, whether accompanied (as in Arabic poetry) with rime or not.

H. J. ROSE.

JESUS AND THE 'PHARISEES'.

ACCORDING to Josephus, at least on a superficial reading, the Jews about the time of Christ were divided into three parties, the Essenes who lived an ascetical life outside the town, the Sadducees, and the Pharisees. The Pharisees were noteworthy for their extreme legalism, but they also believed in extra-Mosaic traditions and in the Resurrection, and they expected the Messiah. With this seems to agree the remarks made about them by the Evangelists, especially St Luke, who expressly asserts the Pharisees to be that party of the Jews which believed in Resurrection (Acts xxiii 8). It is true that Luke is thought by some to have got part of his information from Josephus, but it might seem hypercriticism to reject his testimony on that ground.

Thus it has come to be accepted as a self-evident thing that the appropriate name for the religiously minded, law-abiding Jew of the 1st century A. D. is Pharisee, and it is more or less assumed that they were a majority of the nation, or at least a definite and coherent party. There were a few eccentric ascetics; also a priestly class or clique, for whom the proper name was Sadducees; there were some worldly Jews who were called Herodians, or perhaps 'people of the Land'. But the mass of the nation were properly named 'Pharisees'. The party of the pious, law-abiding Jews are called *Ḥasîds* or 'Assidaeans' in the Book of Maccabees; in Talmudic literature, on the other hand, the term generally used is *Ḥabērim*, i. e. 'Comrades', who are distinguished from the irreligious 'people of the land' by their strictness and adherence to the laws of Levitical purity. It has become generally accepted that in essentials 'Assidaean' = 'Pharisee' = *Ḥābēr*, the only difference being that the first term belongs to Maccabaean, the last to Talmudic times, while Pharisee is the appropriate word for the same sort of people in the Gospel era.

We can learn a good deal about the *Ḥaber* from the Talmud, and (starting from the equation Pharisee = *Ḥaber* = good Jew) a good deal has been lately written on the subject of the 'Pharisees', from which we may learn their virtues and the sympathy with which we ought to regard them. They were often poor, were generally unworldly; they were pious in the good sense, they loved God, their Father in heaven, and were as a body animated with the feelings that inspired the 119th

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Psalm. How tragic, therefore, and how difficult to explain, that these pious circles called forth the hardest words spoken by Jesus Christ! Are we to say that Rabbinic piety is false piety, or are the Gospels seriously unfair? Roughly speaking, the first alternative is adopted by most learned German theologians, of whom perhaps Schürer is the type: the latter alternative is that made familiar to us by Dr Büchler and to a certain extent by Dr C. G. Montefiore. The object of these pages is to suggest a less radical solution.

When we turn to the Talmud to find the vernacular word, of which φαρισαῖος, Pharisee, is an adaptation, it meets us at once. It is in Aramaic *pĕrīsh* (pl. *pĕrīshīn*), in Hebrew *pārūsh* (pl. *pĕrūshīm*). The word means 'separated', or 'distinguished', both in a bad and a good sense. It is, in fact, actually used for dissident or dissenter, one who rejects the received interpretation of an ordinance.[1] Elsewhere the 'Pharisee' of the Talmud is one who is particular in religion, and is found, as 'particular' people usually are, to be tiresome in actual life. The phrase 'plagues of the Pharisees', which occurs in the Mishna, is explained to mean that there are seven kinds of Pharisees, all bad (b. Sota 22 b) or all bad except two (j. Berach. ix 5). We need not therefore be surprised to find denunciations of Pharisees in the Gospel, or to find Pharisees described as 'hypocrites', more especially if 'woe to you Pharisees who . . .' is taken to mean 'woe to that kind of Pharisee who does such-and-such a bad practice', and not (as too often supposed) 'woe to the party of the Pharisees, for they all do such-and-such a bad practice'. To denounce people for being 'particular' in religion is one thing, to denounce 'particular' people for nevertheless doing bad practices is another. Such courses at least suggest that the persons in question are inconsistent, if not insincere; it is not far from ὑπόκρισις, whether we translate this by 'hypocrisy' or (with the Syriac Versions) by 'capriciousness'.[2]

In dealing with all Talmudic evidence brought forward in illustration of the Gospels I feel it most important to emphasize the fundamental difference in the quality of the two kinds of evidence. The object of both sets of documents is edification, not the satisfaction of historical curiosity. The Evangelists are concerned that their readers may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Talmudist is concerned with what is right conduct for his co-religionists: neither is directly concerned with the history of religion among the Jews. But there is this difference, that the Evangelists are uniquely concerned with the Jewish people and their religion as these were about A.D. 30. What was alive and flourishing in

[1] Pesach. 70 b.

[2] نُهْت كَاقِل, the standing rendering for ὑποκριτής, seems an idiomatic expression for 'capricious' rather than 'subservient' (see Gal. ii 6).

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Jewish religion is what matters to the Evangelists and to the modern scholar who studies their work, equally whether it remained in the religion of the Jews after the Destruction of Jerusalem in A. D. 70 or whether, like so much else, it then perished altogether. The Talmudist, on the other hand, has no antiquarian interests, properly so called. He has less idea of 'evolution' (by which, in this connexion we generally mean what is more accurately called 'epigenesis'[1]) than the Christian, who at least has taken to himself the conception of a new event in the Divine economy, so that things under the New Dispensation are in some measure really different from what they were under the Old. To the Talmudist what is right now has always been right. The Law was always there, even in Patriarchal times, and so were its obligations. It would have been difficult, I think, for a Talmudic writer to think that one who was zealous for the Law in past days had been zealous in a wrong way.

Further, and this is the important thing, vast and varied as the Talmudic literature is, it all goes back to Johanan ben Zakkai and his School. Johanan ben Zakkai was a loyal and orthodox Jew, and he may be described as a 'Pharisee', but he did not represent in himself all the tendencies of the not-unorthodox Judaism of the 1st century. The fact that he himself belonged to the peace party in A. D. 70 is enough to shew that his religion was something different from that of the average Jew of his day. No doubt he was a most learned Doctor and a faithful transmitter of tradition, and no doubt also it was his teaching that was suitable for the profoundly altered state of things that the religious Jew had for the future to endure; but, if our aim is to reconstruct the religious life of Palestine as it was in A. D. 30, in all its variegated diversity, the sound doctrines of Johanan ben Zakkai are not enough. If we want to draw a true picture of the Church of England in Wesley's day, it is not enough to study the works of the leaders of the Oxford Movement, even though we may be convinced that High Church principles had never ceased to be maintained by a succession of faithful men, and that the quotations of their opinions in the writings of the leaders of the Oxford Movement are accurate.

Moreover, there is also to be taken into consideration the whole series of facts treated in Leszynsky's *Sadduzäer*.[2] This remarkable book seems to have attracted less attention, at least in England, than it deserves. Leszynsky shews that the Sadducees, whatever they may have ultimately become, had been a religious party, not a worldly or aristocratic clique. In the times of Hellenization, before the Maccabaean rising, the faithful Jews were united in refusing to abandon

[1] See the enlightening Note in Tyrrell's *Christianity at the Cross-Roads*, p. 18.

[2] R. Leszynsky *Die Sadduzäer* (Berlin, 1912).

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their ancestral religion for new Greek ways of life; but what, in detail, was the ancestral religion of the Jews? Was it the mass of customs actually practised, or was it what was commanded in the Pentateuch, no more and no less? The Sadducees were originally those who held the latter alternative, whereas the mass of the 'pious' were not so much contending for the Pentateuch itself as for the praxis—fairly well codified, it is true, in the Pentateuch—to which they had been immemorially accustomed. An attitude of mere conservatism is fatal in the end to any party, and ingenious men after a time were found who managed always to find a 'support' in the words of the written Law for the custom or doctrine they advocated. According to Leszynsky these interpreters were the original 'Pharisees'. The fall of the Maccabaean Dynasty ruined the Sadducees as a religious force in Judaism: their ideal had been the Priest-King, while the Pharisees (as we see particularly from the Psalms of Solomon) hoped for a new David, who would not be a priest at all.

Of the surviving literature, Leszynsky assigns Schechter's 'Zadokite Fragment', the Book of Jubilees, the original Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, and (with some hesitation) the Assumption of Moses, to Sadducee writers.

What is important to notice here is the considerable amount of 'Sadducee' teaching that Leszynsky finds in the Gospels, or rather in the recorded teaching of Jesus. 'As a matter of fact, Jesus in His attitude to the Law is a Sadducee' (p. 284). What Leszynsky means is of course illustrated by Mk. vii 8 ('leaving the commandment of God ye hold to the tradition of men'), but he means more than that.[1] He considers that the interpretation of the Evangelist according to which the saying of Jesus in vii 18, 19[a], is meant to declare that all foods are clean is not really correct, and that Jesus was not thinking of the lawfulness of non-Mosaic foods like pork or rabbit, but of the question whether in eating lawful food ablutions were a religious duty. He thought not[2]: Rabbinic authorities of a later day were of a contrary opinion (Hagiga ii 5; Sota 4 b). What the Gospels tell us is that some 'Pharisees' and 'scribes from Jerusalem' held already in the 1st century the same views as the Rabbis of a hundred years later.

Dr Büchler in his *Galiläische Am ha-'Areṣ* (pp. 126 ff) is concerned to demonstrate against Schürer that the greater part of the washings prescribed in the Talmud in respect to eating food relate to *Teruma*, the tithe set apart for priests to eat, and that it was only at a much later date than the 1st century that hand-washing before ordinary meals is prescribed as a duty. This may be so, and as a reply to Schürer, whom

[1] Among other passages Leszynsky adduces Mk. xii 35–37.

[2] That this was so is further attested by Lk. xi 38.

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Büchler feels to be unfairly describing the religion of Jews as a painful service hemmed in with ridiculous tabus, it is effective. But does it really elucidate the Gospel tales? I do not think that social customs become a religious duty before they are generally practised. A custom is first observed by 'particular' people, then (if it becomes general) it is justified by authority or reason, and at last it is commanded. What the Gospel tales (Mk. vii, Lk. xi) shew us is that the up-to-date, professionally religious 'particular' people among the Jews about A. D. 30 were observing rules of behaviour which were not codified till much later. No doubt it was a pious and seemly act to sprinkle or dip the hands before meals, no doubt the 'particular' persons who always practised this bit of ritual affected to speak of hands that had not been so washed by the same adjective that was used for levitical impurity, but Jesus in the Gospel refuses to regard this act as a religious duty, well knowing (among other things) that no text out of the Pentateuch can be found to prescribe it.

Mark does indeed go beyond the facts when he says (vii 3) that not only Pharisees but 'all the Jews' do not eat without washing. Further, πυγμῇ in vii 3 must be wrong, whether or no the alternative πυκνά be right. But general statements about the religious practices of outsiders cannot be pressed: the whole parenthesis (*vv.* 3, 4) means little more than 'Jews are very particular about washings and what they call cleanliness in food'—which is true.

There is more difficulty, as Leszynsky says (p. 291), in explaining from a Jewish point of view the story of the Disciples and the Ears of Corn (Mk. ii 23–28 and parallels). But I wonder whether about A. D. 30 it was quite certain to the law-abiding Jew that the act of the Disciples was definitely unlawful. Is plucking a fruit an act of harvesting? Does it not rather come under the head of 'that which every man must eat, that only may be done of you'? The ears of corn plucked by the Disciples were not prepared, not carried away out or in to their house or a barn, the act did not 'belong to the labour of the children of men' (Jubilees l 10), except by what we should now call a 'rabbinical' interpretation.[1]

But there remains the great distinction between the Judaism of the Mishna and the Judaism indicated in the Gospels that the former is codified while the latter is still to some extent in solution; and further, that the codification is that made by the one surviving school of thought and practice, while the Gospels give us glimpses of a state of things in which not all good Jews were 'particular' about some things in which Johanan ben Zakkai was particular, and some Jews who were 'par-

[1] Elisha b. Abuyah the Apostate Doctor pulled up a radish on the Sabbath, but he handed it on to another person (Ḥag. 15a).

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ticular' were strict about some things in which later Jews were laxer. It all comes to this, that the 'Pharisees' of the Gospel were extra-zealous for the Law, but their practices are not to be identified *en bloc* with Jewish orthodoxy of Talmudic times.

No doubt this is not all. To the end, as I believe, Jesus continued to regard Himself as faithful to the Law of God, as one who 'fulfilled the Law', but there was a real difference between the piety of Jesus and the piety of the 'Pharisee'. It is not easy to express this difference, if one wants to be just to the Rabbinical Religion at its best. Perhaps it may be expressed by saying that in naming the Law of God, the Rabbis put the emphasis on 'the Law' but Jesus on 'God'. As Dr Montefiore puts it, the Rabbis said: 'If your father bids you transgress the Law, do not obey him. The enactments by which [the Rabbis] developed the written Law were not a benefit to themselves; they were honestly intended as a fence and an honour to the Law. It is all very well to speak of 'legal casuistry', or of 'restraints of the Law' *versus* 'human need and human rights'. But should not God go before man? The Law was perfect, immutable, divine. God must know best; His commands must be perfect, must be divine.'[1] Jesus starts with much the same language: indeed the righteousness of His disciples is to exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees. But He felt He knew the mind of His Father in heaven directly. So He felt sure of being right when He treated permission to divorce as a mere concession to the uncircumcized hearts[2] of His countrymen, and pointed back to a more ideal state 'in the beginning'. He felt sure He was right to treat the laxity of the disciples in plucking the corn on the Sabbath as unblameworthy, and to defend them for not keeping certain customary Fasts. He felt sure He had authority to interfere with the traffic in the Temple courts. He felt sure He could declare that the humble Tax-gatherer was justified before God rather than the blameless Pharisee.

The people in the Synagogue on that first Sabbath were right. 'What is this?' they said: διδαχὴ καινὴ κατ' ἐξουσίαν, 'new teaching by authority!' That is just the question. The difference between the Christian and the non-Christian is just whether Jesus had, or had not, authority to trust what in others we should call personal instinct. Those of His contemporaries who were 'particular' in their religious behaviour and their loyalty to the Law must have felt this difference of attitude, before any actual word or deed made the matter demonstrable.

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[1] *Synopt. Gosp.* (2nd ed.), i 55.

[2] Mk. x 5: the phrase goes back to Deut. x 16.

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THE CONFLICT OF ABAILARD AND ST BERNARD.

THE struggle between Abailard and St Bernard is generally regarded as a struggle between two mutually exclusive methods. Abailard is painted as a Modernist because of his use of dialectics to synthesize and explain Christian beliefs; St Bernard is a Fundamentalist, albeit of the educated type, rigidly opposed to any such theological procedure. The use of present-day terms in past controversies is a dangerous practice, but the analogy, if it remain only an analogy, is true. Abailard naturally had none of the modern scholar's critical apparatus; his own excursions into textual criticism are both unscientific and unsound. His famous *Sic et Non* method afterwards became the method of the later scholastics, but none the less it was then a novelty which might well seem to St Bernard as subversive of the Faith as the teaching of Loisy appears to the modern conservative. Walter of St Victor could put Abailard down as one of the four labyrinths of France, an indictment which was somewhat palliated by his having that pillar of later orthodoxy, Peter Lombard, as a companion.

The main interest, however, of their opposition is lost, if our investigation is pushed no farther. The Council of Sens witnessed more than a trial of strength between Abailard's scholasticism and St Bernard's reliance upon Authority as the only source of Catholic truth, more than a condemnation of Abailard's unfortunate distinction in the Trinity and of his exemplarist doctrine of the Atonement. Both these indeed were made the centre of Bernard's attack, but the Saint's fanaticism and his nearness to the event made it impossible for him to see the philosophical points whereon their differences rested. Without a doubt Abailard distinguished in his books at least between the Three Persons, while his denial that by Christ's death alone could our redemption be effected was not Catholic doctrine. But at bottom the clash between the two men was due to their opposing conceptions of Faith and Grace, the meaning of which have never been sufficiently brought out. It was Abailard's intellectualism that impelled him to formulate a dialectical approach to theology, just as it was St Bernard's voluntarism that forced him to deny any place to dialectics in theology. Later the intellectualism of Aquinas and the voluntarism of Duns Scotus divided the schools upon the vexed question of assent; with certain reservations the same problem was basic in the struggle of Sens. Further, Abailard's conception of God as having continually revealed Himself to men both inside and outside the Church, St Bernard's more orthodox view that Revelation had been restricted to Scripture and to the Fathers alone, brought

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each to a different idea of revealing Grace and so to an opposing evaluation of secular literature.

Abailard's intellectualism is patent in all that he wrote. To him Faith is that which 'we hold firmly in our minds',[1] and it consists 'in the knowledge partly of the Divine Nature, and partly of the Divine benefits and other necessary dispensations and ordinances of God which are carefully described in the Apostles' Creed and in the Creeds of the Holy Fathers'.[2] Thus it is with the Creeds, with intellectual propositions, that Abailard connected Faith, and in all his writings he aimed at creating a better understanding of what the Creeds actually mean. To utter an idle 'Amen', he claimed, was insufficient; Faith must be more than a simple pronouncement of unintelligible words.[3] His letters to Héloïse upon monastic life, his criticism of the lax discipline at St Denis, his vigorous administration of St Gildas shew his deep realization of the moral side of Christianity as interpreted by contemporary religious ideas. Still, the Christian must accomplish more than correct living. He must understand his beliefs as far as understanding of Divine matters is possible for men. In the *Dialogus* the philosopher refuses to accept the beliefs of the Christian and the Jew, unless they can prove the intellectual soundness of their tenets. Both the Jewish habit of seeking signs and the Christian reliance upon authority are equally derided. The Jew, for instance, can only give Scriptural warrant for his belief in the exclusiveness of the circumcised in the sight of God; the philosopher refuses therefore to recognize the validity of the rite.[4] Abailard's whole position is summed up in his declaration that 'by doubting we come to enquire and so to the truth'. These are not the words of a cynic, but of a sincere intellectualist. Doubt is but the first step to belief, not because it leads to the destruction of credal positions, but because it drives men to take stock of what is both meant and implied by their assent.

St Bernard required no intellectual basis for his beliefs; the authority of Tradition, of the Church and the Fathers was sufficient. Like Abailard, he never doubted the reasonableness of Faith, but his assurance on that point never led him to make it an excuse for dialectical enquiry; it only made him trust Authority the more. In his eyes to probe into the mystery of the Trinity seemed a sacrilege: to believe implicitly the Trinitarian formula seemed life, and Life Eternal. Asking how it was possible to convince men of the truth, he found his answer in the thought that 'young men and maidens, old men and children, have chosen to die by a thousand deaths rather than for a moment depart from their Faith'.[5]

[1] *Epist. ad Rom.* ii 6 (*P.L.* col. 876).
[2] *Introd.* i 3 col. 986.
[3] *Dialogus* col. 1615.
[4] *Ibid.* col. 1628.
[5] *In Vig Nativ. Dom.* iii 9.

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Such an attitude appears pragmatic, but behind the statement there is a deep conviction which is rarely present with the pragmatist. Faith is 'the certain, manifest knowledge of an invisible thing', the Pauline 'substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen'.[1] And substance meant more to St Bernard than it did to Abailard. As an extreme Realist, St Bernard thought of Faith as an entity far removed from the influence of human thought and dependent only upon God, as a real whole which is to be accepted as such, and not as a series of doctrines which ought to have no claim upon human assent unless they are fully understood. Faith indeed to St Bernard was almost equivalent to trust. 'From Faith in the commandments comes hope of indulgence; from Faith in the miracles, hope of Grace; and from Faith in God's promises, hope of glory.'[2] Faith is trust in doctrines which will be made known in their fullness when, and only when, the General Resurrection comes; for then, when we meet Christ face to face, we shall understand all we have formerly held upon trust. Individual opinion counted for nothing. Few were then more devoted to the Virgin Mary than St Bernard, yet he rejected the newly mooted doctrine of her Immaculate Conception, because that doctrine possessed no proper sanction. 'It was unknown to the liturgy, not acceptable to common sense, and not commended by authority.' His correspondents, the Canons of Lyons, are advised to await the papal sanction of doctrine.[3]

By necessity it followed that such a conception of Faith should also be voluntarist. Consequently St Bernard speaks of Faith 'as a voluntary and certain foretaste of a Truth which has not yet been made known'.

Voluntas, as the late Dr Wicksteed has pointed out,[4] had a wider meaning in medieval terminology than the modern 'volition', since it conveyed the idea of an intellectual appetite. Here there is of course no question of 'intellectual' in the Abailardian sense; the will is intellectual because, as opposed to the desires of the flesh, it is part of the mind. Faith accordingly is something to be sought after and believed in by an act of the will, as if the latter were some appetite that seized upon the content of the Creeds.

Unlike Duns Scotus, St Bernard was no metaphysician, although he was no mean theologian. His voluntarism did not depend upon philosophical considerations: it was pietistic. His mysticism gave him a thorough conception of what Prof. Otto calls the 'numinous', the non-ethical idea of the Holy, a conception which led him to regard the divine secrets and Revelation itself with reverence, and to see in man only a wretched, fallen creature, incapable alone of doing anything that was good and of thinking of the Divine without the aid of Grace.

[1] *de Consid.* V iii 1.
[2] *Sermo de div.* ix.
[3] *Ep.* clxxxiv.
[4] *de Consid.* V ii 6.

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Philosophically it was not only their ideas of Faith that separated the two opponents; it was also their doctrines of Grace that made them think in such opposition. Here we must refer to their teaching upon the Incarnation. Abailard regarded the Coming of Christ 'as the completion and crown of a spiritual process in the history of man, dating from the time of the Creation', just as did the Alexandrine theologians and their interpreter, Eriugena. Like the Eastern theologians, Abailard insisted upon the essential Christ who has always been present in men's souls, upon the continuous developement of Revelation, and upon the presence of Reason in man, the sign of an immanent Divinity. Thus it was possible for Abailard to think of Revelation as having been given to man, not at a few stated intervals, but time and again during the whole course of history. The revealing Spirit of God—and knowledge always came by revelation—was indiscriminate of Jew or Gentile; it was present with Greek and Roman thinkers as well as with the prophets of Israel. Here Abailard's theory, although it was not formulated in any precise statement, was virtually the same as the doctrine of revelation held by the later scholastics. Revelation is not necessarily the gift of something new; it can be also God's *imprimatur* upon truths which human thought has already discovered. According to Abailard, Virgil, the Sibyl, and even the Brahmins of India, recognized the triune Godhead: the revelation of the Trinity in Christ was but God's sanction of a belief which thinkers had known by dwelling upon the unity, the reasonableness, and the benevolence of creation. St Thomas refused to allow that the Trinity could be known save through revelation. Abailard, incapable of distinguishing between Natural Reason and Revelation, distinguished between revelation made through the medium of inspired thought and revelation made by Christ. In this way, Abailard's thought is analogous to the scholastic doctrine mentioned above.

Abailard's conception of Grace had always an intellectual colour. Pelagianism has been attributed to him, but on insufficient grounds, for there can be no doubt of his recognition that without supernatural aid man is impotent to good. Still, with his eastern Christology, he thought of God as continually instructing men's minds as well as directing their actions. A follower of St Augustine, Abailard was convinced of the absolute connexion between morality and knowledge. To him Plato was as good a Christian as any Father; hence he was given to know the existence of the Christian Trinity. Christ was the Logos, the instructor of the world. Although he considered the Gospel as the consummation of the Law, and although he was perhaps the greatest ethical philosopher since Aristotle, it is difficult not to believe that the idea of Christ as the eternal source of knowledge is uppermost in Abailard's mind.

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St Bernard's idea of Grace was totally different. He had neither Abailard's wide historical outlook nor his trust in the power of human thought. The centre of his Christology was the Human Jesus, not the Logos. His theology started from a thorough appreciation of the drama of the Fall and of the cataclysmic effects of the Crucifixion. After the Fall and before the Incarnation man had possessed all the attributes of the Hobbesian caricature; he was both ignorant and 'unable not to sin'. Through the Passion he was given the power at least of attaining to goodness, if not, though the thrones vacated by the fallen angels were few, to life eternal. Where Abailard had sought *scientia*, intellectual knowledge, St Bernard looked for wisdom and prudence. To one Christ was the giver of philosophy, to the other He was the fountain of life. Man in St Bernard's view could not understand divine matters because of the depths into which he had fallen: aided by the merits of the Passion he could at least remedy the effects of Adam's sin and seek God through mystical contemplation. Hence nothing was to be gained from the study of pagan literature, for men outside the Church were without Grace and thus without true knowledge. The Bible alone was God's word, and alone contained the truth.

Certainly St Bernard's attack upon Abailard was based upon a criticism of his method and his doctrines. Nevertheless their opposing conceptions of Faith and Grace were largely responsible for the attitude each had adopted. Without an appreciation of this fact, the full significance of Sens cannot be understood. It was primarily a conflict between the new Scholasticism and the old form of theology in which exegesis was analogical and not dialectical; but it was also a clash between rival theological systems. Certainly Abailard's acquittal would have been dangerous for the Church, since his method required for its success a distinction between Natural Reason and Revelation which could not be made until men learnt more of Aristotle. Yet St Bernard would have won a more satisfactory victory, and more justice would have been paid to Abailard's undoubted position as a thinker, had St Bernard been able to see the philosophical differences between their systems. But neither was St Bernard a philosopher nor had any man then the knowledge to criticize epistemological theories.

J. G. SIKES.

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TE DEUM LAUDAMUS.

I

The Text in Daniel's Codex S. Emmerani lxvii.

In 1905 Dr Burn wrote (*Niceta of Remesiana* p. xcix) 'Daniel quotes a 9th century MS from the Abbey of S. Emmeran as upholding this theory of authorship [S. Hilary of Poitiers]. But the MS has not yet been identified among the Munich MSS'; and in 1906 Dom P. Cagin (*Te Deum ou Illatio?* p. 172) refers only to Daniel's statement.

When asking for rotographs of the *Te Deum* in other Munich MSS I enquired whether the MS referred to had been discovered, and in reply the Librarian most kindly forwarded me a copy of folios 161r and 161v of the MS lat. 14248. On looking it up in *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis* (Halm et Meyer, 1874, vol. ii, pt. 2) I found it entered as follows:

14248 (Em. c. 67) membr. in 2°. s. ix. 176 fol.

F. 1. De his quae mundi amore praepediuntur.

f. 4. S. Augustini in psalmum 118 sermones xxxii.

f. 159. Hymni: benedictio trium puerorum, hymn. trium puerorum, h. quem S. Hilarius primus composuit, 'Te deum laudamus', canticum angelorum, 'Gloria in excelsis', canticum Symeon.

f. 162. Preces variae. f. 173. 'S. Augustini' (immo Caesarii) sermo de verbis apostoli Cor. ii 5, 10.

Daniel's description (*Thesaurus Hymnologicus* ii p. viii) is less detailed.

Cod. S. Emmerani C. lxvii saec. viii vel. ix continet commentarium S. Augustini in Psalmum cx, praeterea nonnulla cantica ecclesiae vetusta, ut Te Deum et Gloria.

I do not know whether the text has been printed elsewhere, and I regret that I can give no further description of the MS as a whole.

As regards the writing, the scribe used R in place of r in the title, also the form s which otherwise only occurs in Sc̄s. Sc̄s. Sc̄s. Eight times he has the open a (ɑ)[1] and three times e is written with top open and above the level of the adjoining letters.[2]

[1] 1. terra uenerɑtur. 4. seraphin. 6. terra . . . maiestate. 22. hereditɑti. 26. peccɑta. 29. sperɑui.

[2] 20. subueni. 23. ꝯternū. 25. nomen.

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Hẏmnū quae sc̄s helarius primus [f. 161r
Té dm̄ laudamus ⁘ conposuit;
té dn̄m confitemur;
Té ꝗernum patrem ⁘ omnis
terra ueneratur;
Tibi omnes angelj ⁘ tibi
caeli & uniuersę potestates;
Tibi cherubẏm & seraphim ⁘
incessabilj uoce proclamant,
Sc̄s ⁘ Sc̄s ⁘ Sc̄s ⁘ dn̄s đs sabaoth;
Pleni sunt caelj & terra ⁘
maiestate gloriae tuae;
Té gloriosus apostolorū chorus;
Té ꝑphetarū laudabjlis numerus;
Té martẏrū candidatus laudat
exercitus; Té ꝑ orbem terra
rum ⁘ sc̄a confitetur ecclesia;
Patrem inmense maiestatjs;
Uenerandū tuū uerū unicū filiū;
Sc̄m quoq; paraclẏtum spm̄;
Tú rex gloriae xp̄ae:
Tú patrj sempit̄nus és filius;
Tú ad liberandum suscepistj homi [f. 161v
nem ⁘ non órruistj uirginis uterū;
Tú déuicto mortjs aculeo ape
ruistj credentjb: regna caelorū;
Tú ad dexterā đi sedes in gl̄a patris;
Iudex crederis esse uenturus;
Té ergo sc̄ę q̄s tuis famulis subueni ⁘
quos prętjoso sanguine redemisti;
Ęt̄nā fác cū sc̄īs tuis gl̄am munerarj;
Saluū fac populū tuū dne ⁘ & bene
dic hereditatj tuae;
Et rege eos & extolle illos usq: in ęt̄nū;
Per singulos dies benedicimus te;
Et laudamus nomen tuum ⁘
in saeculum & in scl̄m scl̄j;
Dignare dn̄e die isto ⁘
sine peccata nós custodire;
Miserere nr̄j dn̄e ⁘ miserere nr̄i;
Fiat misericordia tua dn̄e suꝑ
nos ⁘ qūeadmodū sperauimus in té
In té dn̄e speraui non con
fundar in aeternum;

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II

Some Readings.

Verse 6. Vat. Reg. 11 (f. 250^{v}), c. 750? reads

Pleni sunt cęli et terra magestatis
et glorię tuę

As far as I know this reading occurs nowhere else. But there are several MSS which may point to it indirectly.

(*a*) Munich, S.B. lat. 14248 (see above)

(*b*) Berlin, S.B. Theol. fol. 58 (f. 111^{v}): ix cent.

maiestate gloriae tuae

(*c*) Oxford, Bodl. Junius 25 (f. 117^{v}): c. 890

magestate glorię tuę

(*d*) Cambridge, C.C.C. 411: x cent.

maiestate gl̃ę tuę

With these may be compared:

(*e*) S. Gall. S.B. 20 (p. 354): ix cent.

maiestatẽsglorię tuę

It is not possible to decide from the rotograph whether the *s* has been added later.

(*f*) Boulogne, Bib. Pub. 20 (f. 179^{v}): c. 1000

maiestatis glorię tuae

The final *is* are over an erasure.

(*g*) Paris, B.N. lat. 13159 (f. 160^{v}): c. 800

maiestati glorie tue

The *i* of *maiestati* is followed by an erasure.

My suggestion is that these readings point to a MS in which the text of Vat. Reg. 11 was written with the last two letters of *magestatis* and *et* contracted, e. g.

magestat'ẽ glorię tuę

Verse 9. 'There is no justification for *laudet* [Bangor Antiphonary], which is probably a scribe's error' (*J. T. S.* ix, p. 426). So wrote Dr Bannister; but although the MS referred to in his note, Paris, B.N. 9488, does not contain the reading, it occurs unmistakably in Florence, M.L. Ashburnham Libri 54, ix cent. in the form

laud& exercitus

Verse 15. *patri*, the reading of Munich, S. B. lat. 14248 occurs as (*a*) the only reading in B.M. Harl. 7653: viii–ix cent., Junius 25, S. Gall. 15: ix cent., Munich 343: x cent. (Ambr.), Vat. lat. 83: x cent. (Ambr.), Camb. C.C.C.

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391: c. 1064, Camb. S. John's B. 18 (xii cent.). (*b*) the original reading corrected to *patris* in Amiens 18: ix cent., Rome, Vallicelliana E. 24: xi–xii cent. (*c*) a correctors reading in Harl. 2904: x–xi cent., Paris, S. Geneviève 1186 and Boulogne 20: c. 1000.

Verse 18. *sedens*, the reading of the Bangor Antiphonary, was known to occur in the Mozarabic MS Madrid, Nac. 10001; Hh 69: x cent. It occurs also in (*a*) Rome, Arch. di S. Pietro D. 156: x–xi cent. (*b*) Florence, M.L. Plut. xvi 37: xi cent. (*c*) London, B.M. Add. 21927: c. 1174. (*d*) London, B.M. Arund. 230: xii–xiii cent.

Verse 21. *Aeternam . . . gloriam.* Dr Bannister (loc. cit.) marks this reading as peculiar to the Irish group of MSS. This however is not the case, for not only does it appear in Vat. lat. 82 (Ambrosian) but also in (*a*) Munich, S.B. 14248 (see above). (*b*) London, B.M. Add. 37768: c. 850. (*c*) Amiens, Bib. Pub. 18: ix cent. (*d*) Rouen, Bib. Munic. 231 (A. 44): c. 1075. In (*c*) the reading has been corrected to *aeterna . . . gloria.* There is another reading, *aeternam . . . gloria* which occurs in (*a*) Manchester, John Rylands Lib., Crawford 133: ix-x cent. (*b*) Bamberg, A. I. 14: c. 909.[1] (*c*) Vat. lat. 83: x cent. (Ambrosian). (*d*) B.M. Add. 37517: late x. (*e*) Cambridge, U.L. Ff. I. 23 (1156): early xi cent. (*f*) B.M. Arund. 60: c. 1060. (*g*) Vat. Reg. 12: xi cent. (*h*) Paris, B.N. lat. 8824: xi cent. (*i*) B.M. Vitell. E. xviii: xi cent. (*j*) B.M. Harl. 863: c. 1080. (*k*) Cambridge, S. John's Coll. B. 18: early xii cent. (*l*) B.M. Arund. 230: xii–xiii cent. In (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), (*e*), (*j*), (*k*), and (*l*) the reading has been corrected to *aeterna.*

numerari. What is the earliest appearance of this reading? It is usually said to occur only in some printed editions of the Breviary from 1491 onwards. The late Dom P. Cagin, in *Te Deum ou Illatio?* p. 141, prints the Greek version from Vienna, S.B. Cod. Theol. gr. CCL. (xvi cent.). Here is the line with the second reading written above, fol. 304^{v}:

τη ἀἰδιῖ δόξη λαμπρυνεσθαι
γἰων σου τουτουσ ποιησον αριθμεῖσθαι· σωσον κ̄ε̄.

[1] There may be room for doubt here. The rotograph appears to shew this reading, but the line over the *a* is very faint, and it does not appear in the Essen copy of this psalter.

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Baümer gives it as the reading of the Utrecht Psalter and Zürich, Can. C. 161; but reference to rotographs shews he was mistaken. Magistretti gives the reading of his xiii cent. MS 'Beroldus novus' as *in* (sup. lin. 1. ma) *gloria numerari*: this I have not been able to check. However, B.M. Add. 37517 (*The Bosworth Psalter*), late x cent., reads

Ęternā fac cum scīs tuis gloria numerari.

The insertion of *in* before *gloria* seems to have been the last stage in the production of present reading; e. g. B.M. Harl. 2356: xiii cent. *in gloria munerari.* Since the above note was first written Dr Burn has pointed out (*The Hymn Te Deum and its Author* p. 12) that certain editions of Quignon's Breviary have *numerari.* In Migne's reprint of Lorenzana's edition of the *Breviarium Gothicum* (*Pat. Lat.* lxxxvi c. 935) only the first verse of the *Te Deum* from Madrid Nac. 10001 is given (this MS has *munerari*), but on col. 944 where the *Te Deum* is given in full we have *Ætérna fac cum sanctis tuis in glória numerári.*

Verse 26. The reading *peccata* in Munich lat. 14248 also appears in the Utrecht Psalter and Crawford 133 in the John Rylands Library at Manchester. Two Ambrosian MSS read *peccatis*; viz. Magistretti's xiii cent. 'Beroldus novus' and John Rylands Lib. lat. 55, an Ambrosian Breviary of 1470.

MAURICE FROST.

YAHWEH OR YAHOH: ADDITIONAL NOTE.

ON the question of the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton, raised anew by Dr Lukyn Williams in the last number of the JOURNAL, I should like to add a few words, without going over the whole ground. It seems to me that Dr Lukyn Williams has really reopened the question, by shewing how doubtful is the alleged Samaritan evidence for *Iave*, i. e., as it is supposed, יַהְוֶה or יַהְוֶה. This allows full weight to be given to the Greek evidence for ιαω.

But while generally inclined to favour Dr Lukyn Williams's view I would prefer to state it rather differently. The Arabic Grammarians who attempted to reduce all speech to rule, even groans and interjections, give a definite rule for announcing a person's death. One says,

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of course, 'alas' or 'woe', and then you name the deceased. But you should end with a long closed *āh*, corresponding, I suppose, to an audible sigh, thus: وَا مُحَمَّدَاهْ *Wā Muḥammadāh* = 'Alas Mohammed!' This long *āh* in the case of complicated names is added at the end only: وَا أَمِيرَ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَاهْ *Wā 'Amīra lmu'minīnāh* = 'Alas for the Commander of the Faithful!'[1]

Is there any trace of this idiom in the Old Testament? Mourning customs are very conservative, so that there is nothing inconceivable in the idea, and I venture to quote for it Jeremiah xxii 18, where we have the 'keening' which was *not* to be said over Jehoiakim, king of Judah. The Hebrew is

הוי אחי והוי אחות הוי אדון והוי הדה׃

How ought the last word to be pointed? The Masoretic text has הֹדֹה, as if it were a possessive suffix, and this interpretation seems to be as old as the Targum ('woe to his kingdom'). But is it not possible that the traditional final ה (= *ō*) corresponds exactly to the Arabic ه (= *āh*), which we have just been discussing? Philologically it is exact, for long *ō* in Hebrew corresponds to long *ā* in Arabic. The only doubt I have is whether we ought not to point the Hebrew word הֹדֹה with *maṗṗīḳ*, i. e. *hōdōh* with audible final *h*. The lamentation is therefore 'Alas, brother! Alas, sister! Alas for (our) lord! Alas for the glory—ah!'

Mourning and solemnity are closely connected. In reading the directions in the Arabic Grammar for these solemn announcements one feels that they are psychologically designed for little else than to ensure a solemn enunciation. The melancholy is conveyed by the initial interjection, which means 'woe' or 'alas'; the final vowel gives solemnity. Now granted that Moses came back to his countrymen in Egypt with a new Name for the God of his fathers, what sort of a Name was it likely to be? I venture to think that, to a certain extent, we can answer this question *a priori*. It was likely to be an old name more reverently pronounced. One old name was certainly יהו (probably *Yāho*), for the name of Moses' mother Jochebed (Exod. vi 20) is compounded with it. How can this old name be most reverently pronounced? A natural method is by pronouncing it always as if it were the end of a solemn announcement, in fact as mourners pronounce the last word of their lament. This is done in writing by adding the letter ה preceded by the long vowel *ō*. As the last syllable of יהו already ended in *o* (or conceivably *ŭ*) this only meant that the final syllable of יהו was lengthened and accented. The final ה was, I assume, sounded, as in the Arabic syllable above discussed. So we get from YĀHO the new

[1] Wright's *Arabic Grammar* ii p. 93.

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form YĀHŌH, written יהוה. I may point out that this explanation accounts for the form יהה, which occurs once in the Elephantine Papyri: it is simply *Yāhōh* written defectively, like הרה in Jerem. xxii 18.

F. C. BURKITT.

HAGIOGRAPHICA.

I. *S. Epicharis.*

S. EPICHARIS figures in the *Menologium* of Basil, in the *Menaea* of the Greek Church, and in the *Martyrologium Romanum* as commemorated on September 27. The *Menologium* gives a brief account of her death (*P. G.* cxvii p. 73 C Migne): Ἐπίχαρις ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μάρτυς ὑπῆρχεν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Διοκλητιανοῦ τοῦ βασίλεως· ἐκρατήθη δὲ παρὰ Καισαρίου τοῦ ἐπάρχου, καὶ ὁμολογήσασα παρρησίᾳ τὸν Χριστὸν κρεμᾶται καὶ ξέεται. εἶτα τύπτεται μετὰ σφυρῶν μολυβδίνων ὑπὸ τεσσάρων στρατιωτῶν, οἵτινες εὐχομένης αὐτῆς ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων ἀνῃρέθησαν. εἶτα συνεβούλευσε τῷ ἄρχοντι ὁ συγκάθεδρος αὐτοῦ ἀποκεφαλίσαι αὐτήν. λαβούσης δὲ τὴν διὰ ξίφους ἀπόφασιν καὶ προσευχομένης αὐτῆς ἡ εὑρεθεῖσα ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῆς πέτρα ὕδατος ἀνέβλυσε πλῆθος. πληρώσασα δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν καὶ κλίνασα τὸν αὐχένα ἐπλήγη ὑπὸ τοῦ δημίου καὶ τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα αὐτῆς ἐναπετέθη εἰς χεῖρας Θεοῦ ζῶντος· δικαίων γὰρ ψυχαὶ ἐν χειρὶ θεοῦ. τὸ δὲ τίμιον λείψανον αὐτῆς ἐτάφη ἐντίμως παρὰ Φήλικός (*Vat. gr.* 1613 Φίλικος) τινος συγκλητικοῦ εὐλαβοῦς Χριστιανοῦ βρύον ἰάματα πᾶσι τοῖς πιστῶς προσεχομένοις αὐτῷ πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν συμφορὰν καὶ λύπην ἀποδιῶκον ἕως τῆς σήμερον.[1] The summary in the *Martyrologium* is based on this: its description of S. Epicharis as *senatoria* is clearly a misconstruction of what is said about Felix. Her *Menaeum* (I quote from the 1861 edition) is

> εὔτολμος Ἐπίχαρις ἦν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ξίφος
> συλλήπτορα πλουτοῦσα τὴν θείαν χάριν.

This tradition leaves her a very shadowy figure. The tortures, in spite of which a blow of the sword is needed to end the martyr's life, are highly conventional.[2] Caesarius as a magistrate in Rome under Diocletian seems to be otherwise unknown: we know later as bearing the name of a *praefectus urbis* at Constantinople in A.D. 365, a proconsul of Africa in 374, a consul in 397, the brother of Gregory Nazianzenus, a *notarius* of 446, and the famous bishop of Arles who was canonized.[3] Further, the editors of the *Acta Sanctorum* observed

[1] With *πᾶσαν νόσον* cf. *Passio S. Bonifatii* xvi p. 290 ed. Ruinart[2].

[2] Cf. Delehaye *Les passions des martyrs* 273 ff.

[3] For other Christian examples of the name cf. *Thesaurus l. L. Onomast.* iii p. 44. 65 ff. *Felix* is very common as a name among Christians.

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(*Sept.* vii 429), that there was no tradition of any relics of this saint at Rome, in spite of the express statement of the *Menologium*.[1] They accordingly suggest that Ῥώμη must here be understood as signifying Constantinople.

This will not solve our difficulties: S. Epicharis remains devoid of any sure historical footing; that she was placed in the time of Diocletian is only because his persecution was so extensive and well-known to posterity. May it not be that this shadowy figure owes her place in hagiography to a false recollection of the Epicharis who figures in Tacitus *Ann.* xv 57 and Dio Cassius *Epit.* lxii 27. 3? She is there made a heroic figure contrasted with the pusillanimous nobles involved in Piso's conspiracy: 'at illam non uerbera, non ignes, non ira eo acrius torquentium, ne a femina spernerentur, peruicere quin obiecta denegaret... clariore exemplo mulier in tanta necessitate alienos ac prope ignotos protegendo, cum ingenui et uiri et equites Romani senatoresque intacti tormentis carissima suorum quisque pignorum proderent'. Such an act might well find a place in the rhetorical collections of *exempla*[2]: Valerius Maximus has a section (III. ii) *De fortitudine*, in which Porcia, the wife of Brutus and Harmonia, the daughter of Gelon are mentioned, another (VI. viii) *De fide seruorum erga dominos*, another (IX. xii) *De mortibus non uolgaribus*. The story of Epicharis certainly made its way into the *Strategemata* of Polyaenus (viii 62), among other examples of feminine heroism, including again Porcia (32).

Epicharis is of course not unique as a proper name; it is mentioned as such by Suidas *s. v.*, and inscriptional examples are not lacking (as *C. I. G.* 6524. 4, Preisigke *Sammelbuch griech. Urkund.* 5705, Dessau *Inscr. lat. sel.* 1473, 4438, 6635, 7507). The suggestion here made must therefore remain a hypothesis, but it may, I hope, be regarded as a plausible hypothesis; it will be remembered how tradition made a Christian of Nero's mistress Acte, credited Seneca with a correspondence with S. Paul, as it later represented Statius as a convert, and allowed Virgil to live under Nero and expound to him the Christian faith.[3]

[1] Nilles in his *Kalendarium manuale* records no liturgical cultus of S. Epicharis.

[2] For a kindred use of the word *exemplum* cf. Tac. *Hist.* i 3: 'non tamen adeo uirtutum sterile saeculum, ut non et bona *exempla* prodiderit... contumax etiam aduersus tormenta seruorum fides'. For the description of famous deaths as a form of literature cf. Plin. *Ep.* viii 12 (Titinius Capito is the author), and other references given by Delehaye *Les passions des martyrs* 159 f.

[3] Comparetti *Virgil in the Middle Ages* 314 f.

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II. *Cyprian of Antioch.*

The three documents referring to the supposed S. Cyprian of Antioch, the Conversion (or Πρᾶξις τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Ἰουστίνης), Confession, and Martyrdom have been generally recognized as belonging to the world of hagiographic romance. The inventor's fancy produced a novel in which the other characters also bear historic names; and its present form is earlier than the middle of the fifth century, when the Empress Eudocia turned it into verse.[1]

In the Confession the converted sinner is represented as sketching his religious experience, which was in truth as varied as the flora and fauna of the island inhabited by the Swiss Family Robinson. He was from infancy dedicated to Apollo, a feature probably borrowed from the tradition about Apollonius of Tyana. As a child he was initiated in the mysteries of Mithras, and that children were there admitted in the fourth century is confirmed by a Roman inscription dated A.D. 376 (*tradidit hierocacica Aurelius Victor Augentius v. c. pater patrum filio suo Emiliano Corfinio Olympio clarissimo puero anno tricensimo acceptionis suae feliciter*).[2] At the age of ten he was torch-bearer or δᾳδοῦχος of Demeter in Athens. This must be an error; the δᾳδοῦχος was a man of the family of Kerykes; if a child like the saint had a position in the cult it would be as ὁ ἀφ' ἑστίας.[3] He also 'endured the white sorrow of the goddess'; this is a genuine antiquarian point, and refers to a custom introduced or perhaps restored by Herodes Atticus whereby the Ephebi wore white clothes, not black, in the procession to Eleusis. Presumably the ten year old Cyprian would not in fact be qualified to take part in this procession.[4] Further, as νεώκορος he served the snake of Pallas on the Acropolis; the reference is to the monthly offering of honey-cakes to the sacred snake. So far the references are all comprehensible, though it is impossible

[1] On the relations of the three texts, of which I hope to produce a critical edition, cf. R. Reitzenstein *Nachr. kgl. Ges. Wiss. zu Göttingen* 1917, 38 ff; Delehaye *Analecta* xxxix 314 ff. I is printed in Th. Zahn *Cyprian von Antiochien* 139 ff; II and III in *Acta Sanctorum Sept.* vii 204 ff: II also in *Cypriani Opera* ed. Baluzius *col.* 1104 ff; I and III in M. D. Gibson *Studia Sinaitica* viii 72 ff, from a Sinai manuscript. The writer of II may have had some pagan model; Apuleius *Apol.* 55 refers to a speech about the majesty of Aesculapius; *quot sacra nossem percensui* (cf. also the epitaph of M. Vettius Agorius Praetextatus and his wife, *Carm. lat. epigr.* 111 Buecheler).

[2] Cumont *Textes et Monuments* ii 93 *inscr.* 10.

[3] On the δᾳδοῦχος cf. Töpffer *Attische Genealogie* 49; on ὁ ἀφ' ἑστίας K. Esdaile, *J. H. S.* xxix 1 ff.

[4] So Ganzyoriec *Eos* xxvii 109; cf. K. Münscher *Pauly-Wissowa* viii 942. 39 ff (Dittenb. *Syll.*[3] 870 mentions the reform of Herodes; Aristides xxiv, I p. 473 Dindorf, the fact that the citizens in general wore white garments in the theatre on the day of the Asclepieia).

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that a boy should have performed all the sacred functions in question and noteworthy that the writer can assume that his readers will not feel the impossibility. One has the impression that he knows ancient religion through books and oral tradition rather than from actual observation, although he probably wrote before the complete suppression of its public practice.

We are then told that S. Cyprian came to Mount Olympus 'the seat, as they say of the gods. I was initiated in sounds of converse (with God) and in the recounting of noises. I saw there trees performing miracles[1] and herbs which appeared to be active under divine overruling. I saw there the succession of seasons, under the change of winds, and the variation of days caused by opposed energies. I saw there bands of daemones singing hymns, others at war, others in ambush, deceiving, casting into confusion: I beheld there the phalanx of every god and goddess, waiting there forty days: I beheld the palace as it were from which they send forth the winds, for each to do its work on earth and among all nations. My only meal was one of nuts after sunset. Being then fifteen years of age I was there initiated by the seven hierophants, for my parents were very eager that I should know the secrets of earth and air and sea, not only what relates to the natural growth and death of plants and trees and bodies, but also the energies imprinted on all of them by the lord of this age in opposition to the moulding of God'.

This very interesting passage has been taken to be evidence for rites regularly performed on Mount Olympus.[2] They would be unique if really attested as a part of regular Greek cultus. Our author's phrase *τῶν ἑπτὰ ἱεροφαντῶν* seems to imply *regular* ministers, and it might be argued that he had read an elaborate allegorical sense into a native mystery as he does later into Argive mysteries of Hera.[3] Nevertheless,

[1] *Ἐγενόμην καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ ὄρει τῶν θεῶν ὡς λέγουσιν οἰκητηρίον* (-ῳ Baluzius). *καὶ ἐμυήθην ἤχους ὁμιλιῶν καὶ ψόφων διήγησιν. εἶδον ἐκεῖ φαντάζοντα πρέμνα καὶ πύας ἐνεργεῖν δοκούσας θεῶν ἐπισκοπαῖς. εἶδον ἐκεῖ ὡρῶν διαδοχάς, πνευμάτων ὑπαλλασσόντων, καὶ ἡμερῶν διαφορότητα ὑπό τινων ἐνεργειῶν ἐναντίων συνισταμένην* (-ένων; corr. Bal.). *εἶδον ἐκεῖ χοροὺς δαιμόνων ὑμνούντων καὶ ἄλλων πολεμούντων καὶ ἑτέρων ἐνεδρευόντων, ἀπατώντων, συγχεύντων, καὶ ἑκάστου θεοῦ καὶ θεᾶς ἐθεασάμην ἐκεῖ τὴν φάλαγγα, μείνας αὐτόθι ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα· ὀπόθεν ὡς ἐκ βασιλείων ἀποστέλλοντοι τὰ πνεύματα, ἐνεργεῖν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι. καὶ ἐσιτούμην ἀκρύδρυα μόνον μετὰ δύσιν ἡλίου, καὶ δὴ ὢν ἔτι ἐτῶν πεντεκαίδεκα ἐμυούμην τὴν ἑκάστου αὐτῶν ἐνέργειαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἱεροφαντῶν· λίαν γὰρ οἱ ἐμοὶ γονεῖς ἔσπευδόν με ἐπιγνῶναι τὰ γῆς, ἀέρος, καὶ θαλάσσης οὐ μόνον τὰ κατὰ φύσιν φθορὰς καὶ γενέσεως ποῶν καὶ πρέμνων καὶ σωμάτων* (σομ-; corr. Bal.), *ἀλλὰ καὶ* (τὰς) *ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ἐνεργείας, ἃς ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐνετύπωσεν, ἐναντιούμενος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διατύπωσιν*, where (*τὰς*) is due to A. B. Cook. I am uncertain as to the meaning of *ἤχους . . . διήγ.* For *ὁμιλία* in this sense cf Reitzenstein *Hell. Myst.*[3] 128.

[2] By L. Preller *Philologus* i (1846) 349 ff; A. B. Cook *Zeus* i 110 f.

[3] p. 222 in *A. A. S. S.* The mysteries are attested by Pausanias ii 38. 3.

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the scene is much more like such theosophic revelations as we see in the *Corpus Hermeticum*. There as here the initiate is taught the nature of the universe and the supreme vision (i 27 διδαχθεὶς τοῦ παντὸς τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν μεγίστην θέαν). There as here the instruction implies mysteries of the word, a baptism in word (iv), a rebirth in word (xiii); there as here we hear of χοροὶ δαιμόνων and ἐνέργειαι, there as here instruction is followed by an evening meal, of a vegetarian nature (*Asclep.* 41 *conuertimus nos ad puram et sine animalibus cenam*). Cyprian learns the energies of the gods in all kinds of matter; Mind says to Hermes (xi 20) πάσας δὲ τὰς αἰσθήσεις τῶν ποιητῶν σύλλαβε ἐν σεαυτῷ, πρὸς ὕδατος, ξηροῦ καὶ ὑγροῦ· καὶ ὁμοῦ πανταχῆ εἶναι, ἐν γῇ, ἐν θαλάττῃ, ἐν οὐρανῷ· μηδέπω γεγενῆσθαι, ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ εἶναι, νέος, γέρων, τεθνηκέναι, τὰ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον· καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ὁμοῦ νοήσας, χρόνους, τόπους, πράγματα, ποιότητας, ποσότητας, δύνασαι νοῆσαι τὸν θεόν, and his words are echoed by the initiate in xiii 11.[1] Hermetic literature included much on herbs and stones as well as the more philosophic matter. Cyprian's revelation is put on a mountain; the rebirth mystery in C. H. xiii is described as the secret word on the mountain.[2] The forty days is a conventional period; as our writer is a Christian, it is perhaps fixed with an eye on Christ's Temptation, but there are other parallels, particularly fasts.[3]

I do not suggest that our revelation is definitely Hermetic. There were kindred phenomena; the doctrine of ἐνέργειαι of and in plants was widespread and important in the fourth century of our era and later, and ideas of the sort under consideration might find a home in some group of theurgic Neoplatonists or other disciples collected round a θεῖος ἄνθρωπος, as for instance Antoninus at the mouth of the Nile.[4] I do urge that our revelation is essentially of this theosophic kind, and that its localization on Mount Olympus is not due to older worship on the spot.

[1] The passage is possibly anti-Judaic (cf. W. L. Knox *St Paul* 144 and 131), possibly rather directed against opposed tendencies in theosophical circles; cf. a fragment of the *Oracula Chaldaica* in W. Kroll *De oraculis Chaldaicis* 64 f μὴ τὰ πελώρια μέτρα γαίης ὑπὸ σὴν φρένα βάλλου . . . μηδὲ μέτρει μέτρον ἠελίου . . .

[2] Cf. also *C. H.* x 15 αὕτη εἰς τὸν Ὄλυμπον ἀνάβασις. For the mountains as a place for a revelation cf. Hermas and Julian vii p. 232.

[3] Cf. W. H. Roscher *Die Tessarakontaden und Tessarakontadenlehren der Griechen und anderen Völker* (*Ber. Sächs. Ges. Wiss.* lxi 2) *passim*; C. Clemen, *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des neuen Testaments*[2] 215 f; S. Eitrem *Die Versuchung Christi* 20; Reitzenstein, *Myst.*[3] 188.

[4] Cf. *J. T. S.* xxvi 174. On ἐνέργειαι cf. references in *J. H. S.* xlv 87. n. 25, where I emend the opening sentence of the *Confessio*, and J. Kroll's discussion of their rôle in Hermetism and of their philosophic background in *Die Lehren des Hermes Trismegistos* 200 f, and Pradel *Griech. Gebete* (*R. G. V. V.* III iii 8 [= 260]), ῥῦσαι τὸν δοῦλόν σου τοῦτον πάσης ἐνεργείας πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων a good Egyptian parallel to C. H. xi in Reitzenstein 167₂; cf. also 239.

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We may pass to a point at the close of the *Martyrdom*. Cyprian and Justina, the virgin whose Christianity by proving superior to the seductions of his magic had converted him, were put into a cauldron, and the flames did not devour them. An enthusiastic pagan, Athanasius by name, offered to prove that the pagan deities could do as much. He therefore approached, saying μέγας εἶ ὁ θεὸς Ἡρακλῆς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ τῶν θεῶν Ἀσκληπιός, ὁ τὴν ὑγίειαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρέχων, but was destroyed by the heat before reaching the cauldron. On the face of it this belongs to the well-known type of story in which the power of two religions is put to a practical test. This legendary form would seem to cover the kind of situation of which a picture which seems thoroughly historical is given us by the following narrative from the *Apophthegmata patrum*. 'The Abbot Olympios related thus: "A heathen priest came to Thetis and entered my cell and slept there. Having seen the monks' mode of life he said to me: 'Living thus do you enjoy no vision with your God?' 'No,' said I. He replied, 'When we serve our God he hides nothing from us but reveals His secrets to us. Do you say, We see nothing, though you undergo such toils and vigils and silence and asceticism? Certainly, if you see nothing, you have evil thoughts in your hearts which separate you from God. That is why His secrets are not revealed to you.' I went and told the elders the priest's words, and they marvelled and said that it was so; it is impure thoughts which separate God from man."'[1]

The story is given a moral tone, but *au fond* the question is one of rivalry, not merely of the idea that purity is a necessary qualification for seeing God.

The acclamation here used would be remarkable if it could be regarded as genuine. Such phrases with μέγας are common, μεγάλη (ἡ) Ἄρτεμις τῶν Ἐφεσίων, μέγας θεὸς Ἀσκληπιός and the like.[2] But can Asclepius be ὁ πατὴρ τῶν θεῶν? We cannot answer with certainty. His consort Hygieia is μήτηρ ἁπάντων in the Orphic Hymns (68. 2), just as Hekate is θεῶν μῆτερ in Proclus Hymn II 1 (p. 281 Abel); his identification with Zeus at Pergamon and elsewhere, with Sarapis on

[1] Reitzenstein *Poimandres* 34; cf. *J. H. S.* xlv 89 and 94 f, for further illustration of this kind of opposition, and L. Radermacher *Aristophanes' Frösche* 28 f on the contest-motif. For separation (χωρίζω) cf. Sallustius Περὶ θεῶν xiv (p. 26. 23 of my edition), κακοὶ δὲ γενόμενοι δι' ἀνομοιότητα χωριζόμεθα. (More tests in G. F. Hill *J. H. S.* xxxvi 146, 155.)

[2] Instances in *J. H. S.* xlv 86; many more in Peterson's most valuable ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ 196 ff, to whose material add J. Zingerle *Jahresheft* xxiii Beibl. 5 ff no. 1 a μεγάλη μήτηρ Ἀναεῖτις Ἄζιτα κατέχουσα καὶ Μεὶς Τιάμου καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν (Maeonia: A. D. 115) and F. Cumont *Syria*, 1926, 347 ff (an intaglio from Emesa with μεγάλη Τύχη Ῥώμης καὶ Ἐφέσου on one side, μεγάλαι χάριτες τοῦ θεοῦ on the other).

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coins of Alexandria,[1] might help. In Syria he was commonly identified with Eshmoun, a god of cosmic significance. As the martyrdom is localized at Damascus, it might be suggested that Asclepius is here Eshmoun; at the same time the whole setting of the tale seems to rest on no sort of local tradition: it is a product of the imagination.[2]

Christian hagiographers were familiar with these μέγας acclamations and introduce them frequently on the Christian side μέγας ὁ θεὸς Ἀνδρέου, μέγας ὁ θεὸς τῶν Χριστιανῶν and the like, as well as on the pagan side, μέγας εἶ ὦ Ἀπόλλων καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ θεοί.[3] The form being current, we may expect them to use it freely, and I would suggest that ὁ πατὴρ τῶν θεῶν is not to be regarded as a genuine pagan phrase but rather as the redactor's fancy. He had heard or read of Asclepius as a formidable rival of Christ. The Christian realization of this is particularly clear in the *Passio quattuor coronatorum*. There we read that Christians who worked in the mines in Pannonia did not mind making images of the Sun, of Victories, and of Cupids, but refused to make an Asclepius, though Diocletian demanded that they should produce *deum Asclepium cunctarum sanitatum*. They said that they would not thus represent *homo miserrimus*, alluding to the story of his death. The real motive was no doubt the expectation that Asclepius might be seriously worshipped.[4]

In both points, then, in which the Cyprian cycle appeared to add to our knowledge of ancient religion its contribution is of doubtful value. It cannot be too often repeated that it is highly precarious to utilize stray statements in hagiographical romances; they are often second-hand and imperfectly understood by the original authors, who have pieced together their narratives from any and all material which came to hand.

[1] W. Weber *Ägyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten* i 29. 31 (*B. M. C. Alexandria*, pl. xv 744, 1102, 1362 shew a composite Zeus-Helios-Poseidon-Asklepios-Neilos. Sarapis is the strongest element). For the rise in a god's position cf. Hermes as βασιλεύς in Apul. *Apol.* 61, 64.

[2] R. Reitzenstein *Nachr.* 1917, 69.

[3] Peterson, *l. c.*, and in particular 207.

[4] Ch. 5. The text appears in Büdinger *Untersuchungen zur römischen Kaisergeschichte* iii 353 ff; Wattenbach *Sitzungsber. preuss. Ak.* 1896, 1286 ff; *Acta Sanctorum* Nov. iii 765 ff; a bibliography and an admirable discussion in Delehaye *Passions des martyrs* 328 ff. In Μαρτύριον Βάσσης (Cumont *Textes* ii 463) one city is bidden by Galerius Maximian to sacrifice to Zeus, another to Hermes, another to Asklepios, another to Apollo and all the gods. The possibility of a textual corruption must be mentioned in closing. ὁ σωτὴρ τῶν ὅλων involves very slight changes (ΘΠ for ΠΠ), and would be much easier. Symeon Metaphrastes in his account (cxv 876 Migne) has Δία καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν ἐπιβοησάμενος, τὸν μὲν ὡς αἰθερίου πυρὸς καὶ περιγείου ἄρχοντα, τὸν δὲ ὡς τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν χορηγὸν νομιζόμενον.

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III. *Passio sanctae Symphorosae.*

The *Passio sanctae Symphorosae et septem filiorum eius* is by common consent now regarded as a hagiographic romance devoid of historical basis. A tenth-century manuscript includes an interesting addition to the text as printed by Ruinart.[1]

After the death of the seven sons, and the putting of their corpses in a place called *ad septem Biaeothanatos*, we read: 'post septem uero dies in die octaua martyrii eorum, filiam Hadriani imperatoris arripuit diabolus; et ueniens ad locum ubi obuoluti erant sancti clamabat per os eius diabolus dicens: "Domini mei septem germani martyres Christi, incenditis me miserum." Ipsum autem Hadrianum inuasit timor, ut ossa eius carperentur. Et dum uidissent eum magi et arioli ipsius sic concuti, fecerunt eum sub terra in palatio Tiburtino morari languentem, ibique eum die noctuque consistere, dicentes ei, "Si lucem uideris diei aut solis splendorem respexeris, mox morieris". Sed cum prope annum ibi moratus fuisset, desiderio luminis coelestis ductus exiuit foras. Et statim eum daemon arripuit et tamdiu uexauit quousque spiritum eius abstulit. Factus est autem timor Christi et ...'

That a persecutor should come to a bad end is a commonplace of this literature.[2] Here it is developed with the aid of the common motif of the enchanted person (commonly a princess, but in an Acarnanian story a prince) who will die if he or she sees the light.[3] It may be that some of the stories of this type are due to misunderstood underground dwellings or parts of dwellings belonging to an earlier race; this tale may be inspired by the imposing remains of Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, which has extensive underground structures, and included an *Inferi* according to the biographer in the *Historia Augusta*.[4] The remains of antiquity puzzled the imagination of later times; not to mention the curious stories given in the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, we may recall the fact that a portion of the *Via Flaminia* with its supporting work is known as the Muro del Peccato, and a bridge at Segovia as the Puente del Diablo.[5]

[1] *Analecta Bollandiana* viii 132. Ruinart's text is in *Acta Martyrum sincera*[2], 24.

[2] *Passio quattuor coronatorum* viii; *Passio S. Theodoti* ch. 5 p. 592 Ruinart; *Acta S. Thalalaei* in Conybeare *Monuments of early Christianity* 254; Lactantius *De mortibus persecutorum*, and Delehaye *Les passions des martyrs* 301 f.

[3] J. G. Frazer *Golden Bough*[3] x 20 f, 70 ff; A. B. Cook *Zeus* i 412 ff, ii 671 f. Instances of a taboo on the seeing of the sun by royal persons are given by Frazer iii 3 ff, but they are outside the European area; the *flamen Dialis* was prohibited from being uncovered in the open air.

[4] xxvi § 5.

[5] So in antiquity it is possible that the bronze lionness dedicated in memory of

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IV. The term *dominus*.

Father Delehaye has in his most instructive *Sanctus* p. 59 ff discussed the application of the term *dominus* to saints. He brings it into connexion with the pagan attribution of the titles *dominus* and κύριος to various deities and deified rulers, and says 'Il nous suffit d'avoir constaté qu'une nuance de respect religieux s'était attaché au mot *dominus* avant qu'il ne devint un terme consacré dans le vocabulaire chrétien'. It is perhaps safer to think of *dominus* as a title of respect, used from early Imperial times as a form of address, *domine*, and with proper names in the vocative at least from the second century A. D. onwards.[1] The saints are the nobility of the Christian world, then as later; the mediaeval 'Messire Saint Jean' and the like put us on what is, I think, the right track.[2] It is possible that something of this idea of courtesy explains some of the non-Christian examples of the designation of numinous beings.

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the slaying of Hipparchus produced the hetaera Leaena, who was supposed to have been tortured as a friend of Aristogiton (E. Reisch *Griechische Weihgeschenke* 13), and that the attitude of Aššur-Bani-Pal's hand, misunderstood by the Greeks, gave rise to the tale of Sardanapallus making his hedonistic observation (E. Meyer, followed by Weissbach, *Pauly-Wissowa* i A 2467). Hadrian actually died at Baiae: but he had fallen ill in the previous year (137) at Tibur.

[1] Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte*[9] iv 82–88 (as revised by M. Bang). On the term κύριος in general I may refer to ch. ii § 2 of my *Early Gentile Christianity and its Hellenistic background* (shortly to appear in a volume of *Studies* edited by K. E. Kirk).

[2] Cf. also Delehaye *Les origines des culte des martyrs* 17. In this connexion we may think also of the influence exercised by court ceremonial on liturgical ceremonial (*Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* iv 237, no. 107; 239, no. 116).

I must here once more express my obligation to Professor H. J. Rose for his kind and helpful criticisms.

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REVIEWS

The New Testament Doctrine of The Christ, by the Rev. A. E. J. RAWLINSON, D.D. (Longmans, 1926.)

A COURSE of Bampton Lectures dealing with Christology inevitably challenges comparison with two famous courses which have treated the same subject. And the difference which at once appears is the absence of the massiveness of Canon Liddon's treatment, and of the fullness of Bishop Gore's, an absence for which the latest lecturer is probably not responsible. It may be well imagined that Bampton audiences to-day do not give the lecturer the same encouragement as regards the length of the lectures or the same support of informed expectation as were given to his predecessors. Under modern conditions it was perhaps inevitable that Dr Rawlinson should limit the scope of his subject to 'an historical study of the various forms which were successively assumed by the Christian doctrine of the person of Jesus within the period of the New Testament itself', and even find himself compelled, as he acknowledges, to leave some of the documents of the New Testament unexamined. Within the limits which he thus sets himself he has done a very useful piece of work. He shews himself well acquainted with the literature which has followed on Bousset's great work, and sufficiently independent not to be obsequious to great names. He might with advantage have referred to Foerster's *Herr ist Jesus*.

A few quotations will briefly indicate the writer's position. 'To drive a wedge between Jesus and Christianity, after the manner of the Modernists, is simply to destroy in advance all hope of being able to arrive at a genuinely historical understanding of Christian origins' (p. 10). 'What is really at stake in these discussions is something which goes deeper than Christology. It is the fundamental faith of the Jew in the living God' (p. 18). 'I must be allowed to state my conviction that apart from the recognition of a supernatural factor as having been at work the beginnings of Christianity are not really to be explained' (p. 31). 'The developement of a Christendom in which Gentile elements predominated has been antedated by Bousset' (p. 106). With a position so indicated I find myself so far in agreement that it is a disappointment to feel that Dr Rawlinson does not make the best and the most courageous use of his premisses.

An excellent account of the Jewish religious Hope leads straight to an

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examination of the Christology of the Jewish Christian Church. Is there not here a tacit surrender to the extremest form of Gospel criticism, a criticism which more than anything else in this field calls for investigation? 'Just at present the pendulum has swung violently in the direction of scepticism'. 'It is assumed that the Jesus of history has somehow been transformed by the faith of the Church'. Yes, but are we to swing with the pendulum? Dr Rawlinson stands up very effectively to Bousset, who gave the pendulum the last violent swing in the same direction. Some of his positions he criticizes acutely; but he appears not so much to make concessions as to be prepared to make concessions to the radical school of Gospel criticism, represented by Bultmann, such as would reduce their contents to cunningly devised fables. One recognizes, and to some extent respects, the motive. It amounts to saying, In order that we may build surely let us build on nothing that has been challenged. But is that the temper of the true historian? And has not this extreme criticism of the Gospels overreached itself? leaving us once more confronted with the stark problem, Why then Christianity? If, as we are asked to believe, the Gospels were provided in order to meet the supposed necessity for a 'cult-legend', whence came the cult? And is there any cult-legend in the least degree resembling this? Is there any such legend which does more than relate the fate of its hero, any which gives him character at all, not to say a character such as this, any which presents him in this complex relation of oneness with, and subordination to, the supreme Being, and at the same time in this relation of sympathy with men? And have we the right to use, or to allow others to use, the term 'Jesus-cult' in reference to anything save possibly the latest stratum in the New Testament? For 'cult' signifies organized worship addressed to one who is recognized and named as 'god'. And that is the feature in the Christology of the New Testament which in all but the latest parts is conspicuous by its absence. However much we may emphasize the fact that the primitive Church took up to Jesus the attitude which men otherwise take up to God alone, He is always regarded as Mediator, as subordinate, as man. To speak of the 'cultus' of one so conceived is to ignore the truth of the situation, and so to close the door to surer knowledge. Dr Rawlinson holds the opinion that Bousset has antedated this developement, and has given good reasons for doubting his conclusions; but he does not appear to have worked out the implications of this in relation to a theory which takes Bousset for its foundation.

It is not often that one has to complain that a book is not longer than it is; but that is the case here. Dr Rawlinson has done what he set out to do admirably; but it is the prolegomena to New Testament

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Christology rather than the Christology itself that he has given us. And even the prolegomena require to be supplemented. For we shall never arrive at the Why or even the What of the problem until we bring into the reckoning not only what men thought Christ was, but what they thought he had done.

The Narratives of the Resurrection: a critical study, by P. GARDNER-SMITH, M.A., Dean and Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. (Methuen & Co., 1926.)

MR GARDNER-SMITH has written a careful study of the narratives of the Resurrection of our Lord, and of His subsequent appearances. The ground he traverses is the same as that worked over in a well-known work by Dr Kirsopp Lake, but he handles the material with independence of method and judgement. He takes each stage of the narrative by itself, and minutely compares the relevant records. He is fully aware of most of the critical difficulties which have been raised, and scrupulously fair in discussing them. His conclusion on the evidence which he has studied is practically a *non liquet*, with an inclination to the view that the women found their way to the wrong sepulchre. The conjectural emendation (omission of ἠγέρθη from Mark's version) by which this is supported is hardly likely to commend itself. As a contribution to the whole problem the book, careful and well-informed as it is, suffers from a too rigid narrowing of the field of investigation. This is apparent in the first chapter, where the 'evidence of St Paul' is limited to a few verses at the beginning of 1 Cor. xv. To get a just view of the problem the field must be widened to include the evidence of St Paul as to the faith of the Resurrection, and not of St Paul only, but of St Peter, the Apocalypse, and other documents of the New Testament.

C. ANDERSON-SCOTT.

The Gospel according to St Luke: a critical and exegetical commentary, by BURTON SCOTT EASTON, D.D., Professor of the Interpretation and Literature of the New Testament, The General Theological Seminary, New York City. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1926.)

DR EASTON'S commentary is not an easy book to use, as it is only possible to follow the notes after mastering a long list of abbreviation symbols. Thus W means B. Weiss, *Das Evangelium des Lukas*, 9th ed.,

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Göttingen, 1901, or *Die Quellen des Lukasevangeliums*, Stuttgart, 1907 (also referred to as W'07), or *Die Quellen der synoptischen Überlieferung*, Leipzig, 1908 (also referred to as W'08). Ws on the other hand is adopted as a symbol for the textual notes and works of the same critic—in order to avoid confusion with the Freer MS (W). Wl means Wellhausen. JW means Johannes Weiss. The work represents a diligent collation of recent commentaries, but it is hard to suppress the wish that the author had been less conscientious in recording the symbols for all the scholars who oppose or support his interpretation, and had boldly plagiarized. His own arguments and conclusions do not inspire confidence. On the problem of the Census in Luke ii 1 f he writes: 'The evidence of Tertullian (*adv.-Marc.* iv 19) for the name Sertius Saturninus instead of Quirinius in v. 2 may be accepted without hesitation, despite the unvarying testimony of the manuscripts. Tertullian could have found the name only in his copy of the Gospel, for his faith in Biblical inspiration was such as to forbid his questioning a fact related in the Bible, no matter what the external evidence might be.' But Tertullian does not *quote* Luke ii 2. It is extremely precarious to argue that he must have read Saturninus in his own text of the Gospel, and still more precarious to argue that all extant authorities give a corrupted text. On Luke iii 2–6 Dr Easton enumerates points of contact between Matthew and Luke. The third point enumerated is the genitive Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου. Later he writes, 'The Luke-Matthew contact of the genitives seems to be accidental.' There is no room for doubt that it is accidental. In Luke Ἡσαίου is an ordinary subjective genitive; in Matt. iii 3 Ἡσαίου is genitive because the preposition διά meaning 'through' governs a genitive. Dr Easton's exegesis is likewise frequently unconvincing. Few readers of the Gospel would be prepared to allow that the parable of the Prodigal Son 'may even be taken to hint that the prodigal's return aroused an apathetic father to a sense of his duty', even though they are assured that 'this detail of course was not meant to be allegorized'.

No English commentary on the Greek text of St Luke has existed hitherto which takes account of the more recent criticism of the Gospels. If used in connexion with some older standard work, Dr Easton's book would be of use to an English speaking student. It would put him in touch with the conclusions of more recent commentators. But the defects of which I have given examples characterize the work as a whole and render it unsuitable to be a chief guide to the interpretation of the third Gospel.

J. M. CREED.

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The Impassibility of God, by J. K. Mozley, D.D. (Cambridge University Press, 1926.)

How much there is room for a book on this subject is shewn when, in his preface, Dr Mozley declares that he could find no monograph specifically devoted to it between St Gregory Thaumaturgus in the third century and Dr Marshall Randles at the end of the nineteenth.

That Dr Mozley himself should have written upon it is due to the Archbishop's Doctrinal Commission of 1924, which allotted to him the task of preparing a historical statement on the subject of the doctrine of the Impassibility of God. The task proved more serious and important than he had foreseen, and ended not in a pamphlet report, but in the volume under review, which, though moderate in size, is, in view of its matter, quite austerely condensed.

The author adheres strictly to his plan of presenting a historical statement, and, while he makes it cover the most recent period, he preserves detachment throughout, and restricts his own personal contribution to propounding, at the conclusion, six questions on the answering of which future progress of doctrine in this direction depends. Even so, Dr Mozley indicates that his work is incomplete. The bearing of the doctrine of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the believer upon the doctrine of the Impassibility of God remains untouched.

To read this book is to realize how much in controversy apparent issues have hidden deeper ones. Theologians have discussed the Person of Christ or the meaning of the Atonement. But all the while the determining factor has been their idea of God.

Dr Mozley begins with the Scriptures. In both Old and New Testaments the moral and soteriological interests so outweigh the metaphysical that the question of Divine Impassibility never explicitly arises. The emotional response of God to moral issues is continually predicated in the terms of ordinary actuality. And it is plainly assumed that in Christ we see God in some sense accepting suffering. The first categorical assertion of the impassibility of God comes from the Apologists, face to face with heathen mythology. Then the Monarchians are seen to move to an opposite extreme in the interests of soteriology. Between these two moments a balance is set up, the doctrine of the Trinity being elaborated in the course of reaching it.

Next come the Christian Platonists of Alexandria, who dispose of scriptural difficulties by means of allegorism, and so are free to approach the Divine transcendence along the line of the 'via negativa'. They are apt to receive scant justice, and perhaps do so from Dr Mozley. It deserves to be more remembered that they theologized from the midst of an experiment in Christian living, and that the impassibility

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which they attributed to God is not to be viewed apart from the ἀπάθεια which they felt themselves to be attaining. The life of the circles of Clement and Origen was a very rich and not an impoverished[1] life. And it seemed to them that, with growing freedom from variable emotions, a steady and unflickering flame of joy and benevolence was established in the heart of the true Gnostic, deeper than the changing passions to which human nature is liable. This experience is the real justification of their conception of God as existing in untroubled bliss and changeless activity of love.

The somewhat shadowy figure of Gregory Thaumaturgus may well be that of the truest successor of Clement and Origen. Certainly the tract on the Impassibility of God, bearing his name but surviving only in Syriac, is worthy of such a position, and carries the Alexandrine principles to clear and logical expression. Dr Mozley gives it a place of high honour. But we may notice, once more, the close connexion of the writer's conception of God with his own spiritual experience. Our Saviour, Gregory says, is seen to be touched by passion and not subjugated. In that encounter it was passion that suffered, and the sufferer who overcame suffering. It is that, he says, which best shews us what Divine impassibility means. And he ends by contrasting man's enslavement to the greed of possession with the unsurpassable bounty of Divine self-giving.

But this live interest in impassibility did not last. In the next period it is rather a matter of formal doctrine, which either side uses for the discomfiture of the other. Dr Mozley traces its part in the elaboration of the doctrine of the two natures of Christ, and notes that, as with the Monarchians, so with the Monophysites, impassibility is flouted in the interest of religious values.

John of Damascus revives a better line by proposing to meet the felt need of Divine 'passions' by the postulation of corresponding Divine 'energies'. Augustine also had proposed to interpret the apparent 'passions' of God as actions to produce effects. The Schoolmen follow him, and Reformed theology produces nothing fresh.

This survey takes up 126 pages. Dr Mozley then begins to review modern reaction from the doctrine of the Impassibility of God. He notes two causes of it. First we have the popularizing of the idea of the 'Limited God', which followed William James's approach to the idea of God from the data of religious experience, without adjustment from the side of metaphysics. And then there is the tendency in Natural Science to desert purely mechanistic views of the Universe in favour of such as suggest striving and labour in becoming, a tendency which leads to making πόνος, and in that sense passibility, a Divine

[1] Dr Mozley charges it with an impoverished ethic, p. 57.

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attribute. On the other hand, two thoughts have enabled writers to maintain some idea of impassibility against these influences. One is typified by the Theosophic phrase 'in the Outer Chambers is sadness, but in the Inner ones, unmixed joy'. The other is that God's blissful foreknowledge of final triumph qualifies passibility.

Dr Mozley records two modern protests against the pessimistic implications of an unqualified passibility doctrine, and concludes with his six questions designed to give the direction for further thought about the subject. It is much to be hoped that in the near future he will sketch the lines on which he himself would answer them. Meanwhile the present work certainly ranks as one of the more important items of current theology.

L'imposition des mains et les rites connexes, by JOSEPH COPPENS, D.Theol. (De Meester, Wetteren, 1925.)

THIS learned and careful study is one of the series of dissertations for the degree of Master in the Faculty of Theology of Louvain. It reviews the use of imposition of hands for the purposes of bestowing benediction, healing and exorcising, ordaining, confirming, and reconciling after moral sin and separation from the Church. The author first traces the rite in the Old Testament and in pagan usage, and decides that it is not necessary to postulate any magical origin for the Jewish use of imposition of hands, which is a 'natural' personal gesture, and that the Christian rite springs directly from Jewish custom without any borrowings from paganism. A similar line is followed with regard to exorcism by touch, and healing by unction.

About one half of the book is devoted to the subject of Confirmation. A chief problem with which Dr Coppens deals is the relation of the consignation to the laying on of hands in western use. He argues that the anointing connects primarily with baptism. The primitive church viewed two things as necessary to the Christian, the baptism for remission of sins, and the Messianic communication of the Spirit. The post-baptismal Chrismation looks forward to the latter and is to be regarded as a prayer for sanctification. From this was transferred the use of chrism at Confirmation, which grew in importance as the post-baptismal rite declined. Then, as Confirmation came to be thought of specially as the σφραγίς, the consignation with chrism grew to be regarded as the chief act in Confirmation.

Imposition of hands for purposes of reconciliation is explained as due to the idea that the special vitalizing of the soul by the indwelling Spirit has been extinguished, and needs to be revived.

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Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium ab Ecclesia Catholica dissidentium, by M. JUGIE; tom. i. (Letouzey, Paris, 1926.)

THE learned Assumptionist, Père Jugie, has been numbered among writers on Oriental Christianity now for nearly twenty years. In this volume, first of a series projected, he takes up the task of presenting in condensed form the fruit of his study of Eastern non-Roman Christianity, and completes it so far as concerns the Greek, Russian, and Balkan state churches. He writes in Latin, for a clerical, if not actually for a Seminarist, public, as appears also from the tabulation of *Quaestiones* and *Conclusiones* of a polemical order.

The English reader may find the book useful, however, for bibliographical purposes. It sketches the history of the separation of East and West, reviews the subsequent course of Byzantine theologizing, the peculiar developements of Greek monachism, and the rise of a Russian theological literature. The history of each period is followed by a string of short notices on the theological writers connected with it. In this way Père Jugie provides a manual of introduction to a vast field of literature, and one very imperfectly known in this country. The survey seems, if not exhaustive, at any rate reasonably complete. And an alphabetical index[1] of names makes the book serviceable for purposes of reference.

W. TELFER.

The oldest Biography of Spinoza, edited by Prof. A. WOLF. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London, 1927.)

THIS is the biography generally attributed to Lucas, who was a French refugee in Holland. Apparently the author of this life was the only one of Spinoza's biographers who had personal acquaintance with him.

A preface on the authorship is followed by a translation of the biography, which is at once accurate and readable. This is followed by a translation of additions in the printed texts of 1719 and 1735. Then follows the original French text of both. After this comes a section with additional biographical matter, all of it translated. Finally, there are some pages of useful annotations to the text. There are a few illustrations, the most interesting being a very good print of the Wolfenbüttel portrait of Spinoza. And there is a good index. Altogether it is an interesting, worthy, and fitting memorial of Spinoza's 250th

[1] Not perfect, however. The moderately important Nicolaus Ambrazis, though mentioned on page 536, is not in the index, and there are wrong page references, e. g. to Gregory Thaumaturgus, p. 552.

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birthday. Yet the general effect is to remind us of how little we really know about Spinoza. The life is in fluent, journalese French, which reads easily and pleasantly, but which says very little that is precise, and which is never quite free from the desire to make journalistic capital out of the narrative. For example, there is a flamboyant description of a Jewish excommunication, and then we are told that it was not employed for Spinoza; and the unlikeliness of Spinoza's replies and Bayle's apparent ignorance of the whole business raises doubts whether any excommunication ever took place. But, as there is really very little more known, it is far more valuable thus to have the original document than what has been built upon it. The absence of concrete incident was characteristic of Spinoza's studious life, and is itself a revelation of his natural reserve. Therefore, Prof. Wolf has done a very useful piece of work; and he has done it well.

The Philosophy of the Abbé Bautain, by WILLIAM MARSHALL HORTON, Ph.D. (New York University Press, 1926.)

THE description of this book on its wrapper is more precise and accurate than is usual in this new invention. The work is scholarly, well, if not exactly brilliantly written, and, though it is not 'a distinct contribution to the history of European thought', that is because the Abbé Bautain's was not, and not because of any failure in the author, whose account is both clear and accurate. The chief defect of the book is that it is too long for the interest of the subject, and, though the translations are brilliant, Bautain's rhetoric, which, like much French rhetoric, is sustained at exactly the same level like a plateau without hill or dale, becomes wearisome. It is too eloquent to be a balanced and precise account of anything. Had Bautain written thirty years earlier, his thinking would have been original, but being when it was, most of it had been done before. The chief interest comes from Bautain being a Catholic priest, who was open to the influences of his time, and who seeks to bring his conception of the Church into line with it. Yet, while there is much eloquent denunciation, it cannot be said that he solves any question very convincingly, or that he is consistent in his treatment of tradition and church authority. His chief influence seems to have been in shewing the impossibility of the old Roman rationalistic apologetic, though this still flourishes in spite of him. Why he is regarded as an ancestor of Pragmatism it is not easy to say, because his chief insistence is on intuition, which is the very step between action and belief which Pragmatism denies. The book, nevertheless, is valuable for any one who wishes to understand the history of Catholic

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thought in France in the nineteenth century. Moreover, the general account of the intellectual atmosphere in which Bautain lived is admirably clear and illuminating.

Notes on St John and the Apocalypse, by ALEX. PALLIS. (Oxford University Press, 1926.)

THIS little book consists of short notes on passages, with some attempt to discriminate what is new information—though this is rather about later controversies than about the facts of the life of Jesus, and with many conjectural emendations. The main interest is in the last. Very few of the emendations are convincing, which is only one more example added to many of the unreliability of the method. But even this is not without value when the attempt is made with accurate and extensive learning, such as the author shews. Only a few examples can be cited here. i 4. 'He was the light of men and the light shines in the darkness and the darkness did not overtake it.' For 'it' our author would read 'them', that is 'men'. That is, the light shines in the darkness and saves men from it. But that the light vanquishes the darkness and not the darkness it, is a quite good meaning, and, moreover, is the less ordinary reading. i 13. For 'As' read 'Who' (meaning Jesus) as an assertion of the immaculate birth. But is it conceivable, that if this ever was the reading, it would have been altered? A slip cannot account for it, because both the pronoun and the verb had to be changed from the singular to the plural. Nor is there any difficulty in the passage as it stands, because it refers to the spiritual, not the natural birth. iii 31. He who is of the earth is of the earth. There is some authority for reading, 'on the earth'. But this does not give any better meaning. The present form might be an 'extraordinary truism', and yet be original. Truisms have been written. But what it says is 'he who is of the earth is just what he is', which is a not unimportant reminder. iv 38 reads, for *κόπον*, *τόπον*. This seems a mere platitudinizing of the text.

The passages, however, which are regarded as intrusions are far more convincing. To cite particular instances would not be fair to the author, because the impression that most of his examples are right is largely formed by considering the general type of gloss. Just as the consideration of the general type of emendation rather weakens the individual case, the consideration of the general type of gloss confirms the judgement. The notes on the Apocalypse are few and are largely on translations. These last are almost all good. The emendations which are convincing usually have some kind of authority.

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The Nature and Right of Religion, by W. MORGAN, D.D. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1926.)

DR MORGAN is already known as the author of an able and learned book on the Pauline Theology. This is a still abler and more learned work, which, though it is plainly influenced by the Pauline studies, covers the wider field indicated by the title. Though the author is a Scot, who is a Presbyterian professor in Canada, the book is most akin to the old Broad Church school in temper and aim and result. If it a little lacks its geniality, this is amply made up by more accurate philosophical and historical knowledge, and more resolute, thorough-going thinking. And this is said in full recognition of the fact that many of the older Broad Churchmen were learned, sincere, and solid thinkers, and that few of them took the cheap line of the present day, which apparently assumes that ignorance is the only guarantee against bias. Of orthodox bias at least Dr Morgan would stand acquitted in any court; but it is because he values knowledge. As there are few among us whose knowledge gives them a better title to speak on the subject, his work is of a quality with which every serious thinker on religion will have to reckon.

It deals with the Nature of Religion, its Evolution, specially in the history of religions, Religious Apprehension, in other words, Faith, Values, Science, and Philosophy in their bearing on Religion, the Supernatural, Dogma, the Bible, the Essence of Christianity, the Finality of Christianity, Religious Right and Value. To give even the barest outline of all this would obviously outrun the limits of space: and, as the treatment in the book is sufficiently summary already, the result could not by any possibility be adequate. It is better to assume that some day the reader will consult the book itself—as he ought to do if he is at all interested in the subject—and to proceed to consider the method and the conclusions.

In so far as the method depends on the conviction that truth in religion, as in every other department, must maintain itself in the open forum of enquiry, sooner or later it will have to be accepted. For Dr Morgan fear of the result is already a confession of disbelief. He is so built that, if he had to hedge to maintain a belief, he would know that he had ceased to believe it. Nor will any one who has the idea of truth as just what exists be likely to disagree, though he may very well think that Dr Morgan's particular forum is too narrow and merely rational to offer quite a fair judgement on anything which is on the frontiers of human aspiration and insight like religion. Anyhow, so far as Dr Morgan is concerned, an argument, like Newman's, that orthodoxy can only be maintained when swallowed whole in the capsule of

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infallible authority, is simply a denial that it is true. Yet many who are wholly in sympathy with this intellectual standpoint will find themselves chilled by the atmosphere of the book and remote from its general conclusions, in a way they may have great difficulty either in explaining or justifying. The difference is just what distinguishes the temper of the new Broad Churchman from the old. As we find ourselves face to face with a singularly well-equipped, resolute, unbiased thinker, with a sincere interest in religion, we find ourselves challenged to consider wherein this difference consists.

Mainly it seems to have to do with a difference of feeling, and even of idea, about the world, scripture, religion, and morals. About the world Dr Morgan has accepted more of the closed mechanical conception of it than he recognizes. It looks as though at one time in his life the only possible question was, What of religion is left when this is admitted? Therefore, he starts by assuming the incursion of anything transcendent to be excluded by science. Nor is this merely miracle: for, though he knows that science does not profess *a priori* to exclude anything, the whole feeling about the world in the book belongs to the old science with its closed mechanical circle. The effect is perhaps heightened by Dr Morgan's natural temperament; but, however that be, the impression left is of a world of intellectual and ethical rules of no very expansive or emancipating or inspiring character. The occasional approval he gives to art sounds conventional, and there is no sense of nature which would make a world working together for good, a mirror of the love of God, really conceivable. Just as in the old days many theologians found it difficult to adjust their theology to the fixity of the old physics, so, after enormous labour to achieve the feat, some are naturally unwilling to allow their results to be upset by the liberty of the new. And in this Dr Morgan is by no means alone.

The next point concerns Revelation, and in particular the Pauline theology. To deal with this properly would require a long discussion of Dr Morgan's conception of Paul. But the broad position is that, the moment we leave the original idea of the Jewish Messiah, we are on the high road to the Hellenic idea of a remote Deity who is a passive unity, requiring a *Logos* to manifest him, leading to a divinizing of Jesus as Lord, in which pagan influences already appear. After Paul, this only needed some fuller baptism of pagan ideas of divinity and the Platonic distinction of accident and essence to end in the Athanasian Creed. As Paul was a Hebrew of the Hebrews, and a vehement monotheist, this view would require a great deal of demonstrating, and the old view that the real link between Primitive and Catholic Christianity was a misunderstanding of Paul remains, in spite of all the learning which Dr Morgan, among others, has brought to bear on the subject, far more

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probable. Paul is concerned, not with metaphysical ideas, but with what Jesus meant for man's relation to God. And what is more, in spite of all misunderstanding, this did not quite fail to pass into the Catholic theology and to prevent it from ever being a pure intellectual construction. If the later theology grew out of this, and was an attempt to express it in terms of contemporary thought, then the creeds, however impossible they be for us as forms of thought, did concern themselves with a vital religious issue, and the question, which Dr Morgan does nothing to answer, is how is this essential religious content to be preserved, if the vessels containing it have cracked with age?

The third point concerns religion and morality. A religion, we are told, is to be measured by the contents of its values, or in other words according to the moral ideals it sets up. Christianity is the supreme religion because it is the supreme ethical presentation, in an ethical personality, with some profit of example and encouragement in following a pioneer. Dr Morgan is largely Ritschlian, but here he comes short of Ritschl, though Ritschl's chief inadequacy is on this very point. Not the renunciation of a metaphysical or any other general conclusion is his chief defect, but in having no real room for the publican and the harlot in his kingdom. And Dr Morgan lands in a still more patently Pharisaic type of test, with nothing about seeking and saving the lost except that God knows how to forgive. No doubt this is much to believe, and might be enough if it stood first and all our moral life flowed from it. But it is nothing, if religion is merely a reflexion of morality. Dr Morgan knows all that has been written to the contrary since Kant's day and, therefore, he makes remarks about it; but there is no real room in his scheme, nor any recognition that the essential feature of Christianity is that in Christ God is reconciling the world to Himself, and that the Christian morality flows from this as the natural behaviour of the household of the Father.

For this reason the morality also lacks inspiration. Just because it does not reach a sound religious basis or any kind of inspiring conviction about the world, it too is broken-winged, with a tendency to return to the cage of the categorical imperative, where, if it is safe, it is not fed. But, in spite of all this criticism, this book is not to be disposed of by any sense of its limitation, because, for the very reason of these limitations, it raises fundamental religious problems sharply and clearly, and in a way not to be evaded. It will not always carry conviction, but it will always carry a challenge to face conviction with knowledge and sincerity to every open-minded, honest reader.

JOHN OMAN.

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A Commentary on the Psalms, by T. E. BIRD, D.D, Ph.D., Professor of Sacred Scripture, Oscott College, Birmingham. Two volumes. (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1927.)

THE plan of the book is good. After a general introduction follows a full treatment of each psalm. First comes a special introduction; then the Vulgate text; then an English rendering; then observations on the Latin text comparing it with LXX and the original Hebrew, &c.; finally some general comments on the meaning of the text. The special introduction to each psalm deals with (*a*) the title; (*b*) the subject; (*c*) the authorship; (*d*) the application.

The application of a psalm is a subject which allows considerable latitude to a commentator. So on Ps. xxii (xxiii) Dr Bird writes: 'The Psalm may also be read as an ode on the sacraments, all of which, except Matrimony, may be seen in the verses: Baptism in the "waters of refreshment", 2 *b*; Confirmation in the "anointing the head with oil", 5 *b*; Holy Eucharist in 1, 2 *a*, and especially "the table prepared", 5 *a*; Penance in 3 *b*, the "rod" and the "staff" 4 *c*, and the "goodness and mercy", 6 *a*; Extreme Unction in 4 *a*, *b*; and Holy Orders in the "cup" or chalice, *vv.* 5 *b* and 6 *b*.'

Dr Bird's English rendering is not wholly dependent on the Vulgate: thus while Vulgate gives in ii. 12

Apprehendite disciplinam, ne quando irascatur Dominus,

the English rendering is

Kiss the son, lest Yahwè be angry.

Dr Bird's general judgement on the Vulgate Psalter is favourable. In the Introduction (pp. 71–83) he compares it with Jerome's *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*, and frequently gives it the preference, finding it in agreement with LXX. So in xxxvi (xxxvii) 14 he prefers *rectos corde* to Jerome's *rectos in via*, and in 28 he defends *iniusti punientur* (LXX A ἄνομοι δὲ ἐκδιωχθήσονται) though the words are absent from M.T.

Dr Bird's book lies open to some serious criticisms. Probably he is over-sensitive to the findings of the Biblical Commission of 1910. Under the spell of this feeling he is constantly defending the correctness of the headings prefixed to separate psalms, and constantly defending Davidic authorship. Only when the heading of Ps. lix (lx) reckons the slaughtered Edomites at 12,000, while 2 Sam. viii 13 reckons them at 18,000, does the commentator assert independence. In this case he remarks, 'We are not bound to hold that the titles of the Psalms are inspired.' On the other hand, on l 20, 21 (li 18, 19) he writes, 'the last two verses create no difficulty (for the ascription of the psalm to David), for it is beyond dispute that these lines were

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added during the Babylonian Exile. To this opinion the Biblical Commission explicitly states that there is no objection.' On Ps. xv (xvi) Dr Bird writes, 'This Psalm was written by David. This we know from the evidence of the title, the authority of SS Peter and Paul, the tradition of the Church, and the reply of the Biblical Commission'.

Dr Bird defends at some length the 'imprecations' found in the Psalms. He can even say (vol. i, p. 63) 'The Jews understood—better than we to-day—that the future of a nation is in its generation of children. Children brought up with traditional hatred of Israel would one day seek to try their strength against the Jews. Realizing this the Psalmist, in vivid Oriental language, would pray for the extermination of these future enemies (Ps. cxxxvi = cxxxvii 9). Otherwise these children would grow up to become enemies of Yahwè (Ps. v 11).'

The book is learned and careful, but marked at times by an unnecessary introduction of controversial matter and by a sharpness of tone in controversy. Sometimes the English is awkward, as though the writer were more familiar with some other tongue. Generally the revision of the proofs has been carefully carried out, but the Greek accents need correction on page 8, line 9; on page 23, line 4 correct *le-Sidonians*; on page 156 the note on *v.* 12 should be looked to; on page 197, line 29 give a 'k' to the name 'van Hoonacker'; on page 240, line 4 read *ἐνκαινισμοῦ*; on page 348, line 2 read 'B$^{\alpha\ vid}$' for 'B' and correct the Hebrew in line 7 (from bottom). All these are from vol. i. Some others are to be found in vol. ii, e.g. on p. 213, line 24 (Hebrew), p. 229, line 14.

Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, edited by HUGO GRESSMANN. N. F. iii. (A. Töpelmann, Giessen, 1926.)

THE present volume contains a great deal of valuable work. Very useful are the *Mitteilungen* of the Editor, which give information of excavations at Ur of the Chaldees and at Bēsān (Beth-shan), and useful again are the two lengthy notices, also by the Editor, of *Wichtige Zeitschriften-Aufsätze*. The journals noticed are Dutch, Danish, Italian, German, English, American, French. Philological and archaeological journals are also passed under review, and the specially Jewish periodicals such as the *Monatschrift des Judentums*.

R. H. Pfeiffer (Cambridge, Mass.) has an article on *Edomitic Wisdom*, which he represents as having had an important influence on Jewish Theology. He accepts and presses upon his readers the 'Edomitic

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character of the book of Job'. 'The names of the *dramatis personae* are Edomite . . . The flora of the book is not that of Palestine: . . . The wild fauna is that of the steppes east and south of the Dead Sea. If [the author] was a Jew, he obliterated from his work every trace of the religious practices, doctrines, and ideals peculiar to his nation.' So writes Dr Pfeiffer, and he proceeds to quote Renan, 'Ces pages précieuses nous ont transmis un écho de l'antique sagesse de Théman'. The God of the Edomites was, we are told, a force of nature, unconcerned with human affairs. Against this conception the Jews were bound to protest. So Elihu comes forward in the interpolated sections to assert the justice of God and his interest in the life of every man.

Alex. Sperber makes a communication to the effect that the Berlin Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums has commissioned him to prepare an edition of the Targum to the Former Prophets. This is good news. It is true that Lagarde's valuable edition of all the Prophets from the codex Reuchlin (of A. D. 1105) is in existence (*Prophetae Chaldaice*, Lipsiae, 1872), but copies of it are rare. We have also editions of the Targum on Joshua and Judges in Yemenite recension by Franz Praetorius (Berlin, 1899, 1900). But Sperber proposes to give us Lagarde's text with an Apparatus constructed with the help of other MSS, including no doubt those from Yemen.

The veteran scholar, Karl Budde, contributes an article (pp. 177–224) entitled 'Das Deuteronomium und die Reform Könis Josia'. Budde stands for the pre-exilic origin of Deuteronomy, and combats the views of Kennett and Hölscher and their adherents. He believes that 'Ur-Deuteronomium' played a part in the reform of Josiah, and his Ur-Deuteronomium contains more than some recent writers would allow. In particular he would retain Deut. xvii 14–20 (the section concerning the King) as pre-exilic. A post-exilic writer would either like Deutero-Isaiah and Ezekiel (in his picture of the future) have let the Kingdom fall out altogether, or would have forbidden it as an institution borrowed from the heathen. The actual passage, indulgent as it is in tone, presupposes that the throne still exists and that it is filled by one like Josiah, from whom good may be expected.

Budde passes an interesting judgement on Deuteronomy. It is not concerned in the first place with the cultus, but with something different —Religion. The view of the Deuteronomic school regarding the religion of JEHOVAH is shewn in the (Deuteronomic) discourse of Solomon at the dedication of the Temple (1 Kings viii 14 ff, 22 ff). Not a word there of sacrificial worship: the newly completed Temple is to be just a House of Prayer. Budde agrees further with Oestreicher that in the introductory and concluding chapters of Deuteronomy there is no trace of the concentration of the cultus in Jerusalem. Even when

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in xii 14–16 the concentration of the cultus is commanded, the command relates only to the concentration. The practice of sacrifice is assumed, not commanded.

In the Editor's notice of W. F. Albright's article in the *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* we are reminded again how uncertain is our reading of names in cuneiform documents. Some years ago we were assured that the enigmatic names in ver. 1 of that enigmatic chapter, Genesis xiv, had been found on tablets brought from the Euphrates valley. Later the reading *Kudurlaḫamal*, i.e. *Chedorlaomer*, was given up, and with it the supposed mention of *Tidal* 'king of nations'. Now Albright brings forward again the reading *Kudurlaḫamal*, and *Tuḏḫula* (= *Tidal*). *Arioch* is said to be discovered in the cuneiform name *Arad-Ekua*. Albright proceeds to argue for the 'historicity' of Gen. xiv. The identification of names deserves further consideration.

W. EMERY BARNES.

From Babylon to Bethlehem: the Story of the Jews for the last Five Centuries before Christ, by LAURENCE E. BROWNE, B.D. (Heffer, Cambridge, 1926.)

THIS little book is to be translated into Telugu for the use of the Indian clergy of the diocese of Dornakal, for whom it is primarily intended; and in the meanwhile it is published in England for the general reader.

Mr Browne's purpose is to shew 'the living and organic connexion between the Old Testament and the New', and to help students of the New Testament 'to realize the background of Jewish thought in the days preceding the coming of Christ' (p. viii): and it may be said at once that his work serves this general purpose well.

Mr Browne is a sprightly guide: in fifty pages he carries the reader from Cyrus to Ezra, and in another fifty to Herod the Great. Though he keeps the beaten track through this period always in sight, he sometimes prefers to pick his own way over debatable ground; generally, however, without debate, for he travels in haste. Thus Isa. lxiii 6–lxiv and Ps. lxxx are, without argument, quoted as having been written in Samaria in the time of Haggai and Zechariah; and interpolations of various kinds in the sources referred to are frequently assumed. It is not surprising, therefore, that Mr Browne's sketch, fresh and vivid as it is, does not carry conviction at all points. His view of the attitude of Haggai and Zechariah to Samaria, for example, may well be challenged; and it is very doubtful whether he does justice to the Sadducees, whose conservatism was certainly not without its creditable side.

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It is to be hoped, therefore, that the interest of the reader will be aroused to such an extent that he will not only consult the sources to which reference is made at the end of each chapter, but will probe more deeply and widely till he is able to check Mr Browne's interpretation of the evidence on various subsidiary points by conclusions of his own.[1]

J. W. HUNKIN.

Platonism: second edition revised, 1926; *The Christ of the New Testament*, 1924: by PAUL ELMER MORE. (Princeton University Press.)

MR ELMER MORE is a well-read essayist with a careful expressive style, not quite a distinguished style just as his thought is not quite first-rate, but it is his own and he has something to say which is worth listening to. He has published eight volumes of *Shelburne Essays*, a criticism of life and letters, throughout which runs dislike of the 'romantic fallacy' and insistence on the spiritual truth of 'dualism'. 'The central truth of dualism is a recognition of the absolute distinction between the two elements of our conscious being, and an admission of the impossibility of finding any rationally positive explanation of the mutual interaction of these two elements . . . for these super-rational facts of consciousness another faculty, the imagination, steps in to perform what was impossible to the reason' (*Platonism* p. 187). This resembles J. A. Stewart's Introduction to his *Myths of Plato*. But it is not the same. Comparison with Professor Stewart's delicacy, precision, and richness indicate the secondary and narrower quality of Mr. More's work. Stewart finds imagination, and more than imagination, induced by the excellent poetic craftsmanship of the myths, and traces this imagination to its farthest recesses: Mr More says, 'These imaginative projections of the facts of moral consciousness are the true Platonic ideas', while (p. 61) he speaks of Plato 'cloaking ignorance in a myth'. Of the 'romantic fallacy' he writes, 'If I had to designate very briefly this underlying principle which gives to historic romance a character radically different from the mystery and wonder of classic art, I should define it as that expansive conceit of the emotions which goes with the illusion of beholding the infinite within the stream of nature itself instead of apart from the stream' (*Shelburne Essays* viii p. xiii). He writes a little too censoriously of those who disagree with him—or seem to disagree: Archer-Hind, Spinoza, Aristotle, and all neo-Platonists and metaphysicians. For metaphysics is 'something different from philosophy . . . reason becomes metaphysical—or eristic

[1] There is a slip on p. 59: the date given should be, not 223 B.C, but 198 B.C.

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as Plato would have said—the moment it presumptuously disregards the dualism of consciousness and attempts by its own naked force to build up a theoretic world of abstract unity excluding multiplicity or of multiplicity excluding unity' (*Platonism* p. 241). He rather sadly allows Plato 'his period of metaphysical stress' (p. 176), but saves him, even then; and the long examination of the *Parmenides* and *Sophist* (summed up p. 278 f) is, on the whole, well done, proving Mr More a sounder Platonist in his real meaning than his absoluteness and simplification in controversy sometimes allow him to appear.

Platonism is the first volume of a still unfinished series *The Greek Tradition from the death of Socrates to the Council of Chalcedon. Introduction: Platonism*, vol. i *The Religion of Plato*, vol. ii *Hellenistic Philosophies*, vol. iii *The Christ of the New Testament* (volumes iv and v in preparation). In the course of this Mr More 'would not say there has been any such *volte-face* as some of my critics would discover, or that there is any real inconsistency to be explained away; but change of position, or emphasis, there unquestionably has been—I should like to regard it as growth in wisdom as it certainly is growth of enlarged knowledge'. But there has been no rewriting for this new edition of the *Introduction*. 'In the main issues the work stands as it was originally conceived. In another place, perhaps in the last volume of the series, I may take occasion to deal more personally with the particular problem of philosophy and faith which during these years has been so much in my mind.'

And every one who reads Mr More hopes for that volume. He has brooded long on the problem and has matter to bring out. But at present his own description of the new edition forbids further discussion. Only this remark may be added. The new edition appears at an opportune hour when minds are dividing on two lines about the origin and genius of Christianity. Dr Rawlinson in his Bampton Lectures finds in Christianity a religion founded by our Lord and developed by St Paul upon and in continuance of Judaism. Dr Inge in his Hulsean Lectures recognizes Christianity as the one real religion which has been since the world began; has continued throughout all place and time of history; fulfilling its destiny in the Incarnation of the Word and the extending of that Incarnation in the mission of the Spirit: the Lord Jesus of St John rather than the Christ of St Paul is purely representative of the Galilean Master; and the Way, the Truth, and the Life, which have permeated, illuminated, and sustained the whole process of history, is what we call in the West (perhaps too provincially) the Platonic tradition; and the future of the Christian faith depends upon loyalty to that tradition. Mr More supports Dr Inge. He does this in his own way, not so thoroughly a churchman's way nor

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a philosopher's. Yet he too knows that 'since Virgil wrote, a great hope and a great despair have traversed the world', and believes that 'this tradition, Platonic and Christian at the centre, this realization of an immaterial life, once felt by the Greek soul and wrought into the texture of the Greek language, lies behind all our Western philosophy and religion'. It has worn shabby, been renewed, been again perverted, yet it abides; and there is 'in the Greek Tradition something which we must recover if religion is not to disappear and leave our existence dismally impoverished, something without which our wisdom may become vanity and our science a bondage'.

Sallustius, *Concerning the Gods and the Universe*, edited with Prolegomena and Translation, by ARTHUR DARBY NOCK, Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge, sometime Scholar of Trinity. (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1926.)

'THE treatise here edited has come down to us under the name of Saloustios (here called Sallustius in accordance with the conventional Latinism) with no external evidence for its date or purpose. The suggestion that it was written by a friend of the Emperor Julian and in the service of his attempt to revive ancient paganism lent it a new interest, and in 1912 Professor Gilbert Murray gave it an English dress and drew public attention to it in his *Four Stages of Greek Religion* (now reissued in a revised form as *Five Stages of Greek Religion*). In his preface he expressed the view that "an edition of Sallustius is urgently needed". Some years later Professor Praechter said, "A critical edition of the tractate is a pressing need", and again, "In addition to a convenient edition it needs a close linguistic and philosophic analysis; only by this can we learn where the writer stands, to what form of Neoplatonism he is attached, and in particular what are his relations with Iamblichus and Julian". The present work seeks to meet this need. Muccio's discovery of the manuscript at Milan gives a trustworthy basis for the text: the Prolegomena are devoted to its exposition and to an attempt to place it in the right historical perspective. It is in truth not the least instructive or attractive document of the conflict of beliefs in the fourth century of our era, and the study of that conflict is surely of more than antiquarian interest.'

Thus Mr. Nock himself describes his book, tersely and completely, as he has performed the whole. He prints a Greek text based on Ambrosianus B 99 (which Muccio discovered, 1895, but has not edited), having himself collated that MS in 1923; an apparatus criticus; and an English version. This is preceded by 123 pages of Prolegomena,

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introduced by a long list of Abbreviations which represent only a moiety of the multitudinous literature quoted (with full scholarly references), yet so selected that the list provides a satisfactory bibliography. The Prolegomena are in five chapters: I *The Intellectual Background*; lucid, vivid, rich, running out in 'Popular diffusion of certain ideas—Philosophic propaganda—Platonic epitomes and the importance of the tradition'; II *The Content of the Treatise*; longest and most important; each section is paraphrased, illustrated from the scholarship, philosophy, religion, and commonplaces of the period, all this being further elucidated and substantiated by foot-notes of remarkable interest; III *Sources and Authorship*, which sums up the results of this analysis and draws conclusions thus—'our author is an adherent of Neoplatonism in the form which Iamblichus gave to it. In his treatise ideas and language taken thence are combined with traditional elements which had become common property . . . Even in his following of Julian he shews originality'. But he does follow Julian, and everything tends to prove that he is the Sallustius to whom Julian wrote letters, used him officially and friendly, called him 'perfect in rhetoric and not unversed in philosophy', and invited to join in venerating Iamblichus the beloved of heaven. IV *Style and Form*, completes the appeal to language made in the last chapter, and will give much pleasure to any one who cares for the technique of writing (and its history), vocabulary, accent, quantity, literary forms; V *Transmission of the Text*; MSS, traditional association of the Sallustius treatise with Porphyry and Heraclitus in one corpus, editions. The volume is concluded by an Appendix of Variants of the Barberini MS, from which the early editions were printed, and an excellent Index.

Indeed all is excellent. The work could not have been better done. And Mr Nock is right in considering the interest to be more than antiquarian. It attracts the theologian, as almost everything about Julian does. Its appearance almost coincides with the publication of Mr Norman Baynes's *Historia Augusta*, which he claims as friendly propaganda for Julian; and only the other day Mr Baynes read a paper to the Society of Roman Studies on 'Julian as seen by friend and foe', in which he urged English scholars to work in the too neglected field of centuries III and IV, and ended by bidding us turn from the piteous wreck of Julian's ambition to a comparison of Libanius supinely regretting the old faith with Athanasius buoyantly looking forward to a happier age. The Cambridge Press have turned out Mr Nock's book in handsomest style. It is pathetic in the light of Mr Baynes's judgement to read the legend on Julian's coin which decorates the cover, *Felicium Temporum Reparatio*.

But Sallustius is not uncheerful. He is no philosopher. He has

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none of Julian's mystical enthusiasm, but none of his superstition either. His is 'the religion of all sensible men', and it comes pretty near an uninspired Christianity. He had his critical difficulties, the myths, as nineteenth-century Christians had theirs, the miracles. But Athanasius, like Julian, had the fire of faith in his heart: were these two, in the absolute, friends or foes? Mr Nock says of Sallustius, 'The sad and noble words with which the book ends express finely the Cynic aim which was the goal of Hellenistic philosophy. Such should be the fortune of those who had chosen virtue and attained her'. Sallustius' words are truly noble: perhaps not so sad.

A. NAIRNE.

Mysticism and the Eastern Church, by NICHOLAS ARSENIEW: translated from the German by ARTHUR CHAMBERS. With a preface by Professor FRIEDRICH HEILER. Introduction by EVELYN UNDERHILL. (S. C. M. London 1926).

MR CHAMBERS'S excellent translation of Arseniew's *Mysticism and the Eastern Church* gives English readers an opportunity to become acquainted with one of the most interesting of the Russian theologians now living in Germany. The book is less a history than a confession of faith, in the course of which illustrative material from many sources has been employed. For Arseniew the essence of Christian mysticism lies in a personal realization of the doctrine of the Incarnation expressed in the practice of virtue, in the corporate life of the Church, and in Eucharistic devotion. 'For Christian Mysticism the glorification of the world is inseparably bound up with the incarnation, crucifixion, and resurrection of the Son of God. Indeed it is precisely through His death, Passion, and humiliation that the victory over death and the glorification of life has been accomplished.' This 'glorification of life' is the principal result of mysticism for the life of the mystic, and the world in which he lives has been as definitely and certainly transfigured as was the body of Christ on the first Easter. 'Through His death—victory over death; through His resurrection—eternal life. This is not a mere mood of boundless joy, a purely emotional riot of feeling blessed by sentiment, sensuous or merely aesthetic, as is so often the case with the Sufis, Indian poets, or other Pantheists; it is a faith, a firm conviction, having reference to a concrete fact. The seed of immortality is already, now, sown in the world, in a world still imperfect, still full of sin and death. But potentially, in principle this sin and death are already overcome.' 'Eternal life has already appeared in the midst of the world, in the midst of our lives, and through communion with Him life and the world have assumed a new value.'

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These passages suffice to shew that Arseniew's mysticism is not a haze in which the outlines of religious truth are obscured but that it proceeds directly as a spiritual consequence, from fundamental doctrines of orthodox Christian theology.

It is not surprising in a mystic that his book is unspoiled by theological animus. Arseniew appeals freely to other than Christian mystics and, what is perhaps more remarkable, his attitude to Western mysticism is sympathetic and appreciative. This sympathy and appreciation, in fact, offer the fairest ground for criticism. The title of the book is misleading and the student who seeks in it a clear picture of mysticism in the Orthodox and more especially in the Russian Church will be disappointed, for a large proportion of the illustrative matter is derived from familiar Western sources and references to Orthodox authorities are largely taken from early Christian and early medieval Greek writers and from the liturgies. It is, perhaps, ungracious to ask more of a writer who has given so many well-chosen passages from the literature of his subject, but the splendid quotation from Chomiakov (pp. 59–60) and the occasional references to 'The Candid Narratives of a Pilgrim to his Spiritual Father' (pp. 53, 67, 117) leave the impression that a rich and distinctive Christian mysticism is to be found in Russian religious literature, as yet unexplored by most Western theologians, and that a fuller account of it would have more than compensated for the sacrifice of many quotations from well-known Greek and Western European sources. Passages like those on pp. 74 ff., 120 ff., lead one, also, to regret that his veneration for antiquity had not left Arseniew more opportunity for developing his own thought in his own way.

R. P. CASEY.

Les Penseurs de l'Islam, by BARON CARRA DE VAUX. (Geuthner, Paris, 1923–1926.)

'JE ne crois pas devoir mettre de conclusion à cet ouvrage; il n'était pas destiné à soutenir une thèse ou une autre, mais seulement à faciliter la connaissance des littératures musulmanes et de la pensée orientale; j'aime à croire que son but est atteint.' This is a modest claim, for no one can peruse these three volumes without being instructed, stimulated, and entertained, or without recognizing the author's breadth of knowledge and experience, his versatility, and the skill with which he has selected and arranged the materials suitable for his purpose in such a way as to present in 1,200 small pages a fairly complete view of the political, religious, and intellectual history of the Islamic world from the beginning of the seventh to the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century A.D. The scope of the work may be indicated by

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a few chapter-headings: Persia and Arabia before Islam; Life of Mohammed; The Arab Conquest; The Umayyad Caliphs; Tradition; Jurisprudence; Scholasticism; Theology; Mysticism; The Sceptics; The Persian Poets; Music; Shi'ism (including the Ismá'ílís and Druzes); the Bábís; Modern Turkey; Modern Egypt; Modern India; Modern Persia and Tartary. The exposition never becomes dull, as the author has wisely relieved it with numerous quotations both from Oriental and European writers; that it sometimes recalls the methods of the kinematograph is perhaps inevitable; nor can we, in the circumstances, profess much surprise at the prominence given throughout to French sources of information; though it detracts from the general usefulness of the work and may be held partly responsible for a certain one-sidedness in dealing with some fundamental questions. Examples of this occur in the chapters on Mohammed and the *Qur'án*. Here the author has let his logic run away with him, and the results are astonishing. The fact that the Prophet's enemies and battles are seldom mentioned by name in the *Qur'án* leads to a contrast with the proclamations of Napoleon and to the statement that Mohammed seems never to have fought in person or acted as a military commander. The *Qur'án*, it is true, has hitherto been supposed to contain the names of two celebrated battles—Badr and Ḥunayn; but according to Baron Carra de Vaux, بِبَدْرٍ (iii 119) may be rendered by 'promptement', while حُنَيْنٍ (ix 25) admits of emendation. His theory that the *Qur'án* was derived from an older Arabic book, 'no doubt akin to the Bible or the Gospel', rests on arguments equally ingenious and unconvincing to students of the language of the Prophet. Fortunately, these early chapters are not typical. In philosophy and scholastic theology the author is quite at home, and he gives an excellent account of the Mohammedan sciences in connexion with the famous writers by whom they were developed and expounded. Since a work of this description should be judged as a whole, I do not wish to lay stress on matters of detail. Specialists, however, will find a good deal to criticize. One would expect a Persian scholar to perceive the futility of founding an estimate of Omar Khayyám's character on the collection of poems attributed to him. The opinion, which I have frequently expressed, that the mystical quatrains passing under his name are spurious, is now confirmed by Professor Christensen's examination and comparison of the most ancient MSS, whereby the entire number of presumably authentic quatrains is reduced to about a hundred. To conclude with a small point of particular interest to myself, the *Mathnawí* of Jalálu'ddin Rúmí originally comprised six books (not seven) and about 26,000 verses (not 47,000).

R. A. Nicholson.

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CHRONICLE

PATRISTICA.

Die Apostolischen Väter: neubearbeitung der Funkschen Ausgabe von KARL BIHLMEYER. Erster Teil: Didache, Barnabas, Klemens I und II, Ignatius, Polykarp, Papias, Quadratus, Diognetbrief. (Tübingen, Mohr, 1924.) Pp. l+163.

THE smaller Funk edition of the Apostolic Fathers has held a worthy place of its own, but the discoveries in this realm have been so numerous of recent years that a new edition had become a necessity. Even after the major part of Bihlmeyer's volume had been printed, Horner's edition of a new Coptic fragment of the Didache was published in this JOURNAL (vol. xxv [1923–1924] pp. 225–231), and some notes on the edition from the pen of Dr Karl Schmidt of Berlin appear in the preface to the present volume. But Bihlmeyer's work has benefited not merely by fresh discoveries, the results of which are incorporated in it: the relevant literature of the intervening period is passed under review, the format of the edition has been enlarged and improved, and an adequate critical apparatus has now for the first time been provided throughout. The edition may therefore be heartily recommended to all students of the Apostolic Fathers. On page xi for 'G. A. Winer' read 'G. B. Winer'; on p. 9, l. 14 add a reference to 1 Tim. iii 3; p. 80, l. 5 (= 2 Clem. 18) πάνθ' ἁμαρτωλός would seem to be better than πανθαμαρτωλός, in spite of the πανθαμάρτητος of the Didache and Barnabas.

Q. Septimi Florentis Tertulliani De Oratione: edited with an introduction and notes by R. WATERVILLE MUNCEY, M.A. (London: Robert Scott, 1926.) Pp. lxvi+94.

IT was a happy idea to issue a separate edition of Tertullian's *De Oratione* with introduction and notes, but unfortunately the result reflects credit on the manufacturers of the type, the paper, and the cloth case rather than on the editor. Mr Muncey has in fact undertaken a task far beyond his powers. In the preface he borrows an expression of opinion by another writer that Tertullian is 'the most difficult of all Latin prose writers', and yet displays an equipment in Latin that would barely suffice for the editing of the easiest. The book swarms with errors, due to ignorance or carelessness or both combined. One or two samples of these will suffice for our purpose,

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though it would be possible to cover pages with them. Satan is the 'praesides et artifex' of temptation (p. xviii), *praesides* being of course the nominative singular of *praesidem*: *virtus* is rendered 'praise' instead of 'power' (p. xxiii). On page xxvii, part i of the Vienna Tertullian is dated 1880, elsewhere rightly 1890; on the same page 'Gorzia' is said to be 'near Milan', pure guesswork, as Gorze was, and is, near Metz; on page xxix the Codex Agobardinus is assigned to 'the sixteenth century', and in the next sentence we are told that 'it was once in the possession of Agobard, Bishop of Lyons (*ob.* 840)'. On page xxxvi *spelunca* is said to be borrowed from the Greek: the termination forbids this view, but if the editor had looked into the matter, he might have discovered that the Greek σπήλαιον was as a matter of fact borrowed as *spel(a)eum*: such points ought to be left to those that know something about them (compare the cases of 'anacoluthon' and 'syncope' on p. xli). On page xlv 'Deuteronomy' appears where 'Daniel' alone can be meant. The writer's Greek is no better than his Latin: on page li he quotes the well-known reading of St Luke's Gospel in Dr Hoskier's MS 'ἐλθέτω (*sic*) τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ καθαρισάτω ἡμᾶς γενηθήτω'. The photograph in Hoskier's edition of the MS clearly shows a punctuation mark after the second ἡμᾶς, and that γενηθήτω begins the next petition: what are we to conclude from an error like this? On page lxii 'raderi' is printed for 'videri'. And so on.

What is perhaps a more serious matter must also be referred to. The editor has repeatedly taken the *ipsissima verba* of a translation of the *De Oratione* published by the S.P.C.K. in 1919, without the slightest acknowledgement. I count between twenty and thirty passages where the introduction, translation, or notes in the book have been exploited in this way (one glaring case of ignorant misunderstanding included, p. 54). In one place only (p. 68) is the translation mentioned, where the editor, perhaps rightly, disagrees with it. It should also be mentioned that the text *and apparatus* of Mr Muncey's book are taken from the Vienna edition, but it is not stated whether permission to use these was granted or not. Even if it was, let the editor take a lesson from Dr Gibb and Mr Montgomery (preface to *The Confessions of Augustine*, Cambridge, 1908): 'The text of this edition is, with a few variations, that of the Vienna Academy of Sciences. . . . For the kind permission of the Academy to use this text . . . the editors tender their grateful thanks'. The apparatus of Reifferscheid and Wissowa has been reduced, mainly by the omission of emendations from various scholars of repute. Its statements also have sometimes been misrepresented (e. g. p. 3, l. 10; p. 3, ll. 11–13; p. 11, ll. 2–3).

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The Text of the De Virginitate of Athanasius, by KIRSOPP LAKE and ROBERT P. CASEY. (*Harvard Theological Review*, vol. xix [1926] pp. 173–190.)

THE articles in the early volumes of this JOURNAL by Bishop Wallis and Dr Lake laid the foundation of modern study of the manuscripts of Athanasius, and the standard text of the *De Virginitate* by Von der Goltz appeared in 1905 (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, Bd. xxix). In 1925 Drs Lake and Casey visited Patmos and Athos, and made a profitable examination of MS P (saec. xi) at Patmos, which, being more extended than that made by Von der Goltz's agent, has enabled them to arrive at more exact conclusions as to its structure, and at the same time to correct some errors in Von der Goltz's text. Their investigation of the three Vatopedi MSS (Vatopedi 5 [saec. xiv], 7 [saec. xiii], and 605 [saec. xiv]) has further clarified the problem of the interrelation between the various twenty-one-treatise MSS of Athanasius.

The Confessions of Augustine: edited by J. GIBB and W. MONTGOMERY. [Second edition.] (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1927.)

THE first edition of this text of Augustine's *Confessions* with commentary was published in 1908, and was duly noticed in this JOURNAL (vol. xi [1909–1910] pp. 150–152). It is a pleasure to welcome the second edition. Dr Gibb died in April 1915, and in consequence Mr Montgomery has had to see this second edition through the press alone. Whether this fact accounts for the fewness of the changes that have been made in the new edition, I do not know. There has been very little alteration in the notes (see especially p. 216 b), though the section on Manicheism in the introduction has been rewritten in view of Dr Burkitt's *Religion of the Manichees*, and the note on the text has been improved and brought up to date. It is still true that the edition is 'weak on the language side' (vol. xi p. 150), and the strange thing is that the errors of 1908 are repeated in 1927. At the foot of page lx, add the page, namely 89. Some additions have been made to the bibliography, but not enough; works by Capelle, Holl, C. H. Milne, Monceaux, Rottmanner, Wundt, and Zepf, for example, deserved mention. On p. lxxi 'Urba' should be 'Vrba': on p. lxxii Dr Lowe's date for the Sessorianus, namely the second half of the sixth century, might have been mentioned (*Miscellanea Ehrle* iv [Roma, 1924] p. 54): John Price's emendation of *sentiebat cohercere* (p. 41, l. 16) to *censebat coerceri* is worth recalling: on ii 4 § 9, see *Harnack-Ehrung* (Leipzig, 1921) pp. 183 ff: on p. 205, l. 5 Vaccari's treatment of the passage in *Didascaleion* for 1924 fasc. 2, should have

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been mentioned (cf. *Rev. d'Hist. Ecclés.* xxvi [1925] p. 388): on p. 230, l. 1 see *ZNTW* xxv (1926) 265–270. Probably E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, *Die Stellung Iesu im Manichäismus* (Abh. preuss. Akad., 1926) appeared too late to be used in the introduction. Without seeking in any way to detract from the real merits and usefulness of this edition, I have to express the opinion that there is room for two further pieces of work, first an exhaustive examination of the MSS, because we have not yet got a solid enough basis for the text, and second a predominantly linguistic commentary.

S. Aureli Augustini Hipponiensis episcopi De Catechizandis Rudibus liber unus: translated with an Introduction and Commentary . . . by Joseph Patrick Christopher. (The Catholic Education Press, Brookland, D.C., U.S.A.). (Blackwell, Oxford.) Pp. xxii + 367.

For an adequate explanatory edition of a work of any of the ancient Fathers three qualifications are requisite, a classical training, a training in late Latin or Greek, and a certain knowledge of theology. When a classical scholar without training in the later stages of one or other of the classical languages essays such a task, we get such a result as Fausset's edition of the *De Catechizandis Rudibus*. An edition or translation of any of these works by a mere theologian is bound to be full of inaccuracies. There is this measure of excuse for the defects of editions of the Fathers in general, that there exists no institution in this country where a person can receive just the right kind of training in the later stages of the Greek and Latin languages for his purpose: a man has to train himself, and the training needed is long and severe, demanding access to a large and well-selected library such as is rarely to be seen.

I have ventured to preface these remarks in order to call attention to the fact that here at last we have a really satisfactory edition of a Latin Christian classic, *totam teretem atque rotundam*. Dr Christopher is a man who has really taken his task seriously, as it ought to be taken. He is as far as possible removed from the notion that patristic editing is a game that any classical scholar can play. He has treated his text with the greatest care and thought, and has read widely in the subject to illustrate it. His references to classical literature reveal the debt to it under which Augustine labours, to a degree that I have not seen equalled before, except in Dr Angus's study of the first half of the *City of God*. His translation is easily the best English translation of the treatise in existence, his bibliography is the fullest Augustinian bibliography I know, and his indexes are luxurious in their copiousness. In my opinion he has set a standard for explanatory editions of the Latin Fathers with English notes.

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There is one thing he has not done, but I venture to think that the book loses little or nothing by the fact. I mean that he has collated no manuscripts, but has instead adopted the Benedictine text. I write as the author of an unpublished commentary on this same book, and as one who has made a copy of nearly the whole of a twelfth-century MS of the work in the British Museum. The result of a repeated study of this work of Augustine's suggests that the Benedictines have done everything or nearly everything that can be done for the text, that in fact it is in a very good state. Nor could one expect the author of a doctor's dissertation (for that is what the present work in origin is), living in Washington, to collate or procure photographs of MSS in Europe, when his primary object was to write an explanatory commentary. Manuscripts of the treatise are as a matter of fact rather difficult to find. I know of three only, and none of them is older than the British Museum MS. The catalogues of manuscripts record that many contain 'Augustini opuscula': to get at the detailed contents of these involves irksome correspondence with librarians, who may be too much occupied to give full help in such investigations.

I append one or two notes on the book. The number of Codex Urbinas (p. xiii) is not given: on p. xx read 'H. W. Garrod' for 'H. E. Garrod', and 'Fabi' for 'Fabii': on p. xxi read 'Homilies on' instead of 'Homilies of': p. 6 n. 12 for 'Tisseront' read 'Tixeront': p. 124, 'Porphyrio' a mistake for 'Porphyry' (?): p. 129, for '305' read '395': p. 148, 'and Epistles' should be struck out; κατήντηκεν should also be read for κατάντησεν, and Moulton's (correct) interpretation of the Greek of 1 Cor. x 11 might have been mentioned: p. 164, l. 8 put 'Aug.' within square brackets: p. 200, l. 9 after '14' add '318': p. 233, for 'pasurus' read 'passurus'.

A. SOUTER.

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